



The "Benedict Arnold"
RICHARD EARL HOWE,
Admiral of the Fleet

*Engraved by G. Kneller from an Original in the possession of
His Grace, the Duke of Devonshire*

LIVES
OF THE
BRITISH ADMIRALS:
CONTAINING AN ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY
FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS.

BY DR. JOHN CAMPBELL.

THE NAVAL HISTORY CONTINUED TO THE YEAR 1779,

BY

DR. BERKENHOUT.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED,

And the Historical Part further continued to the Year 1780,

BY THE LATE

HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq.

And further continued to

THE LAST EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS IN 1816,

WITH

THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT NAVAL COMMANDERS

From the Time of Dr. Campbell to the above Period,

BY

WILLIAM STEVENSON, Esq.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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LIVES
OF
THE ADMIRALS:
INCLUDING
A NEW AND ACCURATE
NAVAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE NAVAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM
THE YEAR 1780, TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE
AMERICAN WAR.

THE opening of the year 1780 presented very unfavourable prospects to Great Britain: the war in which she was engaged with her revolted colonies, and which at its commencement it was hoped would soon be terminated, had hitherto been carried on in such a manner as promised no speedy or successful termination; but this was not the only, or perhaps the principal evil to which this country was exposed. France and Spain, eagerly embracing the opportunity that presented itself of revenging themselves for the humiliation they had suffered in the preceding war, had united their forces to those of the revolted colonies: and Holland the ancient, and it might almost be said the naturally ally of Great Britain, had with equal injustice

and impolicy lent her aid to the cause and interests of America, France and Spain. Those who have witnessed the astonishing efforts, and the equally astonishing success attending those efforts, which this country has exhibited in her wars with revolutionary France, and for the liberation of the continent of Europe, will be surprised that she could put forth such a small portion of moral and political strength in her contest with her colonies. But there were many causes which rendered Great Britain, in her contest with her colonies, so unlike and inferior to what she subsequently was in her contest with revolutionary France: her powers were not then developed; the contest was carried on at a great distance from the seat of those powers; and certainly her soldiers and sailors, as well as their commanders, were by no means animated with that wonderful spirit of patriotism and cordiality; they did not feel that confidence in their own invincibility which conducted them to victory in the revolutionary wars. Having premised these general remarks, we shall now proceed to the naval history of 1780.

On the 2nd of December, 1779, it was voted in the House of Commons, that eighty-five thousand men be employed for the sea service, for the year 1780, including eighteen thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine marines; and secondly, that a sum not exceeding four pounds a month per man be allowed for maintaining the said eighty-five thousand men, for thirteen months, including ordnance for sea service. Again on the 24th of February, 1780, it was voted in the House of Commons, that for the ordnance of the navy, including half-pay to the sea and marine officers for the year 1780, the sum of eighty-five thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, seven shillings and sixpence be granted; and that towards building, rebuilding and repairing of ships of war in His Majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what is proposed to be done upon the head wear and tear in ordi-

nary, for the year 1780, there be granted the sum of six hundred and ninety-seven thousand, nine hundred and three pounds. In May, 1780, there was voted, towards paying off and discharging the debts of the navy, the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds; so that the total sum granted for the naval service of this year was seven million three thousand two hundred and eighty-four pounds, seven shillings and sixpence.

The two principal objects to which the ministry directed their attention, at the commencement of the year 1780, were the relief of Gibraltar and the defence and protection of the West Indies: the services of Admiral Rodney the preceding war had recommended him to the admiralty as a proper person to be employed on both these occasions. Accordingly he was appointed to the chief command in the West Indies, and advantage was taken of his convoy to send a great supply of provisions and stores for the relief of the garrison of Gibraltar. The admiral had been but a very few days at sea, when he fell in with a Spanish fleet, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz: it consisted of fifteen sail of merchantmen under the protection of a fine new sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, mounting from thirty-two to twenty-six guns, and two smaller vessels; these ships of war belonged to the Royal Company of the Caraccas, and had been assigned to the others as a convoy: the whole fleet were captured; and on examining the cargoes of the merchantmen, the capture was ascertained to be extremely fortunate, as the greater part of them were laden with wheat, flour, &c. which the admiral of course destined for Gibraltar. On the 16th of January, in about a week after this capture, Admiral Rodney, off Cape St. Vincent, fell in with another Spanish squadron, consisting of eleven ships of the line, under the command of Don Juan Langara. As the Spaniards, being inferior in force, and favoured by the wind, endeavoured to escape, the British admiral changed

the signal for a line of battle abreast to that for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up. As, however, the enemy were near their own ports, the admiral moreover took the lee gage to prevent their retreat. Night came on, but the pursuit was still continued: the dangers of a dark and tempestuous night were increased by the vicinity of the shoals of St. Lucar. Admiral Rodney, however, was not daunted. About four o'clock the headmost ships began to engage: early in the action the Spanish ship *St. Domingo*, of seventy guns and seven hundred men, blew up, and all on board perished: the English ship that was opposed to her nearly suffered the same fate. The engagement did not terminate till two in the morning, when the *Monarca*, the headmost of the enemy's fleet, struck to the *Sandwich*, Admiral Rodney's ship. Three others were also taken and carried safely into port; among these was the *Phoenix*, of eighty guns, Don Langara's ship; two others had struck, but after the officers had been taken out, they were driven on shore by the tempestuous weather, and one of them was entirely lost. Two frigates and four ships of the line escaped; of the latter, two were much damaged in the action. Our loss amounted to thirty-two killed and one hundred and two wounded.

It has often been remarked that details of individual instances of those virtues which dignify and ennoble human nature, are much more interesting and impressive than general accounts of the most brilliant and decisive battles; we shall, therefore, mention on this occasion the behaviour of the Spanish admiral and of a British captain; the former conducted himself with the greatest gallantry; he was himself severely wounded, and his ship nearly a wreck, before he would suffer his colours to be hauled down. The conduct of Captain Macbride was still more honourable, because we naturally look for courage in those who devote themselves to war-

fare, but we do not always look for, or expect distinguished humanity. A malignant species of small-pox prevailing on board Captain Macbride's vessel, that officer acquainted the Spanish admiral with the circumstance; at the same time offering, in order to prevent the infection from being given to the Spanish prisoners, to send an officer with one hundred men on board the *Phœnix*, trusting to the admiral's honour, that neither his officers nor men (amounting to near seven hundred) would, in the event of the prize being separated from the British fleet, in any degree or respect, interrupt the British seamen in navigating the ship, or in defending her, if necessary. This generous offer, inspired equally by confidence and humanity, was met with equally noble feelings by the Spaniards, and the conditions were strictly adhered to; for though there was no other ship but Captain Macbride's in sight, and the weather was favourable to escape, the Spanish sailors afforded every assistance in refitting the *Phœnix*, and in navigating her to the Bay of Gibraltar.

The convoy having been conducted safely to Gibraltar, and the provisions and stores having been landed there, Admiral Digby, taking under his charge the Spanish prizes and homeward bound transports, sailed for England on the 15th of February; and Admiral Rodney, with the remainder, proceeded to his station in the West Indies. The two fleets had parted from each other only a very few days, when Admiral Digby perceived at a great distance, a French convoy, bound for the Mauritius, under the protection of two ships of the line: a general chase was immediately ordered; but only the *Prothée* of sixty-four guns, and a few of the transports laden with military stores were taken.

Leaving the operations of Admiral Rodney in the West Indies to be detailed afterwards, we shall at present go on with the European naval affairs of this year. The naval supremacy of England, though it had not shone forth conspicuously during this war, was yet the object of the

jealousy of most of the European powers; even the court of Russia, though not likely to be affected by it, was resolved to take the present opportunity to put it down, if possible. Accordingly, on the 26th of February, a manifesto was issued by this court; the leading principle maintained in which was, that free bottoms make free goods; or, in other words, that a neutral might assist an enemy with impunity: this manifesto was supported by an armed neutrality as it was called; and as it was extremely favourable to all the neutral powers, and moreover the Court of Petersburg had great weight in the North of Europe, the armed neutrality assumed a very formidable aspect. Such was the state of affairs in England at this juncture, that it was deemed prudent only to expostulate with the court of Petersburg and her immediate allies; but as Holland was not so formidable, and as she had added ingratitude to insult, it was resolved to proceed to vigorous measures against her. A proclamation was, therefore, issued at London, on the 17th of April, in which the non-performance of the States General with respect to the succours stipulated by treaty, was urged as a dereliction of the alliance between Holland and England; and it was therefore declared, that the subjects of the United Provinces were henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states not privileged by treaty. The events which afterwards occasioned the commencement of hostilities between Holland and England, though without any declaration of war at that time, have already been noticed.

On the death of Sir Charles Hardy, in the month of May, the command of the Channel fleet was given to Admiral Geary, who sailed with thirty ships in quest of the enemy. In the beginning of July, during his cruise, he came in sight of a fleet consisting of the same number of ships as his own; these he afterwards ascertained to be a convoy of French merchantmen from Port-au-Prince, bound to France. He immediately made the signal for a

general chase; but though the utmost efforts were made, it was evening before the headmost vessels of the British reached the enemy; and most unfortunately, a fog afterwards coming on, Admiral Geary succeeded in taking only twelve of the merchantmen; the rest, with the two armed ships that accompanied them, escaped in the fog.

It might have been expected that the French and Spanish fleets, encouraged by their triumph in 1779, would this year again have entered the English channel; but though they formed a junction, they did not enter it; their object was more important in reality, though not so dazzling as threatening the coast of England with invasion; for they cruised in that tract by which they knew that the outward-bound trade from Great Britain to the East and West Indies usually passed. In order to give themselves every chance of intercepting these valuable convoys, the French and Spanish ships spread themselves over an immense extent of sea. Towards the end of July there sailed from Portsmouth a fleet for the East Indies and another for the West Indies, under the convoy of Captain Moutray, of the *Ramillies*, attended by two frigates. On the night of the 5th of August, they fell in with that division of the combined fleet which was commanded by Don Louis de Cordova. The *Ramillies*, the two frigates, and a few of the merchantmen effected their escape; all the rest, amounting to upwards of forty sail, were captured, and carried into Cadiz. This was a dreadful misfortune, more especially as a number of the transports were laden with naval and military stores for the use of the settlements in those parts of the world to which they were bound. Not long afterwards Admiral Geary resigned his command, and was succeeded by Admiral Darby.

We must now return to Admiral Rodney: after relieving Gibraltar, he proceeded to his station in the West Indies, and arrived at St. Lucia on the 27th of March.

Before his arrival the enemy had a considerable naval superiority; but, by the reinforcement of ships which he carried out, the hostile fleets were nearly rendered equal, the French, however, being still rather superior. Admiral Rodney, however, found on his arrival, affairs less disastrous than he apprehended; for the French had not been able to profit by their superiority. On the contrary, their trade had been greatly annoyed. Only two days before his arrival, four French ships of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, under the command of De la Môtte Piquet, fell in with three British ships of war, all of inferior force, under the command of Captain Cornwallis. An attack was immediately commenced; the engagement began about five in the afternoon; and was continued during the whole of the night, and part of the following day: notwithstanding the superiority of the French, they gained no advantage; and the combatants separated as if by mutual consent, to repair their respective damages. In the morning of the third day, a British ship of sixty-four guns, and two frigates appearing in sight, Captain Cornwallis again resolved to fight the enemy; but the French commander declined the renewal, although still superior in force. Even the more formidable attempt of the Count de Guichen had been defeated, before the arrival of Admiral Rodney: with twenty-five ships of the line, eight frigates, and a number of troops, he had threatened St. Lucia; but the judicious disposal of the squadron under Sir Hyde Parker, and of the troops on shore, under General Vaughan, induced him to abandon his enterprise.

Sir George Rodney lost no time after his arrival at St. Lucia in commencing offensive operations. The French fleet under the Count de Guichen lay in Fort Royal bay in Martinique; against it the British admiral sailed on the 2d of April: but the enemy did not dare to venture out. Admiral Rodney, therefore, after remaining two days before Fort Royal, endeavouring in vain to

tempt or provoke the enemy to an engagement, returned to his station at St. Lucia, leaving some fast sailing vessels to bring him the earliest intelligence of their movements.

On the 15th of April, the French admiral taking advantage of the darkness of night, came out of Fort Royal harbour with twenty-three sail of the line, and a number of frigates. As soon as Admiral Rodney learnt this, he put to sea, and used such dispatch, that on the 16th he came in sight of the enemy, and on the 17th, by superiority in manœuvring, he brought them to action, notwithstanding all their efforts to avoid it. The engagement began about one o'clock, and the firing did not cease till four in the afternoon. In this battle the Sandwich was fought with great skill as well as bravery; for, after compelling three of the enemy's fleet to quit the line, she was laid along-side of the Couronne, the French admiral's ship; and although this vessel was supported by two others, the Sandwich alone maintained the combat for an hour and a half, when the French admiral bore away. Unfortunately, Admiral Rodney could not take advantage of the splendid success which he had unequivocally gained; for the van and the rear of the British fleet were at a great distance from the centre, and the Sandwich, as well as several other of the ships, were extremely disabled. Under these circumstances, every effort was used to refit, and on the 20th the enemy was again seen; but though the pursuit was carried on for three days without intermission, Admiral Rodney could not bring on an engagement. Ascertaining, however, that the object of the French was to take shelter in Fort Royal, he succeeded in cutting off their retreat to this place, and they were compelled to go to Guadaloupe. In this action the loss of men on board of the British fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred and fifty-three wounded; that of the French in killed and wounded was nearly one thousand men. From

the circumstances of this engagement, as well as from the tenor of Admiral Rodney's official despatches, it is evident that he anticipated more decisive success, and he certainly would have obtained it, had he been properly supported by all his officers. After cruising off Martinique for some time, the condition of some of his ships obliged him to return to St. Lucia, leaving a squadron of copper-bottomed vessels off that island.

The circumstance of this action attracted the notice of the House of Peers; where, on the 3rd of June, Lord Saint John moved for papers, in order to institute an enquiry on the subject. On that occasion, a military earl read a letter, which he received from an officer who was present in the action; in that letter it was stated, that the spirit of a certain vice-admiral had gone forth and infected the British fleet. The motion, however, was overruled; and it is only noticed in this place, as affording another melancholy instance of that want of cordiality that proved so injurious to the country during the whole course of this disastrous war.

On the 6th of May, Admiral Rodney receiving information that the French fleet was approaching to windward of Martinique, he immediately sailed with nineteen ships of the line, two ships of fifty guns and some frigates. After being obliged to beat to windward for several days, on the 10th of May he gained sight of them: but the French being still to windward declined the battle; not so effectually, however, but that the rear of his fleet was brought to action by the van of Sir George Rodney's on the 15th and 19th of May; and on both days, the advantage was on the side of the British. After the partial battle of the 19th, the French stood to the northward, under such a press of sail, that in the course of three days their whole fleet was out of sight. All further pursuit seemed now in vain: Sir George Rodney, however, followed them forty leagues to the windward of Martinique,

and then despairing of success, proceeded to Barbadoes, in order to refit his disabled ships. The French admiral now safely put again into Fort Royal harbour.

Soon after these partial engagements, information was received by the British admiral of the approach of a fleet from Spain ; it became, therefore, indispensably necessary to prevent the junction of this fleet with the French, as if the junction was effected, it would not be possible for the British to oppose them. This Spanish fleet had sailed from Cadiz on the 28th of April, under the command of Don Joseph Solano : it consisted of twelve ships of the line, a great number of frigates, and eighty-three transports, having on board twelve thousand troops, and a considerable train of artillery. As soon as Admiral Rodney gained the information that they were expected, he used the utmost possible dispatch in repairing his ships ; and having put to sea as soon as they were ready, he cruised in that tract, in which according to his information, there was the greatest chance of falling in with the Spanish fleet. But Don Solano, probably having heard of Admiral Rodney's intention, altered his course, and instead of going to Fort Royal, the appointed place of rendezvous, kept more to the northward, and put into Guadaloupe: from this place, he dispatched a frigate to acquaint the Count de Guichen of his arrival, and to request he would join him; this the French admiral effected, by keeping to the leeward of the island, and joined the Spanish squadron under Dominique. Considerable alarm and apprehension were excited in the West Indies by the junction of these fleets ; particularly at Jamaica, which it was apprehended they would first attack. But the Spanish troops had been so very much crowded on board of the transports, that a pestilential distemper broke out amongst them, which increased so much during the voyage, that it became absolutely necessary to land the men in Martinique ; this, of course, suspended the danger to the British island : and it

was at length totally avoided by a difference between the Spanish and French commanders. The consequence was, that after remaining inactive for several weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, they sailed for St. Domingo : here they separated, the French fleet putting into Cape François, and the Spanish proceeding to the Havannah : a short time afterwards, the French admiral sailed for Europe, with the homeward-bound trade from the French islands under his protection.

Sir George Rodney not thinking it probable that the Count de Guichen would totally quit the West Indies, but rather after convoying the merchantmen to a certain latitude return thither, or perhaps go to America, sailed for New York with eleven ships of the line and four frigates : he arrived at this place in September ; but before detailing his operations, it will be necessary to attend to the previous occurrences in America this year.

As soon as Sir Henry Clinton learnt that the Count d'Estaing had departed, after his unsuccessful attack on Savannah, he set on foot an expedition, the object on which was the taking of Charlestown, and the reduction of the province of South Carolina. Admiral Arbuthnot was to co-operate in this expedition ; and, accordingly on the 26th of December, 1779, he sailed from the Sandy Hook, with the transports having the troops on board. The voyage was very unfortunate in consequence of the tempestuous state of the weather ; so that though the average passage is only ten days, scarce any of the ships arrived before the end of January ; and almost all the horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry perished during the passage. Charlestown was strongly fortified, both on the land and sea side ; particularly the bar, it was supposed might be strongly defended. This bar was impassable by the larger ships of war, and the entry of others was difficult and dangerous. Just within the bar, the American squadron was stationed, consisting of nine sail, the largest

carrying forty-four, and the smallest sixteen guns: even beyond the station of this squadron there were other defences of the city, particularly a fort on Sullivan's island; the fire from which, had on a former occasion, proved so destructive to a British squadron under Sir Peter Parker. The American squadron, however, on whom General Lincoln who commanded in Charlestown, placed great reliance, quitted its station as soon as the British fleet approached for Cooper's river. The next object of the British Admiral was to pass the fort, and this, aided by a strong southerly wind and flowing tide, he effected with inconsiderable loss. As the British vessels could not enter Cooper's river, they anchored near Fort Johnston, just without the range of the shot from the town.

As soon as the first parallel was completed, the garrison was summoned, but the summons proving ineffectual, the siege was prosecuted with vigour and success, so that on the 12th of May Charlestown capitulated. By this successful operation, about one thousand American and French seamen were made prisoners; and the following ships were taken or destroyed. The *Bricole*, pierced for sixty, mounting forty-four guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, sunk; her captain, officers, and company prisoners. The *Truite*, twenty-six twelve pounders, sunk; her captain &c. prisoners. *Queen of France*, twenty-eight nine pounders, sunk; her captain &c. prisoners. *General Moultrie*, twenty-six pounders, sunk; her captain, &c. prisoners. *Notre Dame*, brig, sixteen guns, sunk, her captain &c. prisoners. *Providence*, thirty-two eighteen pounders, and twelve pounders, taken; captain &c. prisoners. *Boston*, of the same force taken; captain &c. prisoners. *Ranger*, twenty-six pounders, taken; captain &c. prisoners.

French ships, *l'Avanture*, twenty-six nine and six-pounders taken; captain &c. prisoners. *Polacre*, sixteen six pounders, taken. Some empty brigs, lying at the

wharfs, and other small vessels were also taken ; and four armed gallies.

We shall close our account of the naval operations of the year 1780, with the detail of some actions which took place betwixt single ships.

On the 4th of July, the Hon. Captain Waldegrave, of His Majesty's ship *La Prudent*, being on a cruise with the *Licorne*, Cape Ortugal bearing south by west twenty-four leagues, descried a sail to the north-west. Chace was immediately given, and it was soon ascertained that she was a French frigate. As there was little wind, several hours elapsed before the British ships could get close to her : she was fought gallantly, nor was she surrendered till after an engagement of five hours ; she proved to be *La Capricieuse*, pierced for forty-four guns, but mounting only thirty-two, with a complement of three hundred and eight men ; she was quite new, having been launched only in March ; and had been out eight days from L'Orient. This vessel when taken possession of, was ascertained to have suffered so severely, that Captain Waldegrave was reluctantly compelled to set her on fire : both her first and second captains fell in the action, and she had besides one hundred men killed and wounded. On board of *La Prudente* there were seventeen killed and thirty-one wounded ; and on board the *Licorne* there were three killed and seven wounded.

On the 10th of August, Captain William Peer Williams, in His Majesty's ship *Flora*, standing in under Ushant, discovered a square rigged vessel and cutter, at the distance of about four miles. As soon as the enemy perceived the British ship bearing down, she hauled to the wind, and waited the rencontre. At ten minutes past five, p. m. the *Flora* got abreast of her, when she immediately began the engagement : the fire was returned, and continued briskly on both sides for about an hour, when the *Flora* dropped on board of her opponent, and in that po-

sition the battle continued about fifteen minutes : the enemy then deserted their great guns, and attempted to board the *Flora*, but were instantly repulsed with loss. The British then boarded in return, sword in hand, struck their colours, and in a short time took possession of the ship : which proved to be a French frigate, called *La Nymphe*, commanded by the Chevalier du Romain, who died the same evening of the wounds he had received in the action. *La Nymphe* was four years old, copper-bottomed, and pierced for forty guns, but mounting only thirty-two, with a complement of two hundred and ninety-one men.

On the 12th of August, Captain Macbride, in His Majesty's ship *Bienfaisant*, already so honourably mentioned, sailed from Cork, with the *Charon*, *Licorne* and *Hussar* in company. As he had merchantmen under his convoy, some of whom were not ready to sail when he did, he ordered the *Licorne* and *Hussar* to keep off the mouth of the harbour to hasten them, while the *Bienfaisant* and *Charon* lay to with those that were without. At daylight the latter had driven down as far as the old head of Kinsale, when a large sail was observed in chace of some of the convoy. The *Bienfaisant* and *Charon* immediately crowded all sail after the enemy, and at about half-past seven came up with her : the action on both sides began with musquetry. The British ships soon got so forward on her bow, that neither her bow guns, nor their quarter guns would bear : Captain Macbride then ordered the small guns on the poop to begin ; the enemy who had hitherto hoisted English colours, now took them down, and shewed her own ; at the same time attempting to board the *Bienfaisant*. The attempt was daring, but unsuccessful ; after an hour and ten minutes action, sustained with considerable bravery, the enemy having had her rigging and sails cut to pieces, and twenty-one men killed and thirty-five wounded, struck her colours ; she proved to be the *Count d'Artois*, of sixty-four guns, and

upwards of six hundred and forty-four men. Though a vessel of such considerable force, she was only a private ship: her commander was the Chevalier Clenard; he was slightly wounded in the action; he had two brothers on board; the one a colonel, the other a colonel *en second*; they belonged to the Irish legion, in the service of France, which took its name from their family: some English prisoners were also found on board of the prize.

This year a private ship of war fought an action which deserves to be recorded in this work. Captain Edward Moore commanding the *Fame* privateer, of Dublin, sailed from Mahon on the 20th of August; soon afterwards, he received intelligence of the departure of five French vessels, letters of marque, from Marseilles, bound for the West Indies; these he determined immediately to go in search of. On the 25th of the month, five sail were seen near the Spanish coast, which answered to the description of the vessels that had left Marseilles: when first seen they were at a considerable distance, and the day was far spent. Captain Moore, therefore, resolved not to appear to be in pursuit of them, in order, by not creating their suspicion, that he might be enabled to get between them and the shore, and thus cut off their retreat. In this he was successful. At daylight next morning he was about two leagues from the five ships, and off Cape Gatt; the enemy were all together, and had formed themselves into a line, evidently in order to receive his meditated attack; by half-past six he had approached within gun shot of them, when they hoisted French colours, and fired their broadsides. Captain Moore lost no time in bearing down upon them; but though they continued their fire without any interruption, he did not return it, till he was within pistol shot of the largest, which struck after an engagement of a quarter of an hour: he did not, however, lose time in taking possession of her, but immediately proceeded to engage the second, and took her after a short resistance.

Into this prize he put an officer and seven men, and gave them orders to look after the former; he himself going in pursuit of the three remaining vessels, which were making all sail in order to escape the fate of their comrades: he was fortunate enough to come up with two of them, which he captured; the other escaped. The largest ship which he captured was called *Les deux Freres*, pierced for twenty guns, mounting fourteen six pounders, and manned with fifty-five sailors; fifteen of these succeeded in getting off in a boat: the second was called *L'Univers*, she was pierced for eighteen guns, and carried twelve four pounders, and forty-one men; she was little inferior in point of size to the former; her captain was killed during the engagement: the third was the *Zephyr*, formerly in the British navy; she was pierced for fourteen guns, and mounted ten three pounders; her complement of men was thirty-two: the fourth was the *Nancy*, a punk of two six pounders, and eighteen men. Captain Moore having thus exhibited the gallantry of a Briton, and having overcome his enemies, after his victory no longer considered them as such; but exhibited such humane and generous treatment to those whom the fortune of war had placed in his power, that the French consul general at Algiers, into which port he carried his prizes, thought it incumbent on him to express his high and grateful sense of Captain Moore's behaviour on this occasion. The *Fame* mounted twenty guns, six pounders, on one deck, and four on her quarter-deck.

On the 5th of December, 1780, the supplies for the year 1781 were granted; they consisted for the sea service of ninety thousand seamen, including twenty thousand three hundred and seventeen marines; the expense, as estimated, amounted to four million four hundred and forty-six thousand pounds; the expense of the ordinary of the navy was three hundred and eighty-six thousand two hundred and eighty-one pounds, five shillings and eight-pence; the sum granted for building, rebuilding and repairing of

ships, was six hundred and seventy thousand and sixteen pounds: on the 19th of June, 1781, there was granted the sum of three million two hundred thousand pounds for the debt of the navy, making in all the sum of eight million seven hundred and two thousand two hundred and seventy-seven pounds, five shillings and eight-pence; besides two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds, which in November, 1780, had been granted for ordnance for the sea service.

On the 23rd of January, 1781, some documents were laid before Parliament by the Navy Office, which deserve insertion; the first was entitled:

“An account of all the Men raised for His Majesty’s Navy, Marines included, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1780, distinguishing each year.”

Years.	Number raised.
From the 29th of September, 1774.....	845
1775.....	4,734
1776.....	21,564
1777.....	37,458
1778.....	41,847
1779.....	41,832
To September 1780.....	23,210
	<hr/>
	Total....176,490

The other document was entitled *“An account of all the number of the Men who have died in actual Service in His Majesty’s, since the 1st of January, 1776, distinguishing (as far as may be) those who have been killed by the Enemy, and also of the number of such Men as have deserted the said Service in the same period, as far as the several accounts can be made up, distinguishing each year.”*

Years.	Died.	Killed by the Enemy.	Total Killed and Died.	Deserted.
1776	1,679	105	1,784	5,321
1777	3,247	40	3,284	7,685
1778	4,801	254	5,055	9,919
1779	4,726	551	5,277	11,541
1780	4,092	293	4,385	7,603
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	18,545	1,243	19,788	42,069

The number of desertions will be remarked as great, probably much more considerable than in any former war, during the same period of years : it is not difficult, however, to assign the cause of this extraordinary number of deserters. The war in which Britain at this time was engaged, was a war against a people who spoke the same language, and bore the same general features and character; consequently, if there were motives sufficiently powerful to induce the seamen to desert, the discovery of the deserters would be rendered more difficult, while their situation with seamen who spoke their own language would be much more comfortable, than if they had deserted to foreigners; and not only were the opportunities of desertion unusually great, but also the motives to desert, as will appear when we reflect, that the Americans promised great rewards to those who joined their cause, and their promises they would evidently have it in their power to fulfil, provided they were successful in establishing their independence. Hence, both in this war and in the war which Great Britain afterwards waged with the United States, it was found extremely difficult to prevent the desertion of our seamen.

As the siege of Gibraltar was still continued, and it was evident that, notwithstanding supplies of provision from the Barbary coast, the garrison must look to the mother country for relief and support, the British ministry, early in the year 1781, turned their attention to this important fortress. In the month of October, 1780, General Elliott, the commander, had found it necessary, or at least deemed it prudent, to issue orders that a reduction of a quarter of a pound should be made from each man's daily allowance of bread; at the same time he reduced the quantity of meat to a pound and a half in the week; but the quality was extremely bad, as well as the supply very deficient in quantity. It may easily be imagined that under these circumstances, the prices of the necessaries of life rose

excessively high: bad ship biscuit, full of worms, was sold at a shilling a pound; bad flour at the same price; old dried peas at a third more; the worst salt, half dirt, at eight-pence; old Irish salt butter, never of a good quality, but now completely rancid, at half-a-crown a pound; the worst sort of brown sugar at the same price; and English farthing candles at sixpence a piece. Fresh and good provisions it may well be supposed were still more exorbitant: in fact, they seldom arrived: but when a vessel or a boat from the Mediterranean brought any into Gibraltar, turkies were sold at three pounds twelve shillings a piece; sucking pigs at two guineas; ducks at half-a-guinea; and small hens at nine shillings; a guinea was refused for a calf's pluck; and one pound seven shillings asked for an ox's head. The relief of a garrison reduced to such extremities, was indispensable; accordingly, the channel fleet was destined for this object.

This fleet, under the conduct and command of the Admirals Darby, Digby and Sir J. Lockhart Ross, was fitted out early in the spring, 1781, for this service: it was divided into three squadrons, under the above-named admirals; but though from having three admirals in it, and being destined for such an arduous as well as important object, it might have been expected to have been extremely numerous, it consisted only of twenty-eight sail of the line: this arose from the great demands which there were for the services of the British navy, in so many different parts of the world.

Great apprehensions were naturally entertained that this fleet would not be adequate to its purpose, and these apprehensions seemed not without foundation; for the reduction of Gibraltar was an object towards which both Spain and France seemed to have directed their most strenuous efforts and their warmest hopes; it was not to be supposed, therefore, that they would permit, if they could possibly prevent, any relief being sent to the garrison,

and that their means were adequate to the prevention, if properly directed, experience had fatally proved. In fact, at the very time when the channel fleet was fitting out in England for the relief of Gibraltar, France possessed a fleet little inferior either in number or force, ready for sea, at Brest: while Spain had, at Cadiz, under Don Louis de Cordova, about thirty ships of the line. Had these fleets combined, the relief of Gibraltar would have been very problematical; but, as frequently happens in combined operations, the single power against whom they are directed, derives advantages from its very singleness. France, no doubt, was anxious to deprive Great Britain of Gibraltar: while she retained it, she retained the respect of the Barbary powers, and in some measure the command of the Mediterranean sea. Could Gibraltar be reduced, it would be a virtual proof that the British superiority by sea was in its wane; but though these were weighty considerations, yet France had wider and grander objects in view; all, however, tending to the same end—the humiliation of Great Britain: her statesmen thought, and who at that period did not think, that if the American States could be separated from Britain, and rendered independent, Britain's glory and power would be set for ever; though, therefore, they wished to co-operate with Spain in the reduction of Gibraltar, they still more strongly and eagerly wished to accomplish the grand object of the war—the liberation of America; and the means of France were not adequate to the proper and effectual accomplishment of both objects. Besides, the statesmen of France regarded the settlements of Britain in the East and West Indies as more essential sources of her power and wealth, than Gibraltar could possibly be, and the attacks of these therefore, claimed the preference. At the same time, in order to keep Spain in good humour, it was necessary to promise the co-operation of France in the attempt to reduce Gibraltar; and the co-operation was at length

granted, though not so speedily nor effectually as Spain had hoped for.

On the 13th of March, the fleet destined for the relief of Gibraltar sailed from St. Helens, with the East and West India convoys: their first course was to Cork, where the victualiers which were to proceed to Gibraltar were lying. As these were not ready, some delay was necessarily occasioned. On the 22^d of March, Monsieur de Grasse sailed from Brest with twenty-six ships of the line: it is probable that the hostile fleets would have met, had not the English been delayed at Cork.

The plan and immediate object of this expedition has been the subject of much dispute and contrariety of opinion: all are agreed that Gibraltar ought to have been relieved; the question is, whether the English fleet ought not in the first instance to have sought after the French fleet; as, by defeating it, or forcing it into port, the passage to Gibraltar and the relief of the garrison would have been secured. Undoubtedly, if the English fleet were sufficiently strong to have defeated the French fleet, they ought to have been sought; as, by this capture or destruction, or even by their having been considerably crippled, the object they had in view, whether Gibraltar, or the West Indies, or America, would have been rendered secure: but it ought also to be recollected, that even granting the English fleet had been victorious, it must have been so disabled and weakened by the victory, that it would have been impossible to have proceeded to Gibraltar without refitting; and, in the mean time the garrison must have surrendered from absolute want of provisions and store; and it is obvious, that if the British fleet should have been defeated, the consequence must have been most fatal to Britain in every quarter of the globe, and probably highly disastrous even on her own shores.

The East and West India convoys, which amounted to

near three hundred sail, having been conducted to a certain latitude, the British fleet, with ninety-seven transports, store-ships and victuallers, proceeded on its course for Gibraltar. They arrived off Cadiz before the middle of April; here they discovered the Spanish fleet lying at anchor, seemingly not expecting or prepared for either the junction of the French fleet, or the approach of the British. On the 12th of April, Admiral Digby, having satisfied himself that he had nothing to apprehend from the Spaniards, sent the convoy, with some men of war to protect them to Gibraltar, and thirteen sail into the Mediterranean for Minorca, while with the main body of the fleet, he cruised off the mouth of the straits, in order to be ready to act against the Spaniards, if they should put to sea.

The garrison of Gibraltar it may well be supposed were gratified and animated by the relief of what arrived; but as a counterbalance to this, they suffered considerably from the Spanish gun-boats; each of these was worked by twenty oars, and carried a long twenty-six pounder in its prow, which threw shot much farther than any ship-gun; the Spaniards also constructed several bomb boats on a similar plan. While the convoy remained in the bay, about twenty of the gun-boats came out every morning when the weather was calm, and consequently favourable for their manœuvres and action, from Algeiras on the opposite side of the bay to Gibraltar, and regularly cannonaded the British ships: as long as the calm continued, the latter had no chance with them, and as soon as the wind sprung up, they immediately fled, and were pursued in vain. These attacks were so often repeated, and became at length so harassing as well as dangerous, that Sir J. Lockhart Ross with his division was ordered into the bay for the protection of the convoy; but even they were of little use, for the gun-boats still came up, and their prows, the only part of them exposed to the fire of the British were so small, that they could not easily be hit by the

shot. It was evident that this kind of warfare was rather vexatious and harassing than decisive; and in fact, the Spaniards by it did not in the least accelerate their grand object,—the reduction of Gibraltar.

Toward this, therefore, she now directed the fire from the formidable batteries, &c. which she had constructed at an enormous expense; these batteries consisted of one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon of the heaviest metal, and eighty mortars; this cannonade was returned with even greater power and much greater effect, by the garrison. It was computed by the artillery officers, and engineers, that during three weeks from the first attack, the Spaniards expended regularly, at least one thousand barrels of gunpowder, of one hundred pound weight each, and fired from four-thousand to five-thousand shot and shells during every twenty-four hours. After discharging seventy-five thousand shot, and twenty-five thousand shells, the quantity diminished to about six hundred of both in the twenty-four hours; at which scale it was continued for several weeks longer. The loss of men in the garrison was not considerable, indeed it may be regarded as small: the whole loss from the 12th of April to the end of June, amounted only to one commissioned officer, and fifty-two privates killed, and to seven officers and two-hundred and fifty-three privates wounded.

It will now be proper to revert to the French fleet under Count de Grasse, which as has been already stated, sailed from Brest nearly at the same time that the British fleet sailed for the relief of Gibraltar. The destination of Count de Grasse was the West Indies; the possessions of the French in that quarter of the world had been left much exposed, in consequence of the return of the Count de Guichen to Europe. It will be recollected that Admiral Rodney had sailed for New York; here he continued till the hurricane season was over, when he returned to the West Indies. Resolving to take advantage of the infor-

information of the French fleet in those seas, he and General Vaughan had planned an expedition against some of their islands, when he received information of the rupture of the Dutch, and instructions to commence hostilities against their West India possessions.

Of the Dutch possessions in the West Indies, the island of St. Eustatius was the most valuable; it had during the war been a general depôt of merchandize; from which, not only the American colonies, but the French islands also derived considerable supplies: hence, in a public point of view, the reduction of it was of considerable moment, while it offered to the captors, the prospect of a very large and valuable booty; besides, it was the more obnoxious to British vengeance, because the commerce between it and the American colonies, connived at by the government of Holland, had been the original cause of the rupture between the two countries. This island is of small extent, and barren soil; and of no importance except on account of its commerce; and this commerce it possessed, merely because it was a neutral island: being a free port, it was inhabited by people of all nations, who resorted to it, for the purpose of carrying on commerce with their respective countries during the war. From the great demand for merchandize of all kinds in America, its trade had encreased to an amazing extent; indeed, so considerable was the importation of merchandize into it, that the bulkier articles, for want of room in the warehouses, lay in the streets. The island was naturally strong; indeed, it might be said that nature had fortified it on every side, except one, at which place a landing might be effected without much difficulty or danger; but though strong, naturally, the Dutch had neglected the aid of art, and even of an adequate garrison. On the 3rd of February Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan appeared before it, with such a force both of ships and men as would have been equal to the reduction of a much

larger and better garrisoned place; a summons was immediately sent to the governor, requiring him to surrender the island; with this he complied. The value of the merchandize thus easily and speedily obtained, was supposed to amount to four millions; those parts of it, which belonged to the Dutch, French or Americans, were of course lawful prize; but several British merchants having settled there for the purpose, as they alleged, of purchasing American produce, under the supposed sanction of an act of parliament, it became a question, whether the property of such persons was subject to confiscation. The proceedings of the admiral and general with respect to the treasure of these merchants, became afterwards the subject of much controversy in the courts of law, and of great vexation and trouble to the captors themselves, in consequence of the opposite decisions given by some of the tribunals, before whom the prize causes relative to this island were carried.

In the bay, a Dutch frigate of thirty-six guns, five vessels of inferior force, and more than one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen were taken. Two days before the capture of the island, a fleet of thirty ships, richly laden, had sailed from it for Holland; these were pursued, overtaken and brought back, together with their convoy, a ship of sixty guns. The small Dutch islands of St. Martin and Saba shared the fate of St. Eustatius: the colours of Holland were kept flying on the forts of all these islands by the captors for some time, the consequence of which was, that a number of American, Dutch, and French vessels were deceived, entered the harbours, and were taken.

But the British were not long permitted to retain these islands; for in the month of November in the same year, the Marquis de Bouille having received information that St. Eustatius was in a very defenceless state, and that Lieutenant Colonel Cockburn, who had been appointed

governor, was very remiss in his duty, determined to attempt the reconquest of it by surprize. At the back of the island are some small bays, where a landing may be effected in favourable weather, though not without difficulty and danger: one of them was left unguarded; this circumstance being communicated to the marquis, he fixed his plan accordingly. Having embarked about two thousand men in a number of small vessels, he sailed from Martinique, and managed in such a manner, as to arrive at the bay in the night time. In disembarking, notwithstanding the weather was moderate, he lost a number of soldiers in consequence of the boats being dashed to pieces; and so great was the unavoidable delay, that a little before daylight he had succeeded in landing only four hundred men. The approach of morning, and the circumstance of most of his boats having been destroyed, determined him to trust the success of the expedition to the small body of troops. As, however, they were not nearly so numerous as the garrison, it was still necessary to depend more on surprize, than on open and violent measures. The marquis accordingly put his troops in motion, and marched as rapidly as possible about six miles towards the fort: his path was difficult, and lay through a defile, where he might have been stopped, or perhaps cut off by a handful of men. But the governor was completely taken by surprize; he had no apprehension any hostile troops were on the island; so that a discharge of musquetry from the French at a division of British troops, which were exercising in a field at some distance from the fort, gave the first alarm to the garrison: those who were in quarters immediately hurried to the fort, and so loaded the draw-bridge, that it could not be raised, till the enemy arrived and entered with them. Thus was the island reduced, with the loss of only ten men killed and wounded: a sum of money, to the amount of two millions of livres, fell into the hands of the captors, besides the produce of the sales

of the prizes. Sixty-eight pieces of cannon, and the garrison, consisting of six hundred and seventy-seven men, were taken. The dependant islands of St. Martin and Saba were attacked immediately afterwards, and shared the same fate as St. Eustatius. Having thus related the recapture of these Dutch islands, though it did not take till near the end of the year, in order to complete our place account of them at once, we shall now resume the narrative of the other transactions in the West Indies and America.

After the capture of St. Eustatius by the British, the Dutch settlements of Demerary and Issequibo on the Spanish main were reduced without any difficulty. About the same time a squadron of British privateers, chiefly belonging to the port of Bristol, on hearing of the Dutch war, mustered their force, and entering the river Demerary and Issequibo, cut out, from under the Dutch fort and batteries, almost all the ships of value in those rivers.

While Sir George Rodney was detained at St. Eustatius, disposing of the captured property, and settling the claims of the British merchants, he received information of the sailing of the Count de Grasse from Brest, with the fleet destined for the West Indies. Immediately he dispatched Sir Samuel Hood and Rear Admiral Drake to windward, with eighteen ships of the line, with directions, if possible, to intercept and bring to action the enemy's fleet before they could form a junction with the French squadron at Martinique. Accordingly these admirals, in the month of April, proceeded off Fort Royal bay, and continued to cruise there till the 28th, when the approach of the French fleet was announced by signal from the advanced ships. A general chase to windward was immediately ordered, and the line of battle a-head was formed; in this way they continued all night; in the morning the enemy was still to windward, and the convoy close in with the land. The

French admiral from the relative situations of the two fleets, with respect to the wind, had it in his power either to bring on, or to decline an engagement; he preferred the latter, keeping at a distance. The British commanders made every exertion to bring him to action, and during the manœuvres for this purpose, the squadron in Fort Royal bay, found an opportunity of coming out, and effecting a junction with Count de Grasse: by this junction, the enemy acquired a superiority over the British fleet in point of numbers; they being twenty-four, and the British only eighteen; but they still avoided a close engagement. The British commanders, on the contrary, notwithstanding their inferiority, unremittingly endeavoured to come up with the enemy; and they so far succeeded as to bring on a partial action, the van and some ships of the centre of the British fleet getting near enough to engage. These were exposed to a great superiority of fire, and sustained much damage. At the end of the engagement, which lasted about three hours, the *Russel* had received so many shots between wind and water, that she was obliged to bear away for St. Eustatius to refit: four other vessels were also much damaged. The next morning Sir Samuel Hood endeavoured to gain the wind of the enemy, but ineffectually. At length, despairing of renewing the engagement, and several of his ships being so disabled as to be unfit for action, he bore away for Antigua to get them refitted, and was followed by the Count de Grasse, with the whole French fleet. The next day, some ships in the rear of the British fleet, being in danger of being cut off, Sir Samuel Hood bore down with the van and centre for their protection; the Count de Grasse, however, upon this, desisted from his attempt; and soon afterwards gave up the pursuit altogether, and returned to Martinique.

In the subsequent month of May, the French made an attempt to reduce the island of St. Lucia: on this enter-

prise, a force sailed from Martinique, commanded by the Viscount Damas, acting under the orders of the Marquis de Bouille, who accompanied him. The troops were landed upon the island. Encouraged by the circumstances of having thus effected a landing without any molestation or even notice, early on the subsequent morning, the French surprised the town of Gros-islet, where they made a few prisoners. A company of the eighty-seventh regiment, under the command of Captain Campbell, and some seamen under the command of Lieutenant Miller of the navy, occupied Pigeon island, an important position, as on it depended the security and protection of the anchorage found in Gros-islet bay. They were immediately ordered to surrender, with the threat, if they refused, that they might expect to suffer all the severity which the laws of war authorised: they were not, however, intimidated by this threat, Captain Campbell bravely bidding defiance to the enemy, being resolved to defend his post to the last extremity. On the day after the landing of the troops, the Count de Grasse appeared off the island with twenty-five ships of the line, and directed his course to the bay, as if he intended to anchor there; but, in consequence of a well directed fire from Pigeon island, he was compelled to abandon his design and fall to leeward. General St. Léger, who was the governor of St. Lucia, in the meanwhile used the most prompt, vigorous, and effectual means to defend the island, and fortunately for his purpose, a frigate and two sloops arrived, which supplied him with a reinforcement of seamen to man the batteries. The French perceiving that the governor was determined to offer a most resolute resistance, for which he was now well prepared, judged it prudent to abandon their enterprise; their troops were re-embarked in the night, and the next day the fleet returned to Martinique.

The enemy were, notwithstanding their failure in this instance, not disheartened; on the contrary, they resolved

to attack the island of Tobago. On the 23rd of May a small squadron of ships appeared before it from Martinique, with twelve hundred troops, under the command of the governor of St. Vincent's; the next day they effected a landing. On this island there were only five hundred men of all denominations, including regulars, militia, and a few armed negroes, who could be collected for its defence: at the head of these, the governor, General Ferguson, took up a strong position on Mount Concordia, having first sent intelligence of the attack to Barbadoes: in this position a defence was maintained till the first of June. The French commander, not having anticipated such a long and resolute defence, sent to Martinique for reinforcements, which were immediately dispatched under the command of the Marquis de Bouille, and accompanied by the Count de Grasse, with the whole fleet of twenty-five sail of the line. They arrived off Tobago on the 31st of May. It was impossible to continue the defence of the island against such a force; and the engineers having given it as their opinion that Mount Concordia was no longer tenable, it was resolved not immediately to surrender the island, but only to retire to a still stronger position on the main ridge, the approach to which was by a road some miles in length, so narrow that two men could not walk abreast, and inaccessible on each side by impenetrable forests; this position the governor and troops reached unperceived by the enemy, who had made every preparation to storm the British lines at Concordia, the very morning they quitted them. The Marquis de Bouille disappointed at not having before this reduced the island, gave orders to set fire to two of the nearest plantations, threatening that the others, within his power, should undergo the same fate unless the island were surrendered. This devastation overcome the firmness of the militia, who, in order to save their property resolved to capitulate. Against this resolution the governor protested, but in vain:

he represented to them that their position could not be taken, even by the superior force opposed to them; and that there was every reason to hope for the speedy arrival of the British fleet, which would compel the enemy to leave the island. Perhaps the latter circumstance might have had some weight, had not intelligence been received, just at this time, that some ships dispatched for their relief, had been compelled to put back by the French fleet. There was therefore no prospect of speedy relief; and if they persevered in holding out, there could be no doubt that the French commander would execute his threat, and destroy all the plantations. A treaty for a capitulation was accordingly begun; and favorable conditions were obtained. In the mean time, such of the British ships as had been disabled in the actions between Sir Samuel Hood and the Count de Grasse, having been repaired, and Sir George Rodney having joined Sir Samuel Hood, the whole fleet amounted to twenty ships of the line, proceeded to Barbadoes: it arrived here on the 23rd of May. On the morning of the 27th, intelligence was received that Tobago had been attacked; and on the following day, Admiral Drake was dispatched with six ships of the line, three frigates and some transports to its relief; we have already stated that this reinforcement could not reach the island, in consequence of the French fleet. On the return of Admiral Drake, Sir George Rodney put to sea with the whole fleet, but before he arrived, Tobago had surrendered.

As soon as the British admiral received intelligence of its surrender he stood to the northward, and on the 5th of June came in sight of the French fleet lying to leeward, between him and the Grenadilles. As the two fleets were steering the same course, towards evening they approached one another: but the British admiral, apprehensive of getting entangled among the Grenadilles during the night, did not think it prudent to bear down upon the enemy; besides

if he had done so, the latter, by gaining a windward position, might have endangered the safety of the island of Barbadoes. He, therefore, kept in his course to the windward of St. Vincent's, trusting that the French, from their superiority, might be induced to follow him, and thus be led where there would be more sea room, and less danger of being driven to leeward: in order that the enemy might not be ignorant of his course, he gave orders for all the lights of his fleet to be made as conspicuous as possible during the night. In the morning, however, the enemy's fleet was not to be seen; having in the night tacked and steered for Courland Bay, in Tobago. During the remainder of the summer the Count de Grasse, notwithstanding he was superior by five ships of the line, cautiously avoided risking a general engagement.

The intention of the French admiral was, during the hurricane months, to visit the American coast: of this intention the British governor of New York was informed from Washington's intercepted despatches, and Sir George Rodney also possessed the same information. The Bay of Cheseapeak was supposed to be the particular destination of the French admiral, and Sir George dispatched advices to this effect to the commander of the British fleet on the coast of America, who was also informed that at the proper season, he might expect to be reinforced by some ships from the West Indian fleet, so as to enable him to frustrate the plans of the Count de Grasse. From this it is evident that Sir George Rodney had no idea that the French admiral would go to the coast of America with his whole fleet; consequently, he supposed that a reinforcement would be amply sufficient to defeat the projects of the French on the American coast. Under this impression he dispatched Sir Samuel Hood on the approach of the hurricane season, with fourteen ships of the line to the American station. Sir Samuel made the land to the southward of the Capes of Virginia,

on the 25th of August; and not having met with any of the British frigates that were ordered to look out for him, he proceeded to Sandy-Hook, where he arrived on the 28th.

On the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot for England in the month of July, Admiral Graves, as the next senior officer, had succeeded to the command on the American station: he was at this time with his fleet, consisting of seven sail of the line, in the harbour of New York. Only five, however, were ready for sea; but as there was little doubt that by this time the Count de Grasse had arrived off the American coast, it was judged prudent not to wait for the repair of the two ships. The others immediately sailed; and a junction having been effected with the fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, Admiral Graves, as the senior officer, took the command of the whole. On the 31st of August they sailed from Sandy-Hook, having previously received information that the French squadron at Rhode island had sailed on the 25th: as the object of this squadron was to effect a junction with the Count de Grasse, it was hoped that either it, or the fleet of the Count, might be fallen in with, before this was accomplished. The Count, however, by this time had safely arrived in the Cheseapeak; and, in consequence of the intelligence that he received respecting the critical situation of Lord Cornwallis's army at this juncture, he immediately employed part of his ships in blocking up York river, on the banks of which his lordship had taken post, and in conveying up James river the French troops brought from the West Indies. On these services four of his line-of-battle ships and several frigates were employed; while with the rest he remained at anchor in Lynhaven bay, just within the Capes.

In the mean time, Admiral Graves having employed his frigates in examining the entrance of the Delaware, and having ascertained that the French fleet was not there, proceeded to the Capes of Virginia, in sight of

which he arrived on the morning of the 5th of September. He immediately learnt the position of the enemy's fleet: the Count de Grasse, when the ships of Admiral Graves first made their appearance, took them for the Rhode island squadron, but as soon as he ascertained his mistake, he gave orders to slip the cables, and get to sea, in order that he might have more room to avail himself of his superiority in respect of numbers. The British fleet having stretched in, and its rear being now nearly even with the van of the enemy, Admiral Graves made the signal for the whole fleet to wear; by this manœuvre it was put on the same tack with the enemy, and lay to windward in a line parallel to them. Both fleets were now steering to the eastward, and getting clear of the Capes; the British fleet bearing down upon the enemy as it advanced.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, an action began between the van and part of the centre of the two fleets, which continued till night put an end to it. In this partial action the French van suffered most, as it was obliged to bear away, in order to permit the other ships to come up to its support.

During the night, Admiral Graves retained the weather gage, intending to renew the battle the next morning; but finding that several of his ships were so much disabled as not to be in a condition to engage till they were refitted, he was obliged to give up this idea. The two fleets, however, continued in sight of one another for the space of five days, during which time they were sometimes very near. The French, having gained the wind, might have brought on the action again; but to this they shewed no disposition; and the British admiral, from the crippled state of some of his ships, could not compel them.

On the 10th of the month, the Count de Grasse bore away for the Cheseapeak, and the next day anchored within the Capes. During his absence the Rhode island squadron had arrived in the Cheseapeak, bringing with

them fourteen transports laden with heavy artillery and all sorts of military stores.

The loss of men in the British fleet during this partial battle, amounted to ninety killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The whole of the van division under Admiral Drake had suffered considerably; but the Terrible proved so very leaky after the action, that on the 11th it was found necessary to abandon her. The French loss amounted to about two hundred and twenty men, including four officers killed and eighteen wounded. Admiral Graves after reconnoitring the position of the French fleet in the Cheseapeak, and finding that they blocked up the entrance, determined, in pursuance of the advice of a council of war, to return to New York before the equinox, and there use every means for putting his ships in the best possible state for service.

From the account of the action between the two fleets, which we have just given, we think it will be apparent that the advantages arising from the situation of the French were not improved as they might have been; for when the British fleet arrived under a very favourable and leading wind, the French fleet were lying promiscuously at anchor; and they were obliged to slip their cables, and seven of them stretched across, and stood out to sea from the rest of the fleet. The rest were obliged to make several tacks in working out of the bay. It was very generally said that had the British fleet continued its course, the wind being still very favourable, the seven French ships so advanced and separated from the rest, must have been cut off: but for some reason, not explained, the British admiral hauled his wind. The advance of the British fleet thus becoming their rear, the fleet stood out to sea, and were followed by the French.

The situation of Lord Cornwallis was now extremely critical; and unless he received large and speedy reinforcements, it was too evident that he must surrender.

Sir Henry Clinton, therefore, drafted from the garrison at New York a body of seven thousand of his best troops, which he proposed to embark on board the king's ships. He had already informed Lord Cornwallis that it was hoped the fleet would sail from New York about the 5th of October; but the fleet did not finally leave Sandy-Hook till the 19th, the day on which his lordship surrendered. When they arrived off the Capes of Virginia, they first learnt the mortifying intelligence; the admiral, therefore, determined to return to New York. The British fleet consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, two fifty gun ships, and eight frigates: that of the French amounted to thirty-six sail of the line, besides frigates. The letter written by Lord Cornwallis to the commander-in-chief, acquainting him with the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester, and stating the causes that led to the event, and the motives which influenced him, produced a difference between them that led to an appeal to the public: another fatal proof of one of the causes of our want of success in this unfortunate war.

The combined fleets of France and Spain, after having conveyed an armament destined to act against Minorca as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and seen it safely into the Mediterranean, altered their course, and sailed for the coast of England. As soon as they arrived off the mouth of the channel, they extended themselves in a line across it, from the Scilly island to Ushant; they were in all, seventy sail; viz. fifty of the line, of which some were of the largest size, and the remainder frigates. Admiral Darby was then cruizing in the channel with only twenty-one ships of the line; with this force it is evident he stood no chance against the combined fleets; but having fortunately received intelligence of their approach from a neutral vessel, he entered Torbay, to wait for a reinforcement. In this situation the enemy, though they had received express orders to fight, did not venture to attack him. The

Count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, and the second in command in the Spanish fleet, were eager for fighting, but in a council of war their opinions were overruled by a great majority. As soon as this decision was adopted, the combined fleet sailed in quest of the homeward-bound British fleet; but they were not successful; and their crews being sickly, and their ships not in very good condition, the stormy months also approaching, early in September they separated; the French fleet steering for Brest, and that of Spain for Cadiz.

One of the first naval measures which the Dutch adopted, after the commencement of hostilities between them and the English, was to dispatch a fleet for the protection of their Baltic trade, which was of the utmost importance to them. This fleet consisted of eight sail of the line and ten large frigates, under the command of Admiral Zouttman. The British ministry had also fitted out a fleet for the protection of the British Baltic trade; but so hard pressed were they for ships, that this fleet was composed of an old eighty gun ship, which carried no heavier metal than a fifty gun ship; an old sixty gun ship that had been discharged as unfit for service, but which had undergone some repairs; two seventy-fours, a sixty-four, a fifty, a forty-four, and four frigates: the command of this fleet was given to Admiral Hyde Parker. It so happened that as the British admiral was on his return to England, with a large fleet under his convoy, Admiral Zouttman sailed from Holland, with a Dutch fleet bound for the Baltic. The two squadrons sailing nearly in the same track, but in opposite directions, met on the Dogger Bank, on the 5th of August. Without manœuvring, both prepared for immediate battle, having previously taken such measures as were necessary for the safety of their respective convoys. The Dutch fleet differed in one respect from what it was when it left the Texel; for one of the line-of-battle ships had returned to port, and in its

stead a forty-four gun ship, carrying heavy metal, had joined the admiral; he, therefore, had under his command eight ships of two decks; whereas, Admiral Parker had only seven, and of these one mounted only fifty and another forty four guns. With respect to his frigates, two of them were sent off with the convoy, and the other two were ordered to be in readiness to tow out of the line any ship that might be disabled.

As Admiral Parker was to windward, he bore down on his opponent; who displayed an eagerness to meet the combat, highly characteristic of the ancient Dutch naval renown. The two fleets were within half musket shot before a gun was fired on either side; at this period Admiral Parker laying his ship alongside the Dutch admiral, and the other vessels of the English fleet in like manner bearing down upon those of the enemy that were opposed to them, the action began. It continued with unabating fury and with equal valour for three hours and a half: by this time both fleets were so disabled that neither of them could form the line and renew the action. They, therefore, were obliged to lye to, at a small distance from each other, to repair their respective damages. At first it appeared as if the Dutch admiral was preparing to renew the combat; but no sooner had he put his ships in a condition to carry sail, than he bore away with his convoy, for the Texel. Admiral Parker was anxious to have prevented his escape, but his vessels were so very much disabled that he could not pursue him.

No battle had been fought during this war, and it may be added few, if any, during any war since the period of the memorable combats between the English and the Dutch, in the 17th century, in which such downright and sheer valour had been displayed on both sides. No ship, indeed, was taken by either; but this only proved the obstinacy and skill with which each party had fought. It was supposed that as the Dutch had had no experience of naval

combats for such a great length of time, and as their character for valour, as well as their great renown as a nation, had undoubtedly long been in the wane, they would not have been able, or even disposed to enter the lists with Britain on her own element; but certainly in the battle off the Dogger Bank, they proved themselves fully worthy of combating with England, and the undegenerated sons of those who had fought with Van Tromp and De Ruyter.

Both parties claimed the victory on this occasion; but that it rested with the British is evident from this circumstance: the object of the Dutch admiral was to convoy the ships under his protection to the Baltic; the object of Admiral Parker was to bring his convoy to England. The latter obtained his object, the former did not, for he was compelled to put back to the Texel; besides, he left the scene of action first. It should also be recollected that the force of the British was inferior to that of the Dutch. It may well be supposed that the loss of men as well as the damage sustained by the ships in such an action would be very great: the British had one hundred and four men killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded; amongst the latter were a number of valuable officers; the British ships suffered considerably. In both these respects, however, the Dutch bore the proofs that the victory was not with them; for their ships were so dreadfully shattered, that it was with difficulty most of them were kept above water till they reached the port; and the *Hollandia* actually sunk the night after the engagement with all her wounded men on board. The loss of men sustained by the Dutch is supposed to have amounted nearly to one thousand two hundred in killed and wounded.

Before the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Holland, a squadron had been fitted out by the former for the purpose of favouring an insurrection in

Spanish South American colonies ; the design, however, was laid aside as soon as the Dutch war commenced, and the fleet was dispatched, in the first instance, against the Dutch possessions at the Cape of Good Hope. It consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, another of sixty-four, three fifty gun ships, three frigates of thirty-two guns, two sloops of war, two cutters, a bomb ketch and fire ship, two ordnance store ships, eleven transports, five victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen. The command was given to Commodore Johnston. On board the transports and Indiamen were embarked between two and three thousand troops, under the command of General Meadows. On the 13th of March Commodore Johnston sailed from St. Helens in company with the grand fleet, when it went to the relief of Gibraltar : on the 10th of April his squadron came to an anchor in Port Praya Bay, in St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, for the purpose of procuring supplies of water and provisions. As this island belonged to the Portuguese, a neutral nation, Commodore Johnstone naturally apprehended no hostile attack while lying in the bay. Accordingly no precautions were taken to guard against one, his ships lying in such positions as were best suited to their accommodation in procuring water and provisions. In this state of security they were suddenly attacked on the 16th of April by a superior French squadron, under the command of Monsieur de Suffrein : it appears that the French ministry had by some means been apprized of the object of the English expedition, and had fitted out a squadron to defeat it, which sailed from Brest only nine days after Commodore Johnston left St. Helens. This squadron consisted of five sail of the line, several frigates, and a number of East India ships and transports, having on board a considerable number of troops, and a formidable train of artillery : its ultimate object after it had, if possible, defeated Commodore Johnston, being the further-

ance of the war in the East Indies, and also the protection of the Cape of Good Hope, against which the French court had been informed the English expedition was directed.

When the French squadron first gave undoubted signs that they meant not to respect the neutrality of the bay, but in spite of it to attack the English fleet, at least one thousand five hundred persons are said to have been absent from the latter, employed on shore in the necessary services of watering, fishing, embarking live stock and other fresh provisions. Commodore Johnston, immediately on perceiving the designs of the enemy, ordered a gun to be fired, as a signal for all on shore to repair instantly to their respective ships; another gun was then fired, as a signal to unmoor, and a third to prepare for action. Monsieur de Suffrein, from these circumstances, plainly perceived that his expectation of taking the British squadron unawares and unprepared, was abundantly fulfilled; hence, he naturally looked forward to an easy and decisive victory; he accordingly pushed forward as quick as possible, in order that the British might not be able to prepare for the encounter. The appearance of his fleet was first communicated by signal from the Isis, which was lying near the mouth of the bay, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning; and before eleven Monsieur de Suffrein, leaving his convoy without, entered the bay with five ships of the line, he himself leading the way in the Heros, of seventy-four guns, firing at the Isis as he passed. His ship kept on her course till she was within a cable's length of the Monmouth and Hero, two of the largest ships in the British squadron; in this position Monsieur de Suffrein ordered the anchor to be dropped. The Anibal immediately followed, and having shot ahead of the admiral's ship, there dropped anchor; the third, the Artesian, anchored about the same distance astern.

In this situation they began a heavy cannonade, having

put springs on their cables before they entered the bay. The other two French ships did not anchor, but continued sailing about the bay, firing at every ship as they passed, and endeavouring to board the merchantmen; in this, however, they did not succeed. The British ships, though taken in a great measure unprepared, were defended with great vigour and skill. Captain Alms, in the *Monmouth*, kept up a well directed fire, which was equalled from the *Hero*, Captain Hawler. As the *Romney*, Commodore Johnston's ship, was so situated that she could not be brought into immediate action, he removed from her, at the commencement of the action, on board of the *Hero*. The *Jupiter* particularly distinguished herself in this engagement, for her commander, Captain Paisley, having by great exertions got a spring on her cable, was thus enabled to direct her fire with great effect. At first the East India ships were so taken by surprize that they could not assist Commodore Johnston; but recovering from it, they materially supported him. The French being thus opposed with so much more steadiness and preparation than they had anticipated, soon began to manifest signs that they wished to escape from the fight. The *Artesian* first weighed her anchor, and stood out to sea; not, however, before she had succeeded in capturing the *Hinchenbrook* East Indiaman. She had also succeeded in boarding the *Fortitude*; but by the gallantry of a company of the 92d regiment, under the command of Captain Jenkinson, her deck was quickly cleared of Frenchmen. The action had now continued about three quarters of an hour, when the French admiral cut his cable and followed the example of the *Artesian*. The *Annibal* still retained her position, exposed to the fire of the British, and in a short time seemed a perfect wreck; having remained in her situation nearly a quarter of an hour, her cable was either cut or shot away, when she turned round and drifted out to sea before the wind, her

masts tottering, her yards hanging different ways, and her sails in rags. After she got clear of the British ships, one of her consorts took her in tow, and she thus succeeded in effecting her escape.

Commodore Johnston, before he determined on a pursuit, summoned all the captains of the fleet, in order to ascertain the damages that had been sustained; he then ordered a pursuit; the Romney got out of the bay first; but the Isis, Captain Sutton, did not obey the signal for three hours, though it was enforced by the repeated firing of guns. The Isis having at length come out, the pursuit was continued, but the day was quite spent, and the night threatened to be stormy, before Commodore Johnston came near the enemy. It was under these circumstances a matter of considerable doubt and difficulty to determine what course he ought to pursue; his grand object was to attack the Dutch settlement of the Cape of Good Hope as speedily as possible, before it was prepared for resistance; but if he discontinued the pursuit of the French squadron, it necessarily would arrive there before him; on the other hand, if he continued the pursuit, he must leave his convoy unprotected: he also considered that his coming up with the French was by no means certain, for though several of their ships were much disabled, yet the delay occasioned by the Isis had given them greatly the start of him. After considering the matter in all its bearings, he determined to rejoin his convoy; this he did not accomplish without some difficulty, after plying to windward for several days. The day after the engagement the Hinchbrook was retaken. The loss of men was not great, amounting only to forty-three killed and one hundred and thirty-four wounded. On the 2nd of May the whole squadron left Port Praya Bay.

Commodore Johnston deemed it prudent to use the best means in his power to ascertain whether the French squadron had reached the Cape before him; for this purpose,

On the 12th of June, he dispatched four of his smaller fast sailing vessels to proceed ahead of the rest of the squadron, with directions to rejoin them in a certain latitude. These vessels having got to the south of the Cape on the 1st of July, fell in with and took a Dutch ship bound for Ceylon, laden with stores and provisions, and forty thousand pounds in bullion, which had left Saldanha Bay only a few days before. From her they learnt that Monsieur de Suffrein and part of his convoy had arrived at the Cape, on the 25th of June, where he had landed five hundred men to reinforce the garrison: they also learnt that five Dutch East Indiamen, richly laden, were lying in Saldanha Bay. As soon as the detached squadron had rejoined the commodore, and communicated this intelligence, the attempt on the Cape was abandoned as impracticable; and it was resolved to attack the ships in Saldanha Bay. In prosecution of this design the commodore steered for the land, taking the pilotage entirely upon himself. This enterprize was conducted with so much promptitude and ability, that arriving off the mouth of the bay in the night, the commodore in the *Romney* leading the way, and although the Dutch ships were run on shore, and set on fire by their crews, the boats of the British fleet nevertheless arrived in time to extinguish the flames in all of them except one: on board of this vessel the fire raged so violently that it was impossible to save her. The rest being threatened with destruction from the vicinity of this one, it was absolutely necessary to tow her to a distance; an undertaking attended with considerable danger, but executed in the most prompt and effectual manner: in ten minutes after the boats left her, she blew up with a violent explosion. The other prizes were got off the same evening. Commodore Johnston was directed by his instructions, in case he found that the attempt against the Cape was impracticable, to send a certain number of ships to the East Indies,

to reinforce Sir Edward Hughes; with these part of the land forces were also to be sent, and the rest to the West Indies. But the British commanders having learnt that the Carnotic had been invaded by Hyder Ally, and that a strong detachment of British troops had been cut off, determined to deviate from their instructions, and instead of dividing the land forces, to send the whole to the East Indies. Accordingly the Dutch prizes, after being refitted, were sent to Helena without a convoy; and the commodore having accompanied those vessels that were destined for the East Indies, with his whole force, as far as the fourth degree of longitude beyond the Cape, there left them, and with the Romney, and frigates sailed to St. Helena, for the purpose of conveying his prize to England. In their passage home they were separated by a storm, and two of them were lost.

The year 1781, closed with a successful cruise of Admiral Kempenfeldt in the European seas. Information had been received in England that a large convoy of transports, with troops, and of store ships and provision vessels were getting ready at Brest, to sail in the month of December. The destination of most of these vessels was the West Indies, for the purpose of refitting the fleet there, under the command of the Count de Grasse; the rest were for Monsieur de Suffrien's fleet in the East Indies. The Count de Guichen was appointed to convoy the whole of them, under the protection of some ships of war. As it was of the utmost importance to intercept those supplies, which either in the East or West Indies might prove highly useful to the enemy, Admiral Kempenfeldt was dispatched in the beginning of December to cruise for them; he had along with him twelve ships of the line, and a fifty gun ship; four frigates and a fire ship.

On the 12th of that month he got sight of the French squadron; the weather was at this time so tempestuous,

that they were dispersed, the convoy being considerably astern of the ships of war. Of this circumstance the British admiral determined to take immediate advantage; he therefore ordered a press of sail to be carried, in order to cut off the convoy completely: in this attempt he partly succeeded. A considerable number of prizes were taken; fifteen of these arrived safe in England; some that had struck escaped in the night; two or three were supposed to be sunk.

Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the Count de Guichen, his ships were so scattered, that he could not collect them, so as to form the line, for some time. Towards the evening, the British admiral also made the signal for forming the line, keeping on the same tack with the enemy, meaning to engage in the morning. But when daylight appeared, he found the French to be very far superior in force to himself; as their fleet consisted of nineteen sail of the line, and two others armed *en flûte*. Under these circumstances, Admiral Kempenfeldt judged it prudent to avoid an engagement, especially as he had in a great measure succeeded in the object for which he had sailed. He therefore steered for Portsmouth, dispatching, however, a line-of-battle ship and a frigate to follow the enemy, with a view of capturing any of the convoy that might chance to be separated. In this respect they were not successful; but on the 25th of December, they made prize of five large ships, bound from Bourdeaux to Martinique, which were about to join the convoy under the Count de Guichen.

The prizes which arrived in England had on board nearly eleven hundred troops; and between six and seven hundred seamen; they were almost all freighted on the French king's account; and were chiefly laden with brass and iron ordnance, gunpowder and small arms, flints, bomb-shells, cannon-balls, &c.; some of them were laden with cables, sail-cloth and cordage; and others with wine,

oil, brandy, rum, flour, biscuit, and salted provisions. The remainder of the French convoy which escaped was so shattered by the weather, that only a few of them were able to reach the West Indies: the rest put back to repair their damages.

There were several remarkable actions at sea with single ships this year, of which the following deserve particular notice.

Lieutenant Inglis, commanding His Majesty's sloop *Zephyr*, having returned to Goree from a cruise, received intelligence from Governor Wall, of a French frigate, mounting twenty-four guns, being in Gambia river; he immediately sailed, taking along with him the *Polly*, letter of marque, mounting sixteen four pounders. At the entrance of the river they saw four sail at anchor, consisting of a British transport which had been captured, two sloops and a frigate; the transport mounted sixteen guns, and was manned with Frenchmen and negroes: as soon as the enemy observed Lieutenant Inglis, they set on fire the transport and the sloop; the frigate at the same time getting under weigh, a warm action commenced as soon as they got within pistol shot, which lasted three hours; at which time the *Zephyr* and the enemy grounded close to one another. In this situation, the action was continued with redoubled violence, more resembling two batteries on shore than a sea fight. During the greatest part of the action, the letter of marque was anchored three quarters a mile astern; the engagement continued two hours after the vessel had grounded, when the enemy struck; their loss was twelve killed and twenty-eight wounded, the *Zephyr* had two killed and four wounded; she had suffered however so much in her hull, rigging, &c. that with the greatest difficulty she was brought to Goree.

The enemy's ship proved to be the *Senegal*, mounting eighteen six pounders, with a complement of one hundred

and twenty-six men. She had formerly been the *Race-horse*, commanded by Lord Mulgrave. Unfortunately, soon after she was brought to Goree, she was accidentally blown up, with the loss of a lieutenant and twenty-two others, officers and seamen.

The transactions on board the *Nonsuch*, commanded by Sir James Wallace, which was the look-out ship from the van squadron of Admiral Darby's fleet are worthy of notice. On the 14th of May, a sail was seen in east south-east, to all appearance a French line-of-battle ship. The *Nonsuch* immediately gave chase, and gained upon her; at half-past ten at night the *Nonsuch* came alongside of her, when she fired a broadside, which was returned; she then dropped a-stern, when the *Nonsuch* wore and raked her. The action continued for an hour, and during it the two ships were on board one another, the enemy carrying away the sprit-sail-yard of the *Nonsuch*. The attempts which her opponent made to get away, plainly proved that she had the worse of the action; at length she succeeded in her object of escaping, nor could the *Nonsuch* again come up with her, till five in the morning the next day, when she was ascertained to be an eighty gun ship. The battle was then renewed, and continued for an hour and a half, when the *Nonsuch* was so much disabled, that Captain Wallace thought proper to haul his wind: the enemy kept on her course for Brest.

On the 29th of May, Captain William Peere Williams, of His Majesty's ship *Flora*, in company with the *Crescent*, discovered two Dutch frigates; preparations for immediate action were immediately made; but it did not then commence, in consequence of the weather beginning to be tempestuous. At seven in the evening the gale abated, and the next morning the sea was comparatively calm. The British ships kept sight of the enemy during the whole of the night; and at five o'clock the action commenced, ship against ship, within a cable's length of each

other: it was continued in this manner without intermission for two hours and a quarter, when the ship engaged with the *Flora*, struck her colours, she proved to be the *Castor* frigate, of Rotterdam, commanded by Captain Pieter Melvill, mounting twenty-six twelve, and ten six pounders; her crew consisted of two hundred and thirty men. In the mean time the *Crescent* was engaged with the other Dutch frigate, called the *Brill*, mounting twenty-six twelve, two six, and eight four pounders: the action was obstinately contested, when unfortunately a shot having carried away the main and mizen masts of the *Crescent*, the wreck falling on board, and they rendering her guns useless, and the vessel unserviceable, her commander, Captain Pakenham, was under the necessity of ordering the colours to be struck. As soon as Captain Williams perceived this, he used his utmost efforts to get the head of the *Flora* towards the *Crescent*, and having succeeded he thus prevented the enemy from taking possession of her. The *Brill* thus disappointed, and having suffered considerably, made off in the best manner she could. Captain Williams did not attempt to follow her, as besides that the *Flora* and *Crescent* were much disabled in their rigging, &c. they each made between four and five feet water in an hour. On board of the *Flora*, there were nine killed and thirty-two wounded. On board of the *Crescent*, twenty-six killed, and sixty-seven wounded; and on board of the *Castor*, twenty-two killed and forty-one wounded.

Five days after the action were entirely occupied in repairing, as well as circumstances would permit, the damages of the three ships; at the end of the time they proceeded on their voyage, without any remarkable occurrence, till the nineteenth, when early in the morning, being in chace of a privateer brig, on the clearing away of a squall, two ships were discovered to windward, bearing down on the *Flora*. On this Captain Williams ordered

his ship to be weared, and came close to the *Castor* and *Crescent*, in the hopes that the appearance of their force united would intimidate the enemy. But as the disabled state of the vessels was very conspicuous, the enemy continued the chase, and gained fast upon them. Captain Williams and his officers being unanimous in their opinion that an action ought not to be hazarded, he ordered each ship to shape a different course; about one o'clock, he had the mortification to see the *Castor* retaken by one of the frigates: the other frigate not being able to come up with the *Flora*, bore away, after the *Crescent*, which she succeeded in capturing.

The next action that we have to record, which was also of an unfortunate nature, was between the *Savage* sloop of war, commanded by Captain Sterling, and an American frigate of twenty guns, commanded by Captain Geddis. Early in the morning of the 6th of September, ten leagues to the east of Charlestown, Captain Sterling observed a vessel bearing down on the *Savage*, which he soon ascertained to be an American cruiser. At first he supposed she was a privateer, which he had learnt was off that station; he therefore resolved either to bring her to action, or to chase her off the coast: he was however a good deal surprised and staggered in his opinion by finding that, instead of avoiding an engagement, she seemed anxious to commence it, edging down towards the *Savage*. Captain Sterling, therefore, caused the *Savage* to lie to, till he perceived on the nearer approach of the enemy that she was much superior in size and metal to what he apprehended; it was necessary now to take measures to escape, or at least to avoid a close engagement. At half-past ten, the enemy began firing her bow-chasers; at eleven o'clock by her superior sailing she had got close on the quarters of the *Savage*. The action was now unavoidable. It commenced with musquetry, which after a good deal of execution, was followed by a cannonade on both

sides. The enemy soon gave undoubted proofs of their superiority in point of metal; for in an hour's time not a rope to trim a sail with was left standing in the *Savage*. Captain Sterling, however, still kept up a constant and well-directed fire; the enemy now fell a-stern, leaving the *Savage* nearly a complete wreck, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that her position could be altered so as to prevent her being raked. While the ships were in this position, the great guns ceased firing, but the musquetry and pistols did great execution. As soon as the guns could again be brought to bear, the battle became more furious than before, the ships being almost on board each other. The *Savage* by this time had suffered dreadfully; scarcely a man belonging to her that was not either killed or wounded, and three of the guns on her main deck being rendered useless.

Captain Sterling and his crew were still resolute not to yield if they could possibly avoid it: they fought nearly an hour in this situation, with only five six pounders, "the fire from each ship's guns scorching the men who opposed them; shot and other implements of war being thrown by hand; the mizen-mast shot away by the board; the main-mast tottering; the ship on fire dangerous; only forty men capable of doing duty, while the enemy were attempting to board in three different places." Captain Sterling finding all further resistance useless, was under the necessity at a quarter before three o'clock of surrendering to the *Congress*, a private ship of war belonging to Philadelphia. The enemy lost eleven men, and had nearly thirty wounded; and was so very much disabled that she was obliged to return into port. On board the *Savage*, the master and seven seamen were killed; and the captain, lieutenant, three midshipmen, and twenty-one seamen wounded.

On the 27th of May, His Majesty's sloop *Trepassey*, of fourteen guns and eighty men, commanded by Mr. Philip

Windsor, and the *Atalanta* sloop, of sixteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-five men, commanded by Captain Smith, being on a cruise in latitude forty-one north, longitude sixty-one west, saw a sail at the distance of four leagues. She had all the appearance of being a two decker, but as night was coming on, they hauled their wind, still keeping in sight of her. The next day, about twelve at noon, she was about half a mile to leeward, with American colours flying. The *Atalanta* and *Trepassey* were at this time very near one another, when they received her first broadside, immediately after which they bore up close alongside of her, the *Atalanta* on the starboard, and the *Trepassey* on the larboard quarter. The engagement now became serious, and about an hour after its commencement, Captain Smith of the *Trepassey* being killed, the command of her devolved on Lieutenant King, who engaged the enemy in the same position for two hours and a half longer, when he was obliged to surrender: the other British vessel continued to engage some time after, and then surrendered also. The enemy proved to be the *Alliance* frigate. The effects of the capture of Lord Cornwallis's army soon began to manifest themselves in Great Britain; the war, which for long had been unpopular, and which, at least during the last two years, had promised no favorable result, now excited very strong and general discontent. Such were the feelings of the people at the time when the parliament met, on the 27th of November, 1781. In the king's speech, the losses and disasters in America, were distinctly admitted; but His Majesty urged them as a reason why greater exertions should be made for the reduction of the United States. An address of thanks being moved for in the usual form, was violently combated by the opposition, who urged that if they agreed to it, they virtually bound themselves to support the continuance of the American war; an amendment therefore was moved by Mr. Fox; this however was rejected by a con-

siderable majority. In the course of the debate, it was evident that the ministers were not agreed among themselves ; it appeared, however, to be their determination no longer to carry on the war in America, but to direct their principal efforts against France, Spain, and Holland.

The opposition continued to harass the ministry, by a succession of motions in the House of Commons, until at length, on the 27th of February, 1782, they succeeded in carrying a vote for addressing His Majesty to direct his ministers no longer to carry on an offensive war against the American colonies ; and to assure him, that they would most cheerfully concur in such measures as might be deemed necessary to bring about a peace. On the division, the opposition mustered two hundred and thirty-four votes, while the ministry had only two hundred and fifteen ; this was naturally regarded by the public as a proof that the ministry must go out of place, and as a prelude in fact to their removal.

Accordingly, about the end of March, a new ministry was formed under the auspices and direction of the Marquis of Rockingham. The cabinet, including the marquis as first lord of the Treasury, consisted of the Earl of Shelburn and Mr. Fox, who were appointed secretaries of state ; Lord Camden, president of the council ; the Duke of Grafton, lord privy seal ; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer ; Admiral Keppel, first lord of the admiralty ; General Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces ; the Duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance ; Colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy ; and Mr. Burke, paymaster-general.

The following were the naval supplies granted for the service of the year 1782 : one hundred thousand seamen, including twenty-one thousand three hundred and five marines ; the pay of whom amounted to four millions, ninety-four thousand pounds : the ordinary of the navy amounted to four hundred and nine thousand, seven hun-

dred and six pounds, twelve shillings and nine-pence: buildings, rebuildings and repairs of ships to nine hundred and fifty-three thousand, five hundred and nineteen pounds; and there was voted for the debt of the navy the sum of one million, five hundred thousand pound, making a total of seven millions, eight thousand and three pounds, twelve shillings and nine-pence; besides the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds for sea ordnance.

As the season for naval action began to appear, Britain was threatened with the mighty measures to be pursued by a combination of the whole naval force of France, Spain, and Holland: it was calculated that they could easily send to sea a fleet of sixty sail of the line, well equipped and manned; with this fleet they were to sweep the coasts of Europe from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Baltic. The British ministry, though sensible that there was much exaggeration in this statement, were yet feelingly alive to the danger to which their country was exposed, and accordingly prepared to meet it with such exertions, as they could put forth. As the home fleet was not yet quite prepared, Admiral Barrington sailed from Portsmouth on the 13th of April, with such vessels as were ready, consisting of twelve sail of the line. When he got a little to the south west of Ushant, a signal was made by Captain Macbride, of the frigate Artois, that an enemy's fleet was in sight. The Artois, at this time was so far a-head, that although it was about noon, it was with the utmost difficulty that the admiral could discover from the flag which she hoisted, of what nation the hostile ships were.

Immediately the signal for a general chase was made, and about three o'clock on the 20th, the enemy began to be visible from the mast head of the admiral's ship; many of the other vessels however, were far before her as she was by no means a prime sailer. The Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, was a-head of the whole of them so far, that when

night came on, with hazy and blowing weather, he lost sight of his companion, still keeping however a full view of the enemy.

By this time it was ascertained that the enemy's fleet consisted of eighteen sail, laden with stores, provisions, ammunition, and conveying a considerable number of troops for the reinforcement of the fleet and forces in the East Indies. They had sailed from Brest only the day before; and were under the protection of the *Protecteur* and *Pegase* of seventy-four guns; a sixty-four gun ship, armed *en flute*, and a frigate. As the *Foudroyant* gained fast upon them, and an action became unavoidable, the convoy was dispersed by signal; and the *Protecteur*, having a considerable quantity of money on board, also bore away: the *Pegase* being left to fight if it became absolutely necessary. The *Foudroyant* soon came so near, that the *Pegase* found she could not escape; the two ships were nearly equal in point of force and equipment; for though the *Foudroyant* mounted six guns more than her opponent, yet the latter carried heavier metal. A little before one in the morning the *Foudroyant* came up so near the *Pegase*, that the battle began; the action was uncommonly fierce while it lasted; but in less than an hour Captain Jervis, by a judicious manœuvre, succeeded in laying the *Pegase* on board in the larboard quarter, and compelled her to surrender. The carnage on board of the prize was dreadful; for notwithstanding the short continuance of the engagement, above eighty men were killed, and a great number wounded: the hull, masts and yards were much injured. On board the *Foudroyant* not a man was killed: Captain Jervis and a few seamen were wounded. It is probable that Captain Jervis would have been under the disagreeable necessity of destroying his prize in consequence of the stormy state of the weather, had not the *Queen* man-of-war come in sight soon after daylight, and taken charge of the disabled ship. The pursuit of the convoy still con-

tinued ; and about a dozen ships, principally with troops on board, were taken and brought safe to England. While the Queen was employed in taking the prisoners out of the *Pegase*, a large man-of-war appeared in sight, which the French officers affirmed to be the *Protecteur*. Captain Maitland of the Queen, having directed the *Pegase* to proceed to England, immediately gave chase : after fourteen hours, he came up with his opponent in the night ; and after pouring in his broadside, and receiving hers, she struck her colours. This easy capture much surprised Captain Maitland, till he found that his prize was not the *Protecteur*, but the sixty-four gun ship : her complement of seamen was two hundred and fifty ; she had also on board five hundred and fifty soldiers ; of these nine were killed and twenty-five were wounded. Captain Maitland was now in an awkward situation, as he had under his charge upwards of one thousand one hundred prisoners ; fortunately, however, the *Latona* frigate came up, and took part of them.

Towards the end of the month, as the weather continued very boisterous, Admiral Barrington returned to England : the Order of the Bath was immediately conferred on Captain Jervis of the *Foudroyant*. On the return of Admiral Barrington, Admiral Kempenfeldt sailed with eight ships to supply his place. Early in May, intelligence having been received that the Dutch were preparing to come out of the Texel with a formidable fleet, for the purpose of convoying their outward bound merchantmen, and then of proceeding to join the French and Spanish fleets, Lord Howe was directed to put to sea, with a squadron of twelve ships of the line, and watch the coast of Holland. Before he reached his destination the Dutch fleet had sailed ; but as soon as they learnt that Lord Howe had come out in quest of them, they returned to the Texel. His lordship, however, still continued to cruise off the coast of Holland till he was obliged to

return to Portsmouth in consequence of an epidemic disorder breaking out among his seamen. Soon after his return he was joined by the squadron under Admiral Kempenfeldt.

In the mean time the French and Spanish fleets, amounting to twenty-five sail of the line; the former under the command of the Count de Guichen, and the latter under the command of Don Cordova, sailed from Cadiz towards the northward, for the purpose of forwarding a junction with the Dutch fleet, and also with the French fleet at Brest. As they proceeded on their destination they fell in with the British outward bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, which were under the protection of Admiral Campbell, in a fifty gun ship, accompanied by some frigates: about eighteen of the convoy, chiefly laden with provisions, were captured; the ships of war and the remainder of the merchantmen effected their escape.

As soon as information was received that this formidable fleet was at sea, and that thus the enemy had the entire command of the ocean from the Straits of Gibraltar to Ushant, great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of a numerous and very valuable fleet of merchantmen from Jamaica; they were homeward bound under the care of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, with only three ships of the line. Only twenty-two ships of the line could be collected in the British ports; these, however, were sent out from Portsmouth early in July, under the command of Lord Howe, and Admirals Barrington, Ross, and Kempenfeldt. As with this inferior force, judgment, prudence, and skill, would be of more advantage than force, Lord Howe kept to the westward of the enemy in order to protect the Jamaica fleet; partly by his judicious measures and partly by good fortune, Sir Peter Parker arrived safe with his convoy by the end of July.

We have now to record a dreadful accident: as it had

been found necessary to keep as many ships as possible constantly at sea, they had become of course very foul; yet in that condition there was not sufficient time to repair them in the regular and proper manner, as the relief of Gibraltar immediately required the sailing of as strong and numerous a fleet as possible. In this state of things it was found necessary that the Royal George of one hundred and eight guns, commanded by Admiral Kempenfeldt, which was justly regarded as one of the best ships in the navy, should receive a sort of slight careen, or in the language of the seamen, a *parliament heel*; that is, the ship was to be laid to a certain degree on her side, while the defects under water were examined and repaired; hence it is evident that such a mode of repair can be only safely practised in smooth water and still weather. On the morning of the 29th of August this business was begun; some of the carpenters from the dock at Portsmouth (off which the Royal George was lying) attending to assist her own. On examining the sheathing it was found necessary to repair it lower down than was at first expected; this of course obliged them to heel the ship more on her side. Still there would have been no danger, had it not been for some accidental circumstances; the ship, as is usually the case in coming into port, was crowded with people from the shore, particularly with women, of whom there were nearly three hundred on board. Many of the wives and children of the seamen and petty officers, knowing that the ship was soon to sail, had taken this opportunity of coming to see their husbands and fathers; between eight and nine hundred of her crew, including marines, were also on board. Hence the tendency to upset was much increased by the weight of such a number of people.

About ten o'clock in the morning, while the admiral was engaged in writing in his cabin, and the greater part of the people were between decks, a sudden and violent

squall occurred; by this the ship was thrown upon her side, and her gun ports being open she almost instantly filled with water and sunk. A small vessel that lay along-side, for the purpose of supplying the Royal George with provisions for her intended voyage, was swallowed up in the whirlpool occasioned by the sudden plunge of such a large body. The admiral, several officers, and most of those who were between decks perished; those who were on the upper deck were more fortunate, the greater part of them being saved by the boats of the fleet: it is calculated that nearly one thousand men, women, and children, lost their lives on this melancholy occasion; about three hundred were saved, chiefly belonging to the ship's crews.

The Dutch fleet having returned to the Texel, and the British homeward bound Baltic fleet being arrived, the squadron which had been cruising under command of Admiral Milbanke and Commodore Hotham returned to port, in order to accompany the fleet about to sail for the relief of Gibraltar. Of this fleet Lord Howe had the command; he sailed from Portsmouth on the 11th of September, with thirty-four ships of the line, several frigates and fire ships, a fleet of transports, victuallers, and store ships, with a number of troops on board.

In the mean time the attention of all Europe was drawn to Gibraltar, in consequence of the mighty preparations made by the King of Spain for its reduction. About the end of the year 1781, their advanced works upon the isthmus, after having been completed at a vast expense, had been demolished in one night, by a successful sortie from the garrison; the guns and mortars mounted upon the batteries were spiked, and the batteries themselves so effectually set on fire, that before morning they were consumed. Notwithstanding this destruction of the batteries, the determination of the Spaniards was as resolute as ever; but afterwards they seem principally to have relied on an attack by water with floating batte-

ries. The plan of these batteries was the contrivance of the Chevalier D'Arcon; they were constructed of such thickness and strength that it was supposed they would be impenetrable by shot from the heaviest cannon; and they were of materials calculated to resist the action of fire; a sloping roof protected them from shells, and this roof, by a mechanical contrivance, might be raised or lowered at pleasure.

For the purpose of forming these floating batteries, ten great ships, from six hundred to one thousand four hundred tons burden, were cut down; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber was added to them; they were covered with new brass cannon of great weight, and about half the number of spare guns were kept ready in each to supply the place of those which might be overheated, or otherwise rendered unfit for use. To render the fire from them still more rapid, a kind of match was contrived to be placed on the guns, of such a nature as to kindle most securely and rapidly, and by which all the guns were to go off at the same instant. But the most singular part of the contrivance was that, by means of which it was hoped they might be rendered safe from the red hot shot of the garrison; for this purpose a great variety of pipes and canals ran through the gun boats in such a manner that a continual succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of them; it was thus expected that the red hot shot would produce its own remedy, as by cutting through the pipes they would afford a supply of water which would extinguish the fire they might occasion.

In other respects the preparation for the reduction of the fortress was great and tremendous, almost beyond example; no less than one thousand two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds were brought before the garrison; the quantity of gunpowder was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gun boats with heavy artillery, and as many bomb vessels, with twelve-

inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches, made on the usual construction, were to act in conjunction with the floating batteries. Nearly all the frigates and small armed vessels which Spain possessed were assembled; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of the kingdom, which were to bring supplies of shot, &c. during the action. The attack was to be covered and supported by the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to about fifty sail of the line.

Such were the preparations by sea: those by land were not less formidable: twelve thousand French troops had joined the Spanish army, and the Duke de Crillon, having succeeded in reducing Minorca, was appointed to command the whole land force before Gibraltar: to add to the splendour of the scene, two of the French princes of the blood, the Count d'Artois and the Duke de Bourbon, with a number of the first nobility of France and Spain repaired to the Spanish camp.

The battering machines required so much time in preparation that they were not ready before the beginning of September; about this period also the combined fleet arrived in the bay. To give the utmost effect to the attack, it was planned that when the battering ships should take their station, the Spanish gun and mortar boats should place themselves so as to flank the British batteries on the water, and, if possible, drive the artillerymen from their guns; the combined fleet was to assist and cover the battering ships; and in order to distract the attention of the garrison, a previous cannonade was to commence from all the batteries on the isthmus.

In the mean time General Elliot, observing that the works on the land side were nearly completed, ordered, on the 8th of September, a powerful fire from the garrison to be directed against them; this was carried on through the day with great skill and effect: by ten o'clock two

batteries were in flames, and by five in the evening they were entirely destroyed, together with the gun carriages, platforms, and magazines, though the latter were bomb proof. Other damage was also done; and the enemy acknowledged that their works were on fire in fifty places at the same time.

It might have been imagined that this disaster would have discouraged and intimidated the besiegers, or, at least, that it would have obliged and disposed them to have delayed any future attacks for a considerable period: but it had no such effect. On the contrary, it seemed rather to render them indignant and determined. For by break of day, on the following morning, a new battery of sixty-four heavy guns was opened, which, with the cannon on their lines and sixty mortars, continued to pour a tremendous and incessant fire against the garrison during the whole of the day. Nor was this all, for at the very same time a squadron of seven Spanish and two French ships of the line, in company with some frigates and smaller vessels, being favoured by the wind, dropped down from their station at the Orange Grove at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the south bastion, and the ragged staff; they continued to fire in this manner until they had passed Europa point, and fairly got into the Mediterranean sea. After this they formed a line to the eastward of Gibraltar, and came to the attack of the batteries on Europa point: against these, while under a very slow sail, they directed their fire, until they had completely passed them.

The marine force, under the command of Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate, being no longer able to act against the enemy as they had formerly done, their superiority shutting them up from exertion on their proper element, were formed into a distinct corps, under the name of the marine brigade. To this corps was committed the defence of the works and batteries in Europa point.

On the next and two succeeding days the firing was continued with equal briskness on the part of the enemy : six thousand five hundred cannon shots and one thousand and eighty shells being fired every twenty-four hours. But this cannonade, as well as the repeated attacks of the ships on Europa point, were of very little avail.

At length, however, the combined fleets, consisting of twenty-seven Spanish and twelve French ships of the line, being now arrived at Algeiras from Cadiz, and having joined those already before Gibraltar, amounting in all to the formidable force of forty-eight sail of the line, and the battering ships being also in complete readiness, it was resolved no longer to delay a grand and simultaneous attack from all their means of offence. The batteries were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon, besides nearly half that number to be used in exchanges. The admiral's ship had twenty-four guns mounted and ten in reserve; thirty-six artillerymen were allotted to the service of each gun; so that, with the officers and seamen who navigated the vessels, there were on board the whole between six and seven thousand men. While the battering ships were ordered to confine their fire to particular objects, the gun and mortar boats with the floating battery were directed to carry on their attacks in every possible direction. By means of these, aided as they were to be by the fire of nearly three hundred cannon, &c. from the land, it was intended that every part of the works should be attacked at one and the same moment, so that the attention and means of the garrison being thus distracted, some weak and undefended part, they imagined, would necessarily be found.

On the 13th of September, about seven o'clock in the morning, the ten battering ships which were stationed near the head of the bay were observed to be in motion; and soon afterwards they proceeded towards their appointed station. About ten o'clock they came to anchor

in a line between the Old and New Mole, lying in a direction parallel to the rock, and about half a mile distant from it. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion, and the remaining ships took their appointed stations to the right and left of him.

General Elliot was by no means undaunted by all this formidable display; he was a man not only of great courage and great powers of invention, but his faculties were always at his command; nothing found him unprepared; as danger and difficulty increased, so did his presence of mind. Such a man was now in his element: He principally rested the defence of the garrison against this tremendous attack on red-hot shells; and for the purpose of heating them, an immense number of furnaces were erected in various parts of the garrison. The Spaniards estimated that the number of red-hot shells which the battering ships alone received, in the course of this day, amounted to four thousand. The mortar batteries in the fortress were equally well supplied and equally destructive. As General Elliot conceived the battering ships to be the most formidable, his fire was principally directed against them; but at the same time the whole of the Peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed by the torrents of fire which were poured upon it. The battering ships, indeed, were most formidable; for besides continuing a dreadful cannonade, their construction was such, that for a long time they withstood the incessant showers of red-hot shot and shells with which they were assailed. About two o'clock, however, some smoke was seen to be issuing from the upper part of the admiral's ship, and soon afterwards it was ascertained that it had taken fire; for men were seen pouring water into the shot holes. Their efforts were sufficient to keep down the flames during daylight; but they were obliged to be so great and unremitting, that this vessel was no longer a formidable opponent. The others also, now perceiving that they were

not unassailable, became alarmed and dispirited: the battering ship, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, and next in size to that of the admiral's, soon afterwards caught fire also. As these two lay in the centre, the whole line of attack was discomposed by their fate; so that when daylight began to close, the fire from the garrison had gained a decided superiority over that of the enemy.

Through the whole of the night of the 13th, the batteries from the garrison continued to pour forth a most tremendous and destructive fire: by one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, the flames had visibly broke forth in the battering ships of the admiral and the Prince of Nassau. Their danger was imminent and dreadful; and from their situation, exposed as it was to the red-hot shells from the garrison, they could not expect much relief or assistance from their own people; nevertheless, they sent up a number of rockets as signals to the fleet of their extreme distress. These signals were answered, and attempts were made to take the men out of the battering ships, as it was deemed absolutely impossible to remove the ships themselves. A great number of boats were accordingly employed; but they soon perceived that they were, in this enterprize, exposed to a double danger; for besides the fire from the garrison, which had not in the least slackened, there was much to apprehend from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instruments of destruction.

The period was now arrived at which Captain Curtis could effectually display not merely his courage, but also his humanity; his gun-boats were immediately got under weigh. They were twelve in number, each carrying an eighteen or a twenty-four pounder, and from their low fire, and fixed aim, they were very formidable, especially in the distress, danger, and confusion of the enemy. These gun-boats being manned by the marine brigade, Captain Curtis drew them up in such a manner as to flank the line

of the battering ships. The Spanish boats sent out to take off the men, durst no longer approach, but were compelled to abandon their companions to the flames; unless they were extricated by the humanity of the British. Still the battering ships held out; nor did they yield till there was no chance of further defence, or of relief: the boats also, unwilling to give up venturing the assistance of their companions, advanced till several of them had been sunk: one in particular, with eighty men on board, who were all drowned, except an officer and twelve men, who floating on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison.

When daylight fully broke, a most dreadful scene was presented: great numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for pity and assistance; others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed at once to the danger of drowning and to the fire from the British gun-boats. General Elliot and his brave companions in arms, perceiving the condition of the assailants, no longer regarded them as enemies, but as men in distress, whom it was their incumbent duty to assist. Orders were instantly given that the firing from the gun-boats and garrison should cease; and in a very short time the British displayed as much alacrity and zeal in saving the Spaniards, as a short period before they had done in attempting to destroy them. Nor was this humane enterprize without danger; for the British boats employed on this occasion, were equally exposed to the blowing up of the ships, and to the continued discharge, on all sides, of artillery, as the guns in the vessels became heated. One of the most striking instances of the persevering and successful humanity of the British was, the extrication from the hold of the burning ships of an officer and twenty-nine men, all seriously and many of them dreadfully wounded, most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

During these gallant exertions in the cause of humanity, Captain Curtis was more than once exposed to considerable danger. He was always the first to rush on board of the burning vessels; dragging with his own hands the men from the midst of the flames. At one time his boat being close to one of the largest ships, at the very moment when she blew up; the wreck was spread round to a vast extent, and every object concealed, for some time, under an impenetrable smoke. At this period the garrison were looking at the exertions of Captain Curtis, and being no longer able to perceive him, they regarded his fate as inevitable. Indeed, the escape of him and his boat's crew was almost miraculous; the cockswain, indeed, and some of them were killed, and a few wounded; the bottom of the boat was pierced by a piece of timber falling upon it, and she was only prevented from sinking, by the seamen stuffing the hole with their jackets, till other boats arrived to her assistance. At the same time that captain was thus near falling a victim to his humanity, a gun-boat was sunk, and a third so much damaged, as to be saved with difficulty. By the intrepid exertions of the British, about four hundred of the enemy were extricated from their dreadful situation. It is supposed that in the course of this attack the enemy could not have lost fewer than one thousand five hundred men, including prisoners and wounded; this loss is exclusive of the loss they sustained on land. Besides the admiral's battering ship, eight more blew up, and another was burnt by the British.

The Spanish battering ships certainly did great, though ineffectual execution during the attack; but the gun and mortar boats were of little or no use. They had been intended to flank the British batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the ships; but nothing was done by them, the fire from the garrison proving so formidable. Neither was the fleet of much advantage to the enemy, in consequence, it is said, of an unfavourable wind.

The impression made on the enemy by this resistance of the garrison, and the consequence resulting from their unsuccessful attack, are strongly depicted in the following extract of a letter from a French officer: "The eye is fatigued, and the heart rents with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiery are at this moment carrying away. The number makes a person thrill with horror; and I am told, in other parts of the lines, which are not within my view, the number is still greater."

The loss of the garrison was comparatively small: from the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounting only to sixty-five; while the wounded were three hundred and eighty-eight. Nor was the damage done to the works very considerable, when we call to mind the formidable attacks made upon it.

About the time of this attack, Lord Howe sailed from the British channel with the grand fleet, consisting of thirty-four ships of the line, to escort a number of transports carrying troops, and laden with such stores and supplies, as it was supposed the garrison of Gibraltar would most need. His lordship was much delayed in his passage by contrary winds; but at length, on the 11th of October, he entered the straits. The same evening, part of the transports got safe into Gibraltar; the rest, in consequence of the strength of the current, were carried past it, into the Mediterranean. Lord Howe followed with his fleet and collected them; and by the 18th of the month conducted the whole safely into the bay, where they disembarked their troops, and landed their cargoes. Fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder were also spared from the fleet as an additional supply to the garrison. The whole of this was accomplished in the view of the combined fleet of France and Spain, which lay in Gibraltar Bay at the time of his lordship's arrival. They did not however attempt to prevent the British fleet from entering the bay or from

relieving the garrison : why they were thus inactive, it is not easy to conjecture.

As soon as Lord Howe had accomplished the great and important object, for which he was sent out, he took advantage of the first easterly wind to repass the straits, and enter the Atlantic. The combined fleet followed, and on the 20th of the month, about sunset, bore down so far as to begin a distant cannonade, but Lord Howe did not stop his progress, nor even return the fire of the enemy : he kept on his course. This seems to have encouraged the enemy, for they now came nearer, and made an attempt to cut off some of the ships in the rear ; but they were so warmly received as to be obliged to sheer off with loss. In the morning of the 21st the combined fleet being a great way to windward, and apparently steering for Cadiz, Lord Howe proceeded on his return to England, dispatching in his way eight ships of the line to the West Indies, and six to the coast of Ireland.

During these transactions, a partial change had taken place in the British administration. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, about the beginning of July, the Earl of Shelburne was appointed first Lord of the Treasury in his stead ; and in consequence of this appointment, Mr. Fox and several other members of administration resigned their offices.

We must now turn our attention to the proceedings in the West Indies. After the Count de Grasse, with his fleet, returned from North America, he and the Marquis de Bouille planned an expedition against the island of Barbadoes. The fleet sailed from Martinique on the 28th of December, 1781 ; having on board eight thousand troops. But, in consequence of contrary winds, which drove it greatly to leeward, the French commanders resolved to change the object of their expedition, and to proceed against the island of St. Christopher's. Here the troops were landed, on the 11th of January, 1782. Bri-

gadier General Fraser, who commanded in the island, finding himself totally unable to oppose their landing, resolved to occupy a strong position on Brimstone Hill: here he was joined by the militia of the island, under the command of General Shirley: the whole force was under one thousand men. Brimstone Hill was naturally strong, and its strength had been increased by some works which were hastily thrown up. The French immediately began to invest this position, while the Count de Grasse lay at anchor in Basse Terre Road, for the purpose of covering the siege.

Sir Samuel Hood, in the absence of Sir George Rodney, commanded the British fleet in the West Indies: he was lying off Barbadoes when he learnt that St. Christopher's was in danger; and immediately sailed with his fleet, and arrived on the 23rd of January. The next morning he began to form his line, with a determination to attack the French fleet at anchor: the Count de Grasse had thirty-two ships of the line; Sir Samuel Hood only twenty-two. Not daunted by the inferiority, he would have commenced the attack on the 24th, had not two of his ships run foul of each other; this necessarily delayed his design; in the mean time he captured a French frigate from Martinique, laden with ordnance stores, for the siege of Brimstone Hill: by this capture, the enemy were greatly impeded in making their approaches. On the morning of the 25th, the British fleet, having again formed the line, advanced to the attack. As the Count de Grasse was sensible that he could not take advantage of his superiority, in respect to numbers, while he lay at anchor in Basse Terre Road, he immediately, on perceiving the design of Admiral Hood, stood out to sea. The British admiral's object was to relieve the island, either by defeating the enemy's fleet, or by any other mode that might present itself: he immediately saw the advantage that was to be gained from the movement

of the enemy; and still preserving the appearance of a meditated attack, in order to draw them further from the land, he at last pushed by them, and took possession of the anchorage which they had just quitted. The Count de Grasse made an attempt to cut off the rear of the British fleet; but Commodore Affleck, who commanded it, supported by Captain Cornwallis, and Lord Robert Manners, kept up so tremendous a fire, that he could make no impression: their fire also was serviceable in covering the other ships of the rear, while they were getting into their stations in the anchorage ground. As the Count de Grasse was excessively mortified by being thus out manœuvred; and as it was of the greatest consequence that he should, if possible, regain his former station, he made two attacks the next day on the British fleet at anchor; but he was repulsed in both; and during the remainder of the siege, he kept at a distance. The loss of the British fleets in these attacks amounted to seventy-two killed, and two hundred and forty-four wounded; that of the French is not known.

Sir Samuel Hood flattered himself that his successful manœuvre would be of essential service to General Fraser and his brave troops; but they were far too few in number to be able to cope with the French army. The Marquis de Bouille was soon enabled to invest the fort on Brimstone Hill so closely, that all communication between it and the British fleet, was entirely cut off, whilst the communication between the Count de Grasse, and the French army was open, by means of every other landing place on the island, except Basse Terre Road. General Fraser held out as long as he possibly could; but at length on the 12th of February, the fort of Brimstone Hill, and the island of St. Christopher, with the dependant island of Nevis, were surrendered to the Marquis de Bouille.

Sir Samuel Hood, on the surrender of the island, put to sea, unperceived by the enemy, and steered for Bar-

badoes, under the expectation of meeting there Sir George Rodney, with a reinforcement of ships from England. The French fleet on its return to Martinique, appeared before the island of Montserrat, on the 22d of February, and gained possession of it without the least opposition or delay.

The great object of the French and Spanish forces in the West Islands, was the reduction of Jamaica; hitherto, from various circumstances and causes, they had been foiled in attaining this object, but this year they hoped to be more successful. In order to frustrate their design, soon after his arrival in England, in the fall of the year 1781, Admiral Rodney was sent back to resume his command in the West Indies, with a reinforcement of twelve sail of the line. He sailed from the channel in the month of January, 1782, and arrived off the island of Barbadoes on the 19th of the following month. At this time the intelligence of the surrender of St. Christopher's had not arrived; and Admiral Rodney, being in hopes that he should be able to save it, put to sea immediately, in order to form a junction with Sir Samuel Hood. On his passage, however, he met with the British fleet returning from St. Christopher's, learning from them that the island had surrendered; and judging it probable that the French fleet had returned to Martinique, he resolved to proceed with his whole fleet to St. Lucia: he fixed on this island as the most convenient station for watching the motions of the enemy. As soon as he arrived off this island, he ordered some of his frigates to cruise, for the purpose of giving him the earliest intelligence of the movements of the enemy: and in the mean time, he took on board the rest of his fleet, provisions and water sufficient to last him for the space of five months.

The first object which Admiral Rodney had in view, was to prevent, if possible, the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, as he had reason to believe, that, if this junction were effected, Jamaica would fall a prey to

the enemy. The Spanish fleet, at this time, were to leeward of the French.

On the 5th of April, Admiral Rodney was informed that the French were embarking troops on board their ships of war; and on the 8th of the same month, at break of day, a signal was made from the *Andromache*, that their fleet was coming out of Fort Royal, and standing to the north-west. Admiral Rodney immediately made the necessary signal for weighing anchor, and getting under weigh; and this was obeyed with so much promptitude and alacrity, that the whole British fleet, consisting of thirty-six sail of the line, was clear off Grosislet Bay before noon. They proceeded, under as much sail as they could carry, in pursuit of the enemy, so that before daylight the next morning, the French fleet was discovered under the island of Dominica. At this time both fleets were becalmed: the enemy got the breeze first, and taking advantage of it, stood towards Guadaloupe. The breeze next favored the van of the English fleet, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, who stood after them with a press of sail: all this while the rear and the centre of Admiral Rodney's fleet were still becalmed. This circumstance, which to all appearance, was unfavorable to the English, proved in the issue, highly advantageous to them; for the Count de Grasse, who had determined to avoid an engagement, and to press forward, in order to effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, perceiving the van of the English at a distance from, and unsupported by the rear and centre, was tempted by the opportunity which seemed to present itself, of overpowering it; in this hope, therefore, as soon as Sir Samuel Hood's division came near enough, the Count de Grasse bore down upon it with his whole force. Sir Samuel Hood was not dispirited; though, at one period of this very unequal engagement, his own ship, the *Barfleur*, had seven of the enemy's ships firing upon her, and during the greatest

part of the action, not less than three. The example of the *Barfleur* was followed by all the rest of the division, so that no advantage could be obtained over them. At length part of the centre got near enough to engage; and the breeze soon afterwards reaching the rear of the British fleet, the Count de Grasse withdrew his ships, and having the advantage of the wind, was enabled to decline any further contest, notwithstanding all the endeavors of Admiral Rodney to continue it. During this partial engagement, the *Royal Oak* and the *Montague*, the leading ships of the van, sustained considerable damage. Captain Boyne, of the *Alfred*, was killed. Two of the French ships were so disabled, as to be obliged to take shelter in Guadaloupe.

The British fleet lay to, all the night after the action, for the purpose of repairing their damages; but the next morning made sail to the windward in pursuit of the enemy. But the pursuit seemed in vain, for on the morning of the 11th, the French fleet had got so far to windward, that some of their ships were scarcely visible. In the mean time the rear division of the British, under the command of Admiral Drake, had been transposed to the van; and the latter became the rear.

About noon on the 11th of April, one of the enemy's ships was seen in a disabled state, a great way to windward; Admiral Rodney now entertained hopes that he should either be able to capture her or to bring on a general engagement, if the Count de Grasse bore down to her support: he therefore ordered a general chase: towards evening, one of the leading ships of the British approached so near the disabled ship of the enemy, that her capture was inevitable if she were not assisted. The Count de Grasse, perceiving her danger, bore down with his whole fleet for her protection. Admiral Rodney had now gained his object; for by night fall, the two fleets were very near each other; it was necessary, however, to

put off the engagement till the next day, the 12th of April. Still, however, as during the night, the French admiral might have drawn off his fleet, Admiral Rodney took such measures, as effectually prevented this from taking place: so that, when daylight broke, he had the satisfaction to perceive that the Count de Grasse, even if so inclined, could not avoid a general engagement: The action was begun about half-past seven in the morning of the 12th, by Captain Fenny, of the Marlborough, the leading ship of the British van. The two fleets met on opposite tacks: the British ranging slowly along—there being but little wind,—and close under the lee of the enemy's line, continuing a most tremendous fire, which the French received and returned with the utmost firmness. About noon, Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, having passed the Ville de Paris, the French admiral's ship, and her second,—and during her passage, directing against them a most tremendous and effective fire,—stood athwart the line of the enemy, between the second and third ship astern of the Ville de Paris: she was immediately followed and supported by the Duke, Namur, and Canada; and the rest imitated their example. As soon as the Formidable had broke the line, she wore round; and a signal being made for the van division to tack, the British fleet thus gained the wind, and stood upon the same tack with the enemy. By this bold and masterly manœuvre, the French line was completely broken, and the whole thrown into confusion; the consequences were decisively advantageous and glorious to the British; for though the enemy still continued to fight with great gallantry, it was evident that the victory was with Admiral Rodney. The action, hitherto had been chiefly supported by the van and centre of the British; for the rear under Sir Samuel Hood being becalmed, did not for some time get into the engagement; and when the breeze did spring up, it was so trifling, that Sir Samuel Hood, in the Barfleur, took an hour and a

half to reach that part of the enemy's line where it had been broken through by the Formidable; during all this time, however, he kept up a most tremendous and well directed fire.

As the French ships always carry a much larger compliment of men than the British, and as, moreover, at this time, they had on board a great number of troops, the carnage was dreadful in the extreme; notwithstanding this, however, and the certainty that they must ultimately be beaten, the Count de Grasse in the *Ville de Paris*, and the other ships in the centre, withstood till the evening, all the efforts of the various ships that attacked him. Nor was the gallantry of the British inferior to that of the French: Captain Cornwallis, of the *Canada*, especially distinguished himself; for, having obliged the *Hector*, a ship of the same force as his own, to strike her colours, he did not lose time by taking possession of her, but giving her in charge to a frigate, he pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*, which he engaged for the space of two hours, notwithstanding her great superiority, and left her a complete wreck. The Count de Grasse, however, refused to surrender; and as it was supposed that he would not yield to any vessel that did not carry an admiral's flag, towards sun-set Sir Samuel Hood poured from the *Barfleur*, a most dreadful fire into the *Ville de Paris*. The Count de Grasse bore it for about ten minutes, when he surrendered: at this time only three men were alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and of this number the Count himself was one. Besides the *Ville de Paris*, and the *Hector*, the *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, which had been captured in the British channel, was re-taken; the *Cæsar*, and the *Glorieux*, of seventy-four guns each, also surrendered after they were made complete wrecks. The *Diadem*, early in the engagement, bore up to assist in protecting the *Ville de Paris* from the *Formidable*, but by a single broadside from the latter, she was sunk.

Night, which must have been ardently wished for by the French, now came on: when the British admiral made the signal for his fleet to bring to, in order that he might secure his prizes. In the course of this night the *Cæsar*, one of the prizes, blew up by accident; and a British lieutenant and fifty seamen, with about four hundred prisoners, perished.

The *Ville de Paris* was the most important of the prizes; she was the largest ship in the French king's service: she had been a present from the city of Paris to Louis XV. and no expense had been spared to render the gift worthy of the city and of the monarch; the expense of building her and fitting her for sea, is said to have been one hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds. On board of her there were, at the time of her capture, thirty-six chests of money, intended for the pay and subsistence of the men who were to have been employed in the expedition against *Jamaica*: in the other captured ships, the whole train of artillery and the battering cannon, and travelling carriages meant for that expedition, were also found.

The loss of men in the British fleet in both actions, on the 9th and 12th of April, was very small, amounting only to two hundred and thirty-seven killed, and seven hundred and seventy-six wounded. The loss of the French, though not accurately known, is supposed to have been greater; indeed it is computed to have been three thousand slain, and more than double that number wounded. In the *Ville de Paris* alone, upwards of three hundred were killed; and in several other of the captured ships between two and three hundred. In the first engagement of the 9th of April, the French fleet consisted of thirty-four sail of the line; and the British of thirty-six sail of the line; but in that engagement two of the enemy's ships having been disabled, their numerical force of course was reduced in the battle of the 12th, to

thirty-two sail of the line; on the other hand, the French had larger ships than the British; and besides, in consequence of the calm, Sir Samuel Hood's division did not get into action till late in the day, and even then was only partially engaged.

Before the morning of the 13th broke, the ships of the enemy that were not captured, having taken advantage of the night, had crowded all sail, and were actually out of sight. Four of them made their way to the Dutch island of Curacoa; but the greater number, under the command of Bougainville and Vandreuil, kept together, and directed their course for Cape François.

Sir George Rodney, not content with the success of his bravery which he had already reaped, determined on the pursuit of the vanquished and flying enemy; and in the morning issued orders accordingly; but in consequence of a calm, he was detained for the space of three days, under the island of Guadaloupe; thus affording sufficient time for the French to get far out of his reach. At first he conceived that they might have taken refuge in some of their own ports to windward, but having examined them, by means of his frigates, and ascertained that they were not there; and being thus convinced that they were all gone to leeward, he directed Sir Samuel Hood, with his division, to proceed to the westward of St. Domingo, whilst he himself followed with the remainder of the fleet, to join him under Cape Tiberon.

Sir Samuel Hood obtained sight of the French in the Moro passage, between St. Domingo and Porto Rico: they consisted of two sail of the line and three frigates; all these were captured, except one of the frigates, which by a sudden change of the wind, was enabled to effect her escape. The total loss of the enemy, therefore, amounted to eight sail of the line, and two frigates: six of which were in possession of the British, one had been

sunk, and another had blown up after her capture. Four vessels were still in Curacoa.

After his success, Sir Samuel Hood joined Admiral Rodney under Cape Tiberon, when the latter proceeded to Jamaica with his prizes; leaving Sir Samuel with twenty-five sail of the line to keep the sea, and watch the motions of the enemy. The latter were still formidable: for the Spaniards had sixteen ships of the line and about eight thousand troops at Cape François; and the remainder of the Count de Grasse's fleet, which were collected there, under the command of Vandreuil, amounted to twenty-three sail of the line. But, notwithstanding this force, they were too disheartened by their defeat, to think of their expedition against Jamaica. The Spanish fleet and troops returned to the Havannah; a number of the French ships of war came to Europe with convoys; and Admiral Vandreuil, with about thirteen sail of the line, proceeded to the coast of North America.

Admiral Pigot, having arrived from England, to succeed Sir George Rodney on the West India station; the latter sailed from Jamaica in the beginning of August. The news of his victory gave great and universal joy in Great Britain, and the noble admiral was created an English peer, while Sir Samuel Hood was created an Irish one.

The reduction of the British settlement at the Bahamas, was the only hostile enterprize in that part of the world, after Admiral Rodney's victory. On the 6th of May, a Spanish armament, consisting of three frigates and sixty sail of transports, sailed from the Havannah; there were on board the transports twenty-five thousand troops. As the governor of the Bahamas was totally unable to defend them against such a force, he immediately agreed to surrender on terms of capitulation.

Having thus concluded our account of the naval opera-

tions of this war in the West Indies, there are two points relative to the victory, which closed it in that part of the world, on which we shall offer a few remarks.

In the first place, the fate of the ships captured by Admiral Rodney was most unfortunate; before they left the West Indies they suffered very much from a severe gale there; but their sufferings at this period were nothing compared with what they endured during their passage towards Britain. In consequence of their disabled state, and the hurricane they encountered, scarcely any of the fruits of this glorious victory reached the ports of the British isles.

The second point to which we mean to allude, regards the manner in which Admiral Rodney achieved his victory; it has already been mentioned that he broke the enemy's line; and the consequence was that the enemy afterwards had no chance of success. Considerable controversy has arisen concerning the originality of this manœuvre; or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, whether Admiral Rodney was not indebted for the idea to another person.

Several years after the battle of the 12th of April, Mr. Clerk, of Eldon, a Scotch gentleman of fortune, published a work on Naval Tactics; in which the principle of breaking the line was clearly laid down; and he claimed to himself the merit of the discovery; as well as that of having suggested it, through the medium of a common friend, to Admiral Rodney. In consequence of his claims an application was made to the Admiralty for some reward; or, at least, some mark of their sense and approbation of his merits on this important national point; but the Admiralty, after having carefully inquired into the subject, did not deem Mr. Clerk entitled to any reward; not considering him to have been either the original discoverer of this manœuvre, or that Admiral Rodney had acted on his suggestion.

There are, therefore, two distinct points to be considered: in the first place, whether Mr. Clerk discovered the practicability and advantage of this manœuvre; and in the second place, whether Admiral Rodney practised it in consequence of his suggestion; and these two points ought not to be confounded, but should be canvassed and investigated totally independant of each other.

With respect to the first, there are in our Naval History some instances of the manœuvre of breaking the line, though it is difficult to ascertain whether this manœuvre, in those cases, was the effect of design and plan, or the result of a thought at the moment, or merely of accidental circumstances. In one of the engagements in the Baltic, between the Danes and the Swedes, towards the close of the 17th century, there is also an instance of the line having been broken; but in this case also it is impossible to say whether the manœuvre was planned or accidental.

Hence it appears that the manœuvre of breaking the line had been practised before Mr. Clerk thought of it; but he certainly had the merit of considering the subject in a more full and systematic manner; and this must be regarded as no mean merit. It seems to us, therefore, that government ought to have bestowed upon him some mark of its approbation; even on the sole ground of his having discussed so ably a subject so interesting and important to us as a maritime nation:—rewards bestowed in this manner are always well laid out.

With respect to the second point, whether Admiral Rodney took the hint of breaking the line from Mr. Clerk, it is absolutely impossible to attain any certainty: it is of course a question of mere evidence. Mr. Clerk states that he explained his plan to a common friend, and that when it was mentioned to Admiral Rodney, he was highly pleased with it, and declared that he would act upon it the very first opportunity: the first opportunity that actually did present itself was on the 12th of April. On the

other hand, there is evidence that Admiral Rodney knew it, either from the suggestions of his own mind, or from some other source, long before it is said Mr. Clerk communicated his plan to their common friend. On this point, therefore, as was said before, it is impossible to arrive at the truth.

We must now turn our attentions to the East Indies, in which there were four hard-fought maritime actions, within the short space of seven months. The opponents were Sir Edward Hughes and Admiral Suffrein.

On the 31st of January, Sir Edward Hughes sailed from Trincomale for Madras Road : on the 8th of February he came to anchor there ; where he continued to get the necessary stores and provisions on board of his ships, till the 15th, when the enemy's squadron, consisting of twelve sail of the line, six frigates, eight transports and eight captured vessels, came in sight to the northward, and about noon anchored without the road. Sir Edward Hughes had at this time under his command the *Hero*, of seventy-four guns ; the *Exeter*, of sixty-four ; the *Isis*, of fifty ; the *Beresford*, of seventy ; the *Superbe*, of seventy-four ; the *Monarca*, of seventy ; the *Worcester*, of sixty-four ; the *Monmouth*, of sixty-four ; and the *Eagle*, of sixty-four. As soon as he perceived the enemy, he placed his ships in the most advantageous manner to defend themselves and the other ships in the roads, with springs on their cables, in order that they might bring their broadsides to bear more effectually on the enemy, should they attempt an attack.

As soon as Admiral Hughes perceived that the enemy had weighed anchor, and stood to the southward, he also made the signal to weigh, and stood after them. During that night the chase continued ; and in the morning, at daylight, he ascertained that the enemy's vessels had separated : the line-of-battle ships and a frigate being distant about four leagues, and the remaining frigates, with the transports, being distant about three leagues in a different

direction, apparently directing their course for Pondicherry. Under these circumstances the British admiral adopted, without hesitation, the most judicious and prudent line of conduct; for under the expectation that the enemy would not permit the transports to be endangered, but rather bear down to their relief and support, he followed their course. In this chase he was successful; for his copper-bottomed vessels came up with and captured six sail of ships: five of these were English, and had been taken by the French, to the northward of Madras.

As soon as the French admiral perceived the intention of Admiral Hughes, he altered his course, and bore down for the purpose of saving his transports: by four in the afternoon, several of his best sailing vessels reached very near the sternmost ships of the British fleet. As at this time the latter were very much dispersed in consequence of their pursuit of the transports, Admiral Hughes threw out the signal for the chasing ships to join him. The evening was now come on; and during the whole of the night, the two fleets continued near each other. At six in the morning the British fleet were directed by signal to form the line of battle a-head. At ten, the enemy's squadron, being favoured by the wind, approached very near the British. At half-past twelve, Admiral Hughes judged it prudent to make the signal to form the line of battle a-breast: this he was induced to do for the purpose of drawing the rear of his line closer to the centre; so as to prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking the ships while separated and unsupported. The enemy, however, still pushed on to the rear of the British, in a double line a-breast; so that Admiral Hughes was again under the necessity to alter his course in the line, that he might draw the ships still closer to the centre. From these manœuvres it is evident that there was a great trial of skill between the opposing admirals. The British admiral at last perceiving that he must fight under several disadvantages arising from the

wind favouring the enemy, made the signal for his fleet at once to form into the line of battle a-head. At four o'clock the *Exeter*, which from the change of position had become the sternmost ship in the rear, not being quite close to her second a-head, was attacked by three of the enemy's ships, which bore right down upon her; while four more of their second line, headed by the *Heros*, in which Monsieur Suffrein had his flag, hauled alongside of the first line, towards the British centre. At twelve minutes past four the action became general from the British rear to the centre; the commander's ship of the enemy, with three others of their second line, leading down on the centre of the British.

Circumstances so favoured the French that they were able to bring eight of their best ships to the attack of the five of the British; the van of the latter not being able to get into action, without tacking on the enemy; this they could not do in consequence of the want of wind; and this also prevented the five ships of the British centre and rear, which were so unequally matched, from following the van, without the certainty of separating the van from the rear.

Things continued in this state, truly mortifying to Admiral Hughes, till six in the afternoon; when a sudden squall of wind arose from the south-east; this brought the heads of the British ships round on the enemy, to the north-eastward; when the engagement was renewed by the five ships from their starboard guns; at twenty-five minutes past six, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood to the north-east. The greater part of the British fleet were in no condition to follow them: the *Superbe*, besides other damage, had five feet water in the hold; the *Exeter* was reduced almost to the state of a wreck, and had a signal of distress flying; the other three ships in the British rear, though they had suffered less, were yet by no means in a condition to pursue the enemy.

During the whole of the night Admiral Hughes stood to the southward under easy sail; but the full state of damage which his fleet had sustained, being ascertained in the morning, he resolved to proceed to Trincomale; as the only proper place to refit the disabled ships. He arrived there on the 24th; and the utmost dispatch having been used, he sailed again on the 4th of March. On the 12th he arrived at Madras, without having seen anything of the enemy.

As both the admirals were men of activity and enterprise, anxious to do every thing in their power for the service of their respective countries, and fully convinced of the necessity of vigilance, it is not surprising that they soon met again. On the 11th of April, Admiral Hughes bore away for Trincomale; by this the enemy got the wind of him; and profiting by this, they crowded all sail they could get after him. The ships which composed the British rear not being good sailers, they were soon overtaken by the French copper-bottomed vessels; and Sir Edward Hughes was thus under the necessity of using his utmost endeavours to prevent them from being unequally attacked. At nine o'clock in the forenoon of the 12th, he made the signal for his ships to form the line of battle a-head, on the starboard tack. The enemy, on his part, adopted different manœuvres, for the purpose of commencing the engagement to the best advantage: at last, a little after noon, they bore away, with an apparent determination to bring on close fighting: five sail of their van stretching along to engage the British van, and the remainder, consisting of seven sail, steering directly on the British centre ships. At half-past one the engagement commenced between the vans of the two squadrons. Monsieur Suffrein, in the *Heros*, with his second a-stern, the *L'Orient*, bore down on the *Superbe*; the *Heros*, after firing and receiving a severe fire for a few minutes, during which she received great damage, stood on for the Mon-

mouth : this ship being at this time engaged with another vessel, was so little able to stand against the fire of the *Heros*, in addition, that at three o'clock she was under the necessity of bearing out of the line to leeward. At forty minutes after three, as the wind still continued unfavourable, and Sir Edward Hughes was apprehensive that his ships might get entangled with the shore, he made the signal for the squadron to wear, still, however, continuing to engage the enemy. About two hours afterwards, being in fifteen fathom water, and the *Monmouth* not in a condition to keep off the shore, he made the signal for the squadron to prepare to anchor. The enemy did not seem disposed to continue the engagement ; on the contrary, they drew off, in great disorder to the eastward, the admiral having previously shifted his flag from the *Heros* to the *Hannibal*. As the former ship was greatly disabled, one of the frigates was ordered to assist her, but in attempting this, she fell in with the *Isis*, and struck her colours to her : the night, however, being extremely dark, the captain of the French frigate took advantage of this circumstance, and of the disabled state of the *Isis*, and made his escape.

As soon as it was day-light, Admiral Hughes perceived the French fleet at anchor, about five miles further from the shore than his squadron : they were in much distress and disorder, but evidently using their utmost endeavours to refit. As the *Monmouth* was in no condition to have withstood a renewed attack, Admiral Hughes was at first of opinion, that they meant to come down upon her. Both fleets continued in these relative circumstances till the morning of the 19th, when the enemy stood out to sea, till at noon, having gained the sea breeze, they tacked and stood in towards the British squadron : but perceiving that Admiral Hughes had made most admirable dispositions to receive them, they again tacked and stood to the eastward. Upon this the admiral sailed for Trin-

comale Bay, where he anchored on the evening of the 22nd.

From this bay Admiral Hughes sailed on the 24th of June, and proceeded to Negapatnam road. On the 5th of July the French squadron, consisting of eighteen sail, twelve of which were of the line, came in sight. The measures of the British admiral were immediately taken; his object was to gain the wind of the enemy; for this purpose he weighed anchor and stood out to sea all that evening and night. On the 6th at daylight the enemy's squadron was discovered at anchor: Admiral Hughes immediately made the signal to form the line of battle a-breast, and to bear away towards the enemy; but, as soon as he observed them getting under weigh, and standing to the westward, he directed the signal to be hauled down, and the signal for the line a-head to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes after ten the signal for close engagement was made. This signal was obeyed most literally by the British fleet; nor were the enemy backwards in returning the fire; so that from ten minutes past eleven to thirty-five minutes after twelve, the engagement was general from van to rear in both lines, and mostly very close: but about this time it was evident that the enemy had suffered considerably, for their van ship bore away out of the line, and the French Admiral's second ship a-head had lost her main-mast. The sudden shifting of the wind—the sea breeze setting in very fresh from the south and south-east, changed the relative positions of the two squadrons; several of the ships in the van and centre of the British being taken aback, their heads now lying to the westward, while those in the rear continued on their former tack: some of the enemy's vessels also had their heads turned to the westward. At this time, the *Severe* fell alongside of the *Sultan*, and struck to her; but as the latter was then in the act of veering, the enemy took advantage of this circumstance, made what sail he could and fired on the *Sultan*,

and at last got away the rest of the French squadron; during this, he shewed no colours.

Admiral Hughes perceiving that he had the advantage of the enemy, who were now endeavouring to get away, made the signal for the general chace; but afterwards learning that two of his squadron veer very much disabled, and perceiving that the enemy were endeavouring to cut off another, he made the signal to veer, and stood to the westward. The engagement still continued, but only partially, till about half-past four; when Admiral Hughes made the signal to anchor: soon afterwards the enemy anchored about three leagues to leeward of the British.

As Admiral Hughes was persuaded that one of the French ships had struck her colours, though he supposed it to be the Ajax, instead of the Severe, he sent a flag of truce, and a letter to Monsieur Suffrein, containing a demand of the surrender of the French king's ship the Ajax: to this an evasive answer was returned, the purport of which was, that it was the French ship Severe, which had the halliards of the ensign shot away, as frequently occurred, but that the colours never were struck. As Admiral Hughes had no means of enforcing the request in his letter, he was obliged to put up with this reply to it.

As it was found impossible to repair the damages sustained in this engagement in Negapatnam road, Admiral Hughes proceeded to Madras road, where he arrived on the 20th of July. On the 20th of August, the squadron having completed its provisions, and being in a tolerable condition for service, sailed for Trincomale; but the wind blowing strong from the southward, it did not arrive there till the 2nd of September. On the morning of the 3rd, Admiral Hughes ascertained that the enemy were in possession of the forts, and that their fleet had been reinforced

by one seventy-four, one sixty-four, and one fifty gun ship, amounting now to fourteen line-of-battle ships.

As soon as they perceived the British, they got under sail, and at twenty minutes past eight, began to bear down on them; the engagement however, did not commence till half-past two o'clock; and within five minutes afterwards it was general from van to rear. The Worcester was most furiously attacked by two of the French ships, but she was bravely assisted by the Monmouth, nearly at the same time. The Exeter and Isis, the two headmost ships of the British line, were attacked by five of the enemy: the Exeter was so much disabled, that she was forced out of the line; her opponents then tacked, and fired on the Isis, and other ships of the van as they passed. The centres of the opposing squadrons were engaged on more equal terms, ship to ship. Soon after three o'clock, the effects of the British fire became apparent, the French admiral's second a-stern being nearly dismasted.

About half-past five o'clock, in consequence of a sudden shifting of the wind, Admiral Hughes was obliged to put out the signal for veering; the squadron of the enemy wore at the same time, and the engagement was renewed on the other tack. At twenty minutes past six the French admiral's main and mizen masts were shot away; and about the same time the Worcester lost her main top-mast. The engagement now began to slacken, and about seven o'clock, the greater part of the French squadron hauled their wind to the southward; and twenty minutes afterwards, the engagement entirely ceased. At daylight, next morning, no part of the enemy's squadron was in sight: in the condition of several of the British ships, Admiral Hughes did not deem it prudent to follow them, but directed his course for Madras Roads.

Perhaps, there is scarcely any instance in the naval records of this, or any other country, of such distinguished

bravery on both sides, as was displayed in the East Indies, between Admiral Hughes and Monsieur Suffrein. In respect to force, there was not much difference; in point of nautical skill, each fleet might claim a great and an equal share. In short, it was to this remote quarter of the world, that those who are eager after maritime courage and enterprise must look if they wish to be gratified.

We shall close our narrative of the naval annals of this year, as usual, with the particulars of such single engagement, or engagements between a few ships on each side, as seem most deserving of notice.

Captain Luttrell, of His Majesty's ship, the *Mediator*, having received information that an American frigate was ready to sail from Bourdeaux, resolved if possible to intercept her. On the 12th of December, he discovered five sail of ships; he immediately gave chase, and soon had the satisfaction to ascertain that he gained upon them. By eight o'clock in the morning they formed a close line of battle: the headmost was *L'Eugene*, of thirty-six guns; next was an American brig of thirty-four guns: next to her a two decked ship, armed *en flute*, mounting thirty guns: next to her lay the *Alexander*, of twenty-four guns; and next to her the *Dauphin Royal*, of twenty-eight guns. Captain Luttrell was not in the least dismayed at his force, but knowing that the good sailing of his ship would bring him off, in case of necessity, he resolved, if possible, to throw the enemy's squadron into confusion. He therefore continued bearing down with all sail set; and by half-past ten, he succeeded in breaking their line; the brig and the *Dauphin Royal* crowding all sail away from the rest. At eleven o'clock he bore down and cut off the *Alexander*; and with his first broadside obliged her to strike her colours; her remaining consorts deserting her. One of these, Captain Luttrell resolved to chase, as soon as he had secured his prize: but it was nearly nine o'clock in the evening before he got up with the *Mena-*

gere. He immediately prepared to pour in a broadside, when she hauled down her colours, and hailed that she had struck. At day break next day, the brig and the Dauphin Royal were seen greatly disabled; but as Captain Luttrell had sent a considerable number of his men on board his prize, he did not think it prudent to attempt their capture. The Dauphin Royal stood in towards the leeward, and the brig returned to Bourdeaux. The Alexander was commanded by Captain Gregory, who called himself an American, but who had every appearance of being an Irishman. This person, on the 14th of December laid a plot on board the Mediator, to occasion the prisoners to rise, with the hope of seizing the ship; but his design was defeated, chiefly from the circumstance, that the hatches were so secured, that only one man could come up at a time. At ten at night, a terrible shock, as if from some explosion, and the cry of fire was heard. Gregory, in order to let the prisoners know when he wished them to rise, had fired a gun in the gun-room, where he lay; and this had blown away the ports. Captain Luttrell immediately went down and found the gun-room on fire; in the cot of Gregory, gunpowder was found; and other proofs of his guilt having been detected, Captain Luttrell ordered him, and those of his officers and men, whom he suspected, to be put in irons, and fed only on bread and water.

In order to prove that he was as ready and desirous to countenance and reward good behaviour, as he had shewn himself determined to repress and punish what was wrong, he paid particular attention to the officers of the Monarque, who conducted themselves like men of honour.

Captain Pole, of His Majesty's ship Success, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, in company with the Vernon, store-ship, being cruising about the middle of March, near Cape Spartel, discovered a sail right a-head. At first, she seemed to be a line of battle

ship, and Captain Pole made the signal for the Vernon to crowd all sail; but finding that the enemy gained on the store-ship, he shortened sail to let her go a-head, and then brought to, in the hope of distracting the attention of the enemy from the store ship. But, on nearer approach, it was ascertained that the vessel was only a large frigate; her poop and the hase of the weather, having previously given her the form of a line of battle ship: soon afterwards she hoisted Spanish colours, and fired a gun. At six o'clock the two vessels were very near each other, when Captain Pole ordered his ship to be veered, the enemy being a-stern: his object was to get on his lee bow; he then hauled close round, giving him his whole fire within pistol shot; and immediately continued the engagement, passing close round to windward; by this manœuvre he completely deceived his opponent, who expected him to leeward, and were in the act of firing their lee guns into the water. Captain Pole lost no time in pressing on them while they were under the influence of surprise and confusion, so as not to permit them to recover: he next veered, and placed his vessel in such a position, supported without intermission, a most astonishing close and well directed fire, the consequences of which were soon obvious, for the enemy struck her colours about twenty minutes past eight o'clock: she proved to be the Santa Catalina, of thirty-four guns, and upwards of three hundred men. The Spanish commander appeared himself in great displeasure at the conduct of his crew, and seemed to be of opinion, if they had conducted themselves as they ought to have done, his vessel would not have been taken.

As soon as Captain Pole had an opportunity of examining the state of his prize, he was convinced that it would be extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to get her into port; for, besides the damage done to her masts and rigging, her hull was like a sieve, the shot having gone through both sides: he resolved however to use his

utmost endeavour to repair her damages; but while he was thus employed, at daylight on the 18th, six sail appeared in sight: of those, two frigates immediately bore down for the purpose of reconnoitring. Captain Pole's measures were taken with great promptness and judgment; for he instantly ordered the Vernon to make all sail, and sent orders to set fire to his prize. She blew up in a quarter of an hour. The next object was to escape from such a superior force; all sail was therefore set, and the wind being at south-east, he resolved to proceed to Madeira. As the approach of these vessels could not be unknown to the two hundred and eighty-six prisoners, who were on board of the *Success*, they were encouraged with the hope of being able to regain their liberty, and made an attempt to rise. Fortunately this was discovered; and Captain Pole succeeded in getting off in company with the *Vernon*.

At the end of the year 1782, there were in the navy half-pay list two hundred and forty-three captains, one hundred and seventy-two masters and commanders, and nine hundred and ten lieutenants, which had been added since the commencement of the war in 1776, exclusive of those who had died or been killed during that period. At the end of this year, the state of the navies of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, in commission, was accurately as follows:

	Gt. Britain.	France.	Spain.	Holland.
Line ships.....	105.....	89.....	53.....	32
Fifties.....	13.....	7.....	3.....	0
Large Frigates.....	63.....	49.....	12.....	}.....28
Small ditto.....	69.....	54.....	36.....	
Sloops.....	217.....	86.....	31.....	13
Cutters.....	43.....	22.....	0.....	0
Armed ships.....	24.....	0.....	0.....	0
Bombs.....	7.....	5.....	14.....	0
Fire ships.....	9.....	7.....	11.....	6
Yachts.....	5.....	0.....	0.....	0

The following are the names of the captains of His Majesty's navy killed since the commencement of the war, with the names of each ship they commanded, and in what station they were :—

WEST INDIES.

Captain's Names.	Ship's Names.
Captain Watson	Conqueror
—— Griffiths	Ditto
Hon. H. St. John	Intrepid
—— Bayne	Alfred
—— Blair	Anson
Lord R. Manners	Resolution
—— Evrett	Ranby

EAST INDIES.

Lord Stephens	Superbe
—— Reynolds	Exeter

NORTH AMERICA.

Smith.....	Trepassy
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EUROPE.

Pownal	Apollo
Macartney... ..	Princess Amelia

The number of prisoners of war in England, French, Dutch, American, and Spaniards, amounted to four thousand one hundred and sixty men, to be exchanged.

At the very commencement of the year 1783, it was obvious that Mr. Pitt's ministry could not stand before the coalition of Lord North and Mr. Fox: his defeat in the House of Commons, on the subject of the address to the throne, was regarded as a prognostic of his approaching fall. Soon afterwards Captain Luttrell moved, in this House, that there should be laid before it: First, an account of all His Majesty's ships and vessels that were in ordinary, or harbour service, on the 21st day of March, 1782, in the ports of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Sheerness,

and Chatham: Second, an account of the state and condition of the ships and vessels of war employed in home service; agreeably to the last weekly statement, preceding the 21st day of March, 1782: Third, an account of the condition of the ships and vessels of war on foreign service, and on the coast of Scotland and Ireland; according to the last accounts received at the Admiralty, from the commanders-in-chief on the several stations abroad, or from the senior officer of any squadron of king's ships on foreign stations, and on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland; according to the weekly returns of the nearest date to the 21st of March, 1782: and Fourth, copies of the correspondence between the senior officers of His Majesty's ships in the Bay of Honduras, and the merchants, traders, inhabitants, and Indian chiefs; between the month of September, 1779, and the month of January following; as the same were transmitted by Sir Peter Parker, to the Board of Admiralty. These several papers were ordered to be laid before the House: but, in the meantime, the power of the ministry was still farther on the wane; and on the resolutions, with regard to the approaching peace, proposed by Lord John Cavendish, the division was carried by the opposition.

At last, on the 2nd of April, a change of ministry took place: the Duke of Portland was appointed the first lord of the treasury; Lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed principal secretaries of state; Lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Keppell was placed at the head of the admiralty; Lord Stormont was appointed president of the council; and the Earl of Carlisle keeper of the privy seal.

On the 12th of May, the ordinary and extraordinary services of the navy were moved for: viz. that a sum not exceeding four hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine pounds be granted to His Majesty, for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea

and marine officers, for the year 1783; and that a sum not exceeding three hundred and eleven thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds be granted to His Majesty, towards the building, re-building, and repairing ships of war, and other extra works. A considerable discussion arose on these estimates, in the course of which Sir John Jervis desired the House to take a view of the fleets of other powers, and extolled the wisdom of keeping up a formidable and respectable navy. The promotions which had been recently made were strongly opposed: these promotions consisted of thirty-nine masters and commanders, who had been advanced to the rank of post captains; and of twenty lieutenants, who had been raised to the rank of masters and commanders. Of the first of these classes, the promotion conferred rank, but was attended with no additional pay; it was, therefore, urged that by it the public did not incur the slightest expense. Of the second class, the promotion affected the half-pay establishment, with an additional payment to each of three shillings per day; an expense which the country would not grudge.

As circumstances were in a train of bringing about a peace, which was actually concluded early this year, we have not many naval actions to record. There are, however, some which deserve notice.

On the 2nd of March, His Majesty's ship *Resistance*, commanded by Captain King, coming through Turk's Island passage, in company with the *Du Guay Trouin*, discovered two ships at anchor, which immediately cut their cables and stood to the southward. The *Resistance* gave chase to the sternmost, and soon came up with her; she was a vessel of twenty guns: into her the *Resistance* poured one broadside, and then pushed forward towards the other, which was of a superior size, mounting twenty-eight guns. As soon as the *Resistance* had succeeded in getting alongside, she struck her colours, after dis-

charging her broadside. She proved to be the French frigate, *La Coquette*, commanded by the Marquis de Grasse, a nephew to the celebrated Count de Grasse. This vessel, with her corvet, had sailed with troops on board, about nine weeks before, on an expedition against Turk's Island, in which they had been successful. A day or two after her capture, the *Resistance* fell in with His Majesty's frigates *Albemarle* and *Tartar*, and the *Drake* and *Barrington* armed vessels; when it was resolved an attempt should be made to retake the island. For this purpose two hundred and fifty men were landed; the two brigs being stationed opposite the town to cover the disembarkation, and to dislodge the enemy; but a battery being unexpectedly opened against them, they were compelled to retire, and to re-embark.

Off the coast of America an action took place, attended with circumstances highly dishonourable to the French captain: the frigate *La Sybelle*, commanded by the Count de Kergarion, hoisted French colours under English, and displayed at the same time a signal of distress: by these means he succeeded in enticing near him His Majesty's ship the *Hussar*, Captain Russel, of twenty guns. When the *Hussar* hailed him, he answered with a broadside: but Captain Russel, though inferior in force and thus taken by surprise, fought his ship with such gallantry, that after an obstinate engagement the enemy surrendered. For his behaviour, so contrary to the law of nations, Captain Russel placed the French commander in close confinement.

In the East Indies a Dutch ship was cut out from under the batteries that had been erected at Cudalore, by the *Medea*. The prize was capable of mounting fifty guns: her captain was on shore, and had applied to the French commander for some troops to defend her; but they were refused, as it was not supposed that she would be attacked under the cannon of the fort; and of this the lieu-

tenant was so firmly persuaded, that he had neglected loading the guns on that side. The *Medea* boldly ran between the fort and the ship, and began a brisk attack. The fort immediately opened its fire, but did more damage to the Dutch ship than to the *Medea*. After engaging for the space of an hour she struck; but not till the lieutenant had formed the resolution of running her ashore. As soon as Captain Gore, of the *Medea*, was aware of this, he declared he would board, and put every man to death, if they attempted it: this threat made them desist. On board of the prize were four French officers of rank.

As not unconnected with the Naval History of Great Britain, we may mention in this place the losses in ships which the East India Company sustained, between the years 1763 and the conclusion of the American war.

Elizabeth, lost in 1763; Winchelsea, Holderness, and Albion, in 1764; Falmouth, in 1766; Lord Clive, in 1767; Earl of Chatham, in 1768; Lord Holland, in 1769; Verolst, in 1771; Duke of Albany, in 1772; Lord Mansfield, in 1773; Huntingdon, Royal Captain, and Asia, in 1774; Marquis of Rockingham and Valentine, in 1775; York, in 1776; Colebrooke, Stafford and London, in 1779; General Barker, in 1780; Earl of Dartmouth, Grosvenor, Earl of Hertford, and Brilliant, in 1782; besides the *Walpole*, *Osterly*, *Hillsborough*, *Royal George*, *Grattan*, *Mount Stewart*, and *Fortitude*, which were captured.

On the 2nd of September, 1783, preliminary articles of peace between His Britannic Majesty and the States General of the United Provinces, were signed at Paris. Of the articles we shall notice such as most accord with the nature and plan of this work. By the second article, it was agreed that, with respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the Republic towards those of His Britannic Majesty, the same custom should be respectively followed as was practised before the com-

menecement of the war. By article six, the States General of the United Provinces promised and engaged not to obstruct the navigation of the British subjects, in the eastern seas. By the next article, it was stated that whereas differences had arisen between the English African Company and the Dutch West Indian Company, relative to the navigation on the coasts of Africa, for preventing all cause of complaint between the subjects of the two nations upon those coasts, it was agreed that commissaries should be named on each side, for the purpose of making suitable arrangements on these points.

On the same day the definitive treaty of peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, was signed at Versailles. By the second article of this treaty, it was declared that the treaties of Westphalia, of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nineguen, of 1678 and of 1679; of Ryswick, of 1697; those of peace and of commerce of Utrecht, of 1713; that of Baden, of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague, of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London, of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna, of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, of 1748; and that of Paris, of 1763; should serve as a basis and foundation to the present treaty. By the fourth article, the King of Great Britain was maintained in his right to the Island of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent islands, as the whole were assured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; excepting the Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were ceded in full right to His Most Christian Majesty. By the fifth article, the King of France, in order to prevent the quarrels which had often arisen between England and France, consented to renounce the right of fishing, which belonged to him by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, from the Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland; and for this cession, an additional right of fishing on the western coast of the island

was granted to the French subjects by His Britannic Majesty. By the sixth article, the fishery on the Gulf of St. Lawrence was confirmed to the French. By the seventh article, Great Britain restored to France the Island of St. Lucia; and ceded the Island of Tobago. By the eighth article, the French King restored to Great Britain the Islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Monserrat. By the ninth article, the River Senegal and its dependencies, as well as the Island of Goree, were delivered up to France: while His Most Christian Majesty, on his part, guaranteed to the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort James and the River Gambia. The seventeenth article is one of great importance, and proves more than any other article in the treaty, that Great Britain was the humbled power; for by this it is declared that the King of Great Britain, being desirous to give to His Most Christian Majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and to contribute to render solid the peace re-established between their said Majesties, consents to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, in 1713, inclusive to this day.

At the same place, and on the same day, there was signed a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between His Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain. By the fourth article, the King of Great Britain ceded in full right to His Catholic Majesty, the Island of Minorca, and by the subsequent article, East and West Florida were also given up to Spain. As frequent and disagreeable differences had arisen between the subjects of Britain and Spain, regarding the right claimed by the former of cutting logwood on the coasts of the Bay of Honduras, the sixth article was specially intended to prevent such differences in future: by this article it was expressly agreed that His Britannic Majesty's subjects should have the right of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood,

in the district lying between the Rivers Wallis and Rio Kondo; so that the navigation of these rivers should be common to both nations. Commissaries were also respectively appointed to fix on convenient places, in order that His Britannic Majesty's subjects, employed in the felling of logwood, might without interruption build their houses and magazines, necessary for themselves, their families, and effects. By the seventh article, His Catholic Majesty restored to Great Britain the Islands of Providence and the Bahamas.

In the treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, after an express of the independence of the latter, the third article states that the Americans shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind, on the great bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used, at any time heretofore, to fish. By the eighth article, the navigation of the River Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was for ever to remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

Thus terminated a contest, by no means honourable or favourable in its issue to Great Britain. It is totally foreign to the nature or object of this work to inquire into the justice, the policy, or the expediency of the ill-fated contest between Britain and her colonies; or even to canvass the merits or demerits of the plans and measures by which, on the part of the former, that contest was carried on from its commencement to its termination. But in so far as regards the naval conduct of the American war, it may be pronounced to have discovered little talent or zeal, both in those who planned and those who executed it. Britain assuredly did not display her wonted maritime skill; nor did her seamen seem to feel that sense of superiority to their foes, which is one cause of

success. Had it not been for [the glorious and hardly-expected victory gained by Admiral Rodney, in the West Indies, the war must have terminated in a manner that would have left an almost indelible stain upon the naval character of this country. That victory brought back a large portion of her ancient maritime fame, and thus enabled her to conclude the war on much more advantageous terms than she would otherwise have been able to gain.

The enemies of Britain expected, and even some of her friends dreaded, that her naval strength would be much weakened by the separation of her American colonies. The great Earl of Chatham pronounced in the most decided and oracular manner, that the sun of Britain would set for ever on that day which witnessed the independence of her colonies. They were supposed to be among the most fruitful sources of her power and wealth : on these her commerce was supposed mainly to depend ; and if her commerce were cut up by the roots ; if it were even much injured, how could her naval power remain unimpaired ? What has actually happened has proved the dim and imperfect insight into futurity, possessed by the most experienced and acute statesmen. Within a very short period after Britain lost her colonies, her commerce instead of diminishing, increased ; and we shall soon have occasion to detail undoubted proofs that her maritime power was certainly not, in the smallest degree, impaired by the independence of America :

As, before the close of this war, great and serious apprehensions were entertained that there would soon be a deficiency of timber for naval purposes in the royal forests, the surveyor general of His Majesty's woods was directed, by the House of Commons, to report on this interesting subject. The substance of this report may, with great propriety, find a place in this work.

It began by stating that no ground whatsoever had been

enclosed, in any of His Majesty's forests, for the growth and preservation of timber, since the beginning of the year 1772, except one thousand acres in the New Forest, in the year 1775. In the forest of Dean an inclosure was made in the year 1758, to the extent of two thousand acres. For some time the fences of this new inclosure were kept up and continued in good order; but afterwards, in consequence of encroachments made under various pretexts, and of the negligence and inattention of the persons entrusted with the care of His Majesty's forests, the fences were so much broken down, that the surveyor general judged it most advisable to leave the inclosures open, and rest contented with the benefits which the trees had already derived from the fences.

The report next proceeds to state that the inclosures in the New Forest were in good repair; had answered well the purpose for which they were made; and had nursed up a good stock of young timber. With respect to the rest of the royal forests, there had not been any inclosures purposely made in them, for the growth and preservation of timber for the use of His Majesty's navy: but in the forests of Whittlewood, Salcey, Rochingham, and Whichwood there were a great many anciently inclosed coppices; wherein the King's trees were well preserved.

The report concluded by stating, "that many thousand acres of land in His Majesty's forests might be inclosed and applied to raising pines. There were also, and even would be, within the inclosure now in being, and hereafter to be made therein, some parcels of ground of a nature less fit for the growth of oaks; in which the surveyor general of His Majesty's woods and forests, intended to plant the sort of pines fit for masts, yards, and bowsprits; and nurseries were actually preparing for that purpose. That from his observations and experiments, and the concurring opinion of very good judges, he thought it highly probable that making inclosures purely for the last men-

tioned use, would be attended with success, and prove very advantageous to the kingdom."

Another official report was this year laid before parliament; from which we shall select such information as relates to the subject of these volumes: we allude to the eighth report of the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom. Their object was to examine and state in what manner, and at what time, the receipts, issues, and expenditures of the public money are now accounted for, and to consider and report by what means or methods the public accounts may in future be passed, and the accountants compelled to pay the balances due to them, in a more expeditious, more effectual, and a less expensive manner.

In their examination into the pay-office of the navy, they found the account very far in arrear: viz. to the extent of seventy-five millions; the issues of upwards of twenty-four years, to the month of October, 1780. After having examined into the means of compelling public accountants to come to an account, and into the nature, power, and transactions of the office, where the accounts were audited, they proceeded to inquire into the auditing and passing of particular accounts. In this place we have only to attend to such parts of the report as respect the navy.

They required from the auditors of the imprest, the last declared account of a treasurer of the navy, with the ledgers, charge, discharge, and other materials, from which that account was made out. The account transmitted to them was, that of George Grenville for one year, ending the 31st of December, 1759; with three folio ledgers, and other detached papers; comprehending the total charge upon him for that year, his total discharge, and two abstracts.

It does not fall within the scope or promise of this work

to take any notice of those parts of the report, which do not immediately touch upon topics connected with the naval economy, or history of Great Britain; we shall, therefore, pass by several paragraphs of the report, and attend to those only which are connected with our subject.

In the navy office it is stated, that for every ship five books are made out, copies of each are lodged in three different departments of that office: one in that branch of the office of the controller of the treasury accounts, called the ticket office; two in the office of the controller of the navy; one of them for the commissioner, who controls the payments; the other, for the controller's clerk, who attends him; and two in the office of the treasurer. This book contains the names, the times of service, and the defalcation of every person belonging to that ship; together with the full and net wages of all persons who are paid upon that book: all these several sums are calculated, examined, and checked, both in the ticket office and in the office of the controller of the navy; and the full sum to be allowed the treasurer for the pay of that ship, is entered at the end of the ship's book, and is the same sum in the treasurer's ledger which he claims to be allowed him for the payment of that ship.

When a ship is paid, a commissioner of the navy, two clerks from the treasurer's office, and one from each of the controller's office attend, each with his book; by which means they are a check upon each other. Three of these books are made up at the same time, and compared together; and remain, afterwards, one in the office of the treasurer, another in that of the controller, and a third in that of the controller of the treasury accounts. The treasurer's sections, containing the sums paid upon the ship's books, are taken from the full books after they are made up and signed by three commissioners of the navy, and

are compared in the office of the controller of the treasury accounts, with the sums entered upon the books in that office. The sums for the hospital half-pay and sick quarters, are likewise taken from, and compared with, the full books kept for those services.

The report subsequently adverts to the inconveniences arising from keeping open the ship's books too long, and suggests a correction of the evil ; it acknowledges however, that there is difficulty attending this point ; the difficulty, it is observed, lies in the payment upon recalls ; that it is of those persons who remain upon a book, after the day of payment. A ship is said emphatically to be paid off, upon that day in which that ship's book is first opened for payment, except where one person only is paid off on a ship's book, in order to put that ship out of commission ; and in that case, payments within a month afterwards, are not considered as recalls, but as payments on the pay day. All payments made subsequent to that day, and before the book is made up, are payments upon recalls, and are now made by or upon the book itself, and by the treasurer, in whose treasurership the book was first opened for payment, whether he is in or out of office.

With respect to what is called a ship's book it is thus described : a ship's book, with its four copies, is made out in the ship ; it contains the names, and certain necessary circumstances of all the persons entitled to wages in that ship. The two opposite pages are divided into a variety of columns, with a title at the top of each column : eighteen of these columns are for defalcations, that is, deductions or abatements that are to be made out of their certain deductions ; they are entitled, the chest, the hospital, the three-pence in the pound, and the marine stoppages. The other fourteen are casual.

The wages of an able seaman, at this period, were twenty-wages : at the time of payment four of these are constant

four shillings a month ; this was part of the four pounds a month voted annually by parliament for the maintenance of the seamen ; from this sum of twenty-four shillings, and from the monthly wages of every warrant and petty officer, there are two constant deductions, one shilling for the chest and sixpence for the hospital. The one shilling is divided into three parts, for three different purposes, sixpence of it is to be paid to the Chest at Chatham, for the support of the hurt and disabled seamen ; four-pence is paid to the chaplain, and two-pence to the surgeon. The sixpence is applied to the support of Greenwich Hospital. The monthly pay of the commissioned officers is also subject to the same deductions. The three-pence in the pound is a deduction from the pay of all commissioned and warrant officers, for the purpose of paying the widow's pension. The marine stoppages, are one penny a week from the wages of the private men, three-halfpence of the corporal and drummer, and two-pence of the sergeant, applicable to the same bounty. The casual deductions are either for articles supplied to them, which they are to pay for out of their wages, or for wages that have been advanced to them, or remitted by their order ; or certain fines incurred by them.

The officers and seamen entitled to wages upon any ship's books, may be paid, either before the pay day of that ship, or upon that day ; or between the pay day and the making-up of the book ; or after the book is made up : a payment upon the pay day, which is the most usual, is made in the following manner. The full wages of each person applying, are calculated, and entered in the full column ; the open columns of defalcations are filled up. The total of his defalcations both certain and casual, being cast up and deducted from his full wages, leave the net wages, which are paid him and entered in the proper column.

The next important part of the report relates to the authority by which the deductions from the wages of the seamen, &c. are now made. The copy of an inquisition taken in the fifteenth year of James I. before commissioners of charitable uses, appointed to inquire into the state of the fund, belonging to the chest at Chatham recites the origin of the payment of the sixpence (part of the deduction of one shilling) to the chest at Chatham. From this it appears that this deduction commenced in the year 1590, and was a voluntary gift, or contribution of a certain portion of their respective wages, by the masters, mariners' shipwrights, and seafaring men, then employed in the service, to be a perpetual relief for hurt and maimed mariners, carpenters, and seamen.

The four-pence to the chaplain, and the two-pence to the surgeon, which are the remaining parts of the one shilling deduction, under the title of the *Chest*, are very ancient. The commissioners of the navy were not able to trace the date of their origin. One shilling was the abatement in the chest column in the year 1635.

The deduction of sixpence, under the title of the hospital, is ordered, by the act of the seventh and eighth of William III. chap. 21, to be made from the wages of the seamen, and applied for the better support of Greenwich Hospital. George II. in consequence of a voluntary agreement of the officers of the navy, directed, in the year 1732, that three-pence in the pound shall be from that time abated from the personal pay and half pay of the officers therein described, for the relief of poor widows of commissioned and warrant officers of the navy. The marine stoppages are directed by an order of the Board of Admiralty, dated the 2nd of November, 1756. Such are the topics noticed in this report, which we deemed it necessary here to advert to, as connected with the object of

this work. The report concludes with the recommending certain alterations, which they think would facilitate the more regular and quicker keeping of the accounts of the navy, and thus prevent the public from suffering by the ignorance, the indolence, or the injustice of their servants.

CHAP. II.

Account of the third and last Voyage round the World, performed by Captain Cook, between the years 1776 and 1780.

WE are now to call the attention and interest of our readers to events and circumstances of a very different character and nature, from those which formed the subject of the last chapter; but which equally display the maritime enterprise of Britain. We allude to that voyage of discovery, in the course of which, that justly celebrated navigator, Captain Cook, lost his life. His two preceding volumes have been already detailed in the course of this work; his last, at least equally interesting and important, will partly serve to fill up the interval between the maritime history of the American war, and of those wars which sprung out of the French revolution.

For nearly two hundred years, attempts at various times had been made to find a north-western passage to America; but these attempts had uniformly proved unsuccessful: nor were the various attempts to find such a passage by sailing round the north of Asia more successful. Still many able geographers were of opinion that it was practicable; and as Captain Cook undoubtedly was superior in enterprise and skill to most, if not all preceding navigators, it was naturally and justly thought, that if such a passage could be effected, it would be by him. It was therefore determined by the first Lord of the Admiralty, that the attempt should be made; and preparatory to the execution of it, Lord Mulgrave sailed to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the north pole. Of his voyage we have already given an account. Though

he was unsuccessful, the expectation of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course was not abandoned; and it was resolved that a voyage should be undertaken for that purpose. Captain Cook, with little difficulty, was persuaded to take the command on this expedition, but he suggested that in it, an attempt should be made to pass from the Pacific into the Atlantic, instead of the usual course of former attempts from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

By the instructions given to Captain Cook, he was directed to proceed to the Pacific Ocean, by the islands which had been visited by him in the southern tropic; and after having crossed the Equator into the northern parts of that ocean, he was then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries in his progress northwards, to the principal scene of his operations. But his grand object, of course, was to explore the western coast of North America, since there probably an opening might be found from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean. With regard to this grand object, it was determined, that upon his arrival on the coast of New Albion, he should proceed northward, as far as the latitude 65° , and not lose any time in exploring inlets, till he got into that latitude.

The vessels fixed upon by government for this voyage, were the Resolution, commanded by Captain Cook; and the Discovery, commanded by Captain Clerk. Both vessels were supplied with as much of each necessary article, as could well be stowed; and for the benefit of the inhabitants of Otaheite, &c. an assortment of useful animals were embarked. Captain Cook was also furnished with a sufficient quantity of the most useful European garden seeds. Every precaution that could conduce to the health and comfort of the crews of the two vessels was likewise adopted.

The promotion of science was among the most important objects of this voyage : several astronomical and nautical instruments were given by the board of longitude to Captain Cook : the department of Natural History was assigned to Mr. Anderson, the surgeon of the Resolution, and Mr. Webber was sent out expressly for the purpose of taking drawings of the most interesting objects.

On the 12th of July, 1776, Captain Cook sailed from Plymouth : on the 1st of August he anchored in the road of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe. Here Mr. Anderson learnt that a shrub is common, which agrees exactly with the description given of the tea-shrub ; the Spaniards sometimes use it as tea, and ascribe to it all the qualities of that which is imported from China. On the 1st of September our navigators crossed the Equator. On the 8th, Captain Cook, being near the eastern coast of Brazil, was extremely anxious to fix its longitude ; this he determined to be thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-six degrees west. On the 18th of October the Resolution came to anchor in Table Bay ; and on the 13th of November he left it. On the 6th of the following month, the ships passed through several spots of water, nearly of a red colour ; when some of this was taken up, it was found to contain a large quantity of small animals, resembling craw-fish. On the 12th, land was seen, which was found to consist of two islands. That which lies most to the south, and is the largest, is about fifteen leagues in circumference ; and the northerly one, about nine leagues. These two islands, along with four others, had been previously discovered by the French. On the 24th of December, while the ships were steering to the east, land was seen, bearing east south-east ; it was soon ascertained to be an island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circumference. Another island, of the same size, was also discovered ; and shortly afterwards, a third, and some smaller ones. The one last discovered is a high round rock, which was named

Bligh's Cape : its latitude is 48. 29 south, and its longitude 68, 40 east. When these islands were first seen, the weather was very hazy ; but upon its clearing up, Captain Cook steered in for the land. This was Kerguelen's Land.

On the 25th of December, the ships came to anchor in a harbour. Upon landing, they found the shore almost entirely covered with penguins and other birds, and with seals : the latter were so insensible of fear, that they easily took as many as they wanted. Fresh water was extremely plentiful ; but not a single shrub to be seen, and what was still more extraordinary, they could not catch any fish, except about half a dozen of a very small size. This place Captain Cook called Christmas Harbour.

On the 29th, the ships left it, sailing along the coast, in order to ascertain the position and extent of the island : several promontories and bays, and a peninsula were found ; but the navigation was dangerous. On the 30th of December they came to a point, which proved to be the very eastern extremity of Kerguelen's Land, in latitude 49, 23 south, and longitude 70, 34 east. The result of Captain Cook's examination of this land was, that the quantity of latitude, which it occupies does not exceed one degree and a quarter ; its extent from east to north. Captain Cook had not an opportunity of ascertaining the soil seems very barren, so much so, that Mr. Anderson, notwithstanding his researches, scarcely discovered any plant to reward his labours.

On the 31st of December, Captain Cook left this desolate island, intending, in conformity to his instructions, to touch next at New Zealand. For some time, they had fresh gales, and tolerably clear weather ; but on the 3d of January, 1777, the wind came round to the south, where it continued eight days ; and so thick a fog came on, that the ships ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. On the 12th a calm succeeded the northerly wind ; and

shortly afterwards the wind began to blow from the southward, which brought on rain, that continued twenty-four hours: at the end of the rain, the wind refreshed, and veering to the west and north west, was followed by clear and fair weather.

On the 24th of January, the coast of Van Diemen's Land was discovered, and on the 26th, the ships anchored in Adventure Bay. On the 28th, the English, who were employed in cutting wood, were agreeably surprised by a visit from some of the natives: they consisted of eight men and a boy, who approached without the smallest fear. They were quite naked, and wore no kind of ornament, most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and the faces of some of them were also painted with it. They refused to taste bread, but ate birds. On the 29th, about twenty of the inhabitants, all males, joined Captain Cook, who had landed with some of his men. One of them was hump-backed; this person was distinguished by the drollery of his features, and the humour of his speeches. On iron, or iron tools they set no value, but they were delighted with some beads that were given them. After Captain Cook had left the shore, several women and children made their appearance, the former were naked and as black as the men; many of the children had fine features. Captain Cook during his stay here, ascertained the latitude of Adventure Bay to be $43^{\circ}, 21', 20$ south; and its longitude $147, 29$ east. He corrected also an error of Captain Furneaux, with regard to the situation of Maria's Island.

On the 30th of January, the ships sailed from this place, and on the 12th, they arrived at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in New Zealand. A place was immediately cleared for setting up two observatories; while this was going on, a number of canoes filled with natives came alongside of the ships, very few of them, however, ventured on board. At this Captain Cook was naturally much surprised, as he

was well known to them all, and had behaved very liberally to them all on former occasions. The cause of this change of conduct arose from the natives having murdered some of the crew of Captain Furneaux's ship, and this they suspected Captain Cook was acquainted with. He therefore judged it necessary to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of his friendship, and that he would not disturb them on account of that catastrophe. They soon laid aside their distrust and fear, in consequence of Captain Cook's behaviour; and a traffic between them and the ship's crew was established. Curiosities, fish, and women, were the articles of commerce supplied by the New Zealanders; but the last article was not in favor with the seamen.

Captain Cook gave to one of the chiefs two goats, with a kid, and to another two pigs. With respect to the gardens which had formerly been planted, they were not wholly unproductive, though they had been greatly neglected. In them were found radishes, cabbages, onions, leeks, and a few potatoes; the last, which had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope, were much improved in quality.

On the 25th of February, Captain Cook stood out of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and by the 27th, the ships were clear of New Zealand. In the prosecution of his voyage, the captain encountered unfavourable winds: and no land was discovered till the 29th of March: this was an inhabited island, lying in the latitude of 21, 57 south, and in the longitude of 201, 53 east. From this island Captain Cook sailed on the 13th, and the next day land was again seen. On the 1st of April, it was ascertained to be an island, nearly of the same appearance and size with that which they had just left. On the 3d of the month, three boats were sent for the purpose of getting on the island; in this they succeeded, but nothing was obtained that supplied the wants of the ships. This island lies in

the latitude of 20, 1 south, and in longitude of 201, 45 east, and is about six leagues in circumference; it is called Wateoo by the natives, it is a beautiful spot, its surface varied with hills and plains, covered with rich verdure. Its inhabitants are very numerous, of very fine shapes and complexion. In their manners and religious ceremonies they resemble the people of Otaheite. On the 5th of April, Captain Cook directed his course for Harvey's Island, which had been discovered by him in the year 1773 during his last voyage; at that time there were no traces of its being inhabited; but now it was found to be well peopled by a race of men differing from those of the island he had been last at. They were of a deeper colour, of a rugged and fierce aspect, and very rude and clamorous; it was remarkable that there was no trace of the practice so common among the inhabitants of the islands in the southern ocean, of puncturing or tatooing their bodies. As there was no anchorage at this island, Captain Cook immediately left it.

Being thus disappointed, Captain Cook deemed it impossible to do any thing of importance this year, in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which he was still at so very great a distance; he therefore determined, in order to preserve his cattle, to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where he was sure of being abundantly provided. On the 14th of April, he arrived off Palmerston Island, where a load of scurvy-grass and young cocoa-nuts was obtained; but no water could be procured here. After leaving this island, Captain Cook steered westward, with the intention of making the best of his way to Annamooka. During this part of the voyage, a considerable quantity of rain-water was obtained. The crew continued very healthy, notwithstanding the excessive heat and moisture of the climate. On the 28th, the ships touched at the island of Komango; and on the 1st of May, they arrived at the island of Annamooka. Captain Cook was well received by all his old friends here. The

interruption to the harmony between the inhabitants and the seamen, arose from the thievish disposition of the former; this however was effectually put a stop to by a mode of punishment suggested by Captain Clerk. He put the thieves into the hands of the barber, who completely shaved their heads; in consequence of this operation, they became objects of ridicule to their own countrymen. On the 11th, this island being exhausted of those articles which the ships required, Captain Cook sailed for another, called Hippaee; here he met with a most friendly reception from the inhabitants, and during the whole of his stay, the time was principally spent in a reciprocation of presents, civilities, and solemnities. Captain Cook next examined the neighbouring islands, and on the 10th of June, he arrived at Tongataboo, where a succession of entertainments similiar to those that had occurred at Hapace, were exhibited. On the 19th, he made a distribution of the animals which he had selected as presents to the principal men of the island; but some were dissatisfied with what they got; for next morning, two kids, and two turkey-cocks were missing. Those Captain Cook determined to get again; and accordingly he seized on three canoes that happened to be alongside of the ships, and afterwards arrested the king and some of the chiefs. These bold and decisive measures had the desired effect; some of the articles were instantly brought back, and assurances were given that the rest should be restored.

On the 10th, Captain Cook left this island; and on the 12th, he anchored at the island of Middleburgh: during his stay here, he one day had served up to him at his dinner, a dish of turnips, being the produce of the seeds which he had left here, in his last voyage.

The stay which Capt. Cook made at the Friendly Islands, was between two and three months; during this period the utmost cordiality subsisted between the natives and the English. Under the name of the Friendly Islands, is in-

cluded, not only the group at Hapaec, but also all those islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian, to the north, as well as some others. This archipelago is very extensive : upwards of one hundred and fifty islands were reckoned up by the natives, fifty of them they described as high or hilly ; and thirty-five of them as large : sixty one of them are marked upon the chart of the Friendly Islands, given in Cook's last voyage.

On the 17th of July, Captain Cook resumed his voyage. On the 8th of August, land was discovered : it was an island situated in the latitude of 23, 25 south, and in longitude of 210, 37 east ; its greatest extent is not more than five or six miles. Captain Cook did not stop here, but pursuing his course he reached Otaheite on the 12th. As he knew that he could now be furnished with a plentiful supply of cocoa nuts, the liquor of which is an excellent and wholesome drink, he was desirous of prevailing upon his people to consent to their being abridged, during their stay here, of their stated allowance of spirits, to mix with water. This he accomplished with great adroitness ; his proposal was immediately and unanimously approved of, without the least objection. Accordingly, grog was no longer served, except on Saturday night, when the companies of both ships had a full allowance of it, that they might drink the healths of their friends in Britain. On the 24th, Captain Cook quitted the south east part of Otaheite, and resumed his old station in Matavai Bay. Immediately upon his arrival, he was visited by the king of the whole island, and their former friendship was renewed. The captain resolved to lose no time in disposing of all the European animals which still remained on board the ships : accordingly he sent to the royal residence a peacock and hen ; a turkey-cock and hen ; one gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks. There were already at the king's, several goats, and a Spanish bull, and Captain Cook added three cows, to-

gether with a bull, a horse, and mare, and the sheep that remained.

On the 5th of September, an accident happened, which, though trifling in itself was of some consequence in the situation of things. A young ram, of the breed of the Cape of Good Hope, which had been brought up with great care, on board of the ship, was killed by a dog : the loss of this animal was a serious misfortune, as it was the only one they had, and Captain Cook had been very anxious to propagate so useful a race, in order that he might supply these islands with it. Soon afterwards Captains Cook and Clerk took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the great surprise of the natives : every day afterwards, during their stay, this exercise was repeated by some of the officers or crew, and the surprise and astonishment of the inhabitants suffered no abatement. They were exceedingly delighted with the horses ; indeed they seemed to strike their fancy more than any thing else which they saw in the possession of the British. Captain Cook from his first coming to these islands, resolved not to interfere in the quarrels which might arise amongst the inhabitants ; nevertheless he was ready to protect his particular friends when in danger of being injured. An expedition had been fitted out against Eimeo, which was commanded by a chief, who had not been very friendly to the British ; this chief had been under the necessity of submitting to a disgraceful accommodation. Being of a high spirit and temper, he was full of wrath on this occasion, and threatened, that, as soon as Captain Cook should leave the island, he would attack Captain Cook's particular friend at Matavai. Upon this the captain publicly declared, that he was resolved to espouse the interest of his friend ; and that whoever presumed to assault him, should feel the utmost weight of his displeasure.

During his stay here, Captain Cook was extremely anxious to ascertain, beyond the possibility of a doubt,

whether or not the inhabitants offered human sacrifices; and this he accomplished: for he was a witness to a solemnity of this kind. The victim was a middle aged man, of the lowest class of the people; but though the captain made particular inquiries, he could not learn whether he had committed any crime; and thus was the object both of religion and punishment; or whether he had been taken prisoner in war; or whether he had become a voluntary sacrifice. He, however, was informed that generally a person guilty of some crime, or one of the lowest description, was selected for the horrid purpose of sacrifice. Those who are devoted to suffer, are never forewarned of their fate. The blow which puts an end to their existence, comes on them totally unawares. When ever any of the chiefs deems it necessary, or proper that there should be a human sacrifice, he orders the victim, whom he selects, to be suddenly fallen upon, and killed, either with clubs or stones.

Captain Cook, from what he saw, as well as from what was told him, concluded that this horrid custom was very extensively prevalent through all the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

Captain Cook having been seized with a very violent attack of the rheumatism, was induced to submit himself to a mode of cure recommended by the natives; and eleven of the highest class of females went on board for that purpose. They first desired him to lay himself down among them; then they began to squeeze him with both hands from head to foot; but more particularly in that part where the pain was lodged: this operation was continued till his bones cracked, and his flesh became perfectly soft like a mummy. It lasted for a quarter of an hour; after which he was released. He received immediate relief; and though it was disagreeable while it lasted, he was induced again to submit himself to the remedy. The consequence was that he

was tolerably easy all the succeeding night. The remedy was repeated the next morning, and again in the evening : after which he was perfectly cured.

From Otaheite Captain Cook sailed on the 30th of September, to Eimeo, where he came to anchor on the same day. Their abode here was by no means so pleasant as it had been at the former island. A goat was soon stolen from them : this, however, was recovered without much difficulty, and the thieves were punished ; but the stealing of another goat was attended with a great deal of trouble and vexation. As the recovery of this animal was a matter of considerable importance, Captain Cook was resolved to effect it if possible, and accordingly he made an expedition across the island, in the course of which he set fire to some houses and canoes. Still he seemed to make no impression ; the goat was not restored. At last he sent a message to the chief, that he would not put an end to the contest or leave a single canoe, unless the animal was restored. This had the desired effect. On the 11th of October, the ships departed from Eimeo, and the next day arrived on the west side of Huaheine. Here Omai, who had returned from England with Captain Cook, was to be settled. In order to obtain the consent of the chiefs of the island, the whole business was conducted with great solemnity. The result of the negotiation was, that a spot of ground should be assigned him sufficient for his maintenance. As soon as this was done, the carpenters, from both the ships, were employed in building a small house for him ; in which he might keep the European articles that he had brought along with him. A garden also was made for his use ; in which vines, pine apples, melons, &c. were planted. At this island Omai found some relations, by whom he was most cordially received ; but as these people had little or no authority, Captain Cook was apprehensive that they would be of very little use in affording him countenance or protection,

when the British left the island. Indeed, when this happened, he was afraid that he would be stripped of all his possessions: in order, if possible, to prevent this, Captain Cook advised him to make presents to some of the most powerful chiefs; and with this advice he complied. The captain also intimated to the inhabitants that he should certainly return, and that if he then learnt that they had had not treated Omai well he would be excessively displeased.

When Omai's curiosities were taken ashore, a box of toys excited the surprise and admiration of the inhabitants more than any thing else; while his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, &c. were viewed with comparative indifference. Omai being sensible that these would be of little use to him in the island, very prudently disposed of them to the seamen, for hatchets and other iron tools. His family, when he settled here, consisted of eight or ten persons; but there was not a female among them. The European weapons which he possessed were a musket and bayonet, a fowling piece, two pair of pistols, and two or three swords and cutlasses. The talents of this man were by no means good; but he had an abundant portion of good-nature and gratitude; and Captain Cook had reason to believe that he would endeavour to bring to perfection the plants and vegetables which had been set in his garden. This alone would be a great benefit to the natives; and to this benefit must be added the animals which Captain Cook left.

On the 2nd of November, Omai took his final leave of the British. A fortnight afterwards, when Captain Cook was at Ulietea, Omai sent two men with the pleasing intelligence that he was not disturbed by the people of Huaheine, and that every thing succeeded well with him.

When Captain Cook left New Zealand he had brought away with him two natives of that country. They were anxious to go to England; but as there was little chance

of getting them back to their own country, the captain was not disposed to accede to their request. It was therefore determined, with their own acquiescence, that they should remain with Omai.

On the 3rd of November, the ships anchored in a harbour in the Island of Ulietea. On the 6th, the observatories were set up; and the two following days were occupied in making astronomical observations. On the 24th, a troublesome affair happened: a midshipman and a seaman, both belonging to the *Discovery*, were missing: on inquiry it was ascertained that they had gone off in a canoe, the preceding evening; and probably by this time had reached the other end of the island. Captain Clerk lost no time in going after the fugitives; but as the natives amused him with false intelligence, his expedition proved fruitless. The next morning intelligence was brought that the fugitives were at Otaha: to prevent further desertion, which there was too much cause to dread, it became necessary to recover them at all events. Captain Cook, therefore, resolved to go after the fugitives himself. He, accordingly set out in the morning, with two armed boats, accompanied by the chief of the island; but when he arrived at the place where he understood the fugitives were, they had gone to Bolabola. Thither Captain Cook did not pursue them; but he put the chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law into confinement; informing the chief, at the same time, that he might depart for the purpose of discovering and bringing back the fugitives, and that his relations would not be liberated till that event took place. In consequence of this the chief set himself seriously to work to discover them. A message was sent to the King of Bolabola requesting him to seize the British. This measure was successful; for on the 28th, the deserters were brought back, and the chief's relations were immediately released.

In the mean time the natives, indignant at the confine-

ment of their chief's relations, and apprehensive, probably, for their lives, laid a plot to seize on the persons of Captains Cook and Clerk. The former was in the habit of bathing every evening in fresh water; at this time he generally went alone, and always without arms. As the inhabitants expected him to go as usual, on the evening of the 26th, they had determined at that time to make him a prisoner; but after confining the chief, he did not deem it prudent to put himself in their power. The discovery of the conspiracy against Captain Clerk was made by a female; and in consequence he always went armed with a pistol.

On the 8th of December, the ships arrived at Bolabola, the last of the Society Islands which they visited. While Captain Cook was here he received an account of the military expeditions of the natives, of which he had heard so much in all his voyages, and which had ended in the conquest of Ulitea and Otaha. The men of Bolabola, in consequence of these expeditions, bore the highest character for courage, and this was heightened by the consideration that their island was not half so large as Ulitea.

A great accession of knowledge respecting the manners, &c. of the Otaheitans was gained during this voyage. From the accounts of Mr. Anderson, it appears, that with regard to religion, they do not pay respect to one Supreme Deity, but believe in a plurality; all of whom they regard and worship as very powerful. In different parts of the island the inhabitants choose those deities who in their opinion, are the most likely to protect or benefit them; if they are disappointed they dismiss these deities and choose others. They believe the soul to be immaterial and immortal.

In the night between the 22nd and 23rd of December, 1777, the ships crossed the line, in the longitude of 203° 15' east. On the 24th land was discovered: it was found

to be a low uninhabited island: the west side of it lies in the latitude of $1^{\circ} 59'$ north, and in the longitude of $202^{\circ} 30'$ east. Captain Cook gave it the name of Christmas Island.

On the 2nd of January, 1778, the ships resumed their course to the northward. No land was discovered till the 18th, when an island was seen, bearing north-east by east. Soon afterwards more land was seen, detached from the former. The next day a third island was discovered, in the direction of west-north-west. On approaching the second island the British were agreeably surprised to find that the inhabitants who came off in their canoes, spoke the language of Otaheite. On the 20th, some of the inhabitants took courage and came on board of the Resolution: on entering it they expressed an astonishment which Captain Cook had never before observed in the natives, of any place, during the whole course of all his voyages. Even with respect to iron, it was evident they had only heard of it; for all they understood respecting it was that it was much better adapted for cutting, than any thing their country produced. They, however, resembled the inhabitants of the other islands, in their constant attempts to steal whatever came within their reach; and this they did in the most open manner; as if they did not consider their conduct as in the smallest degree criminal. Boats being sent to search for water, and the crews attempting to land, the inhabitants came down in such numbers, and were so violent in their endeavours to seize upon the oars, musquets, &c. that they were under the necessity of firing, by which one man was killed. As soon as the ships were brought to an anchor, Captain Cook went on shore: as soon as he touched the land all the natives who were present, fell flat on their faces, and continued in that posture till he prevailed upon them to rise. The next day a trade for hogs and potatoes was began; these the natives exchanged for nails and pieces of iron. Affairs thus going on in the

most satisfactory manner, Captain Cook made an excursion into the country : in the course of it he found a morai, or burial place. On his return he had the satisfaction to discover that the good understanding between the British and the natives still continued. Among the articles which they brought for sale, the most remarkable was a particular sort of cloak and cap ; the former was richly adorned with red and yellow feathers. On the 22nd, the British had reason to suspect that the people of the island were eaters of human flesh ; and Captain Cook was extremely anxious to learn the truth of this supposition : the result of his inquiries was, that his suspicions were fully confirmed. An old man in particular, who was interrogated on the subject, answered in the affirmative, and seemed to laugh at the question ; he added, that the flesh of men was excellent food, or as he expressed it "savoury eating." It was understood, however, that enemies slain in battle alone are devoured.

On the 29th, the ships left this island, and came to anchor near one in its vicinity. The manners, &c. of the inhabitants were very similar, and proofs, too convincing, appeared that human flesh is here as much relished as at New Zealand. The captain left at this island a ram, goat and two ewes, a boar and sow pig of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions. The soil was poor, but the ground was covered with shrubs and plants, some of which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrance than Captain Cook had experienced in any other place. These islands are situated in the latitude of 21° 30' north, and between the longitude of 199° 20' and 201° 30' east. It is a curious circumstance that these islands, as well as all the others recently discovered in the Pacific Ocean, lie in clusters or groups. To these islands Captain Cook gave the name of the Sandwich Islands, in honour of his friend and patron the Earl of Sandwich, at that time first lord of the Admiralty.

The island of Atooi, which is the largest of the five, the number of which the Sandwich Islands consist, does not in the least resemble any of the islands which Captain Cook had as yet visited, within the tropic, on the south side of the equator. Hogs, dogs, and fowls were the only domestic animals that were here found, and these were of the same kind with those in the countries of the South Pacific Ocean. The inhabitants are of a middle stature and firmly made: among them there is a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes, than Captain Cook had observed in most other places; their disposition seemed frank and cheerful; the men pay a particular attention to their women, contrary to the general practice of the countries which had hitherto been discovered in the Pacific Ocean. The people of these islands did not perforate their ears. In every thing manufactured by them there is an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity; their fishing hooks more especially, were of an elegant form, and highly polished. They had made considerable progress in agriculture, for it was sufficiently evident that the abundance and good quality of their vegetables arose as much from their skill and experience in this art, as from the natural fertility of the soil. The language which they spoke bore a very evident and striking similarity to the language of the natives of Otaheite; indeed it was almost word for word the same.

On the 2d of February, Captain Cook pursued his course to the northward. The coast of Albion was seen on the 7th of March, the ships being then in the latitude of $44^{\circ} 33'$ north, and in the longitude $235^{\circ} 20'$ east. As the vessels sailed along this part of the western coast of America, Captain Cook gave names to the several capes and headlands which they passed. On the 29th, they came to anchor at an inlet, where the appearance of the country differed considerably from that which they had passed, for it was full of mountains, the tops of which

were covered with snow ; the vallies between these mountains, as well as the grounds on the sea coasts, were rendered striking and interesting by a variety of tall and straight trees appearing like one great forest.

This country was soon ascertained to be inhabited, for three canoes, with eighteen of the natives, came off to the Resolution ; they would not, however, venture on board that ship. They seemed to be perfectly acquainted with the nature and uses of iron, and were very anxious to exchange what they had for that metal. Their disposition appeared to be quiet and peaceable ; hence Captain Cook naturally concluded from their being of such a disposition, and at the same time inclined to traffic, that he should find this a comfortable and valuable station to supply all the wants of his men, and to make them forget the hardships and delays which they had experienced and encountered, during an almost constant succession of adverse winds and bad weather, ever since their arrival on the coast of America.

In the first place, however, it was necessary to find a convenient and safe harbour ; this was soon discovered. A trade with the inhabitants immediately commenced : they offered for sale the skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deers, racoons, polecats, martens, &c., but their most abundant supply consisted of the skin of sea otters ; they also brought garments made of all these skins ; and another sort of clothing formed of the bark of trees ; but the most extraordinary article of traffic with which they were supplied, were human skulls and hands not quite stripped of the flesh : some of these bore evident marks of their having been lately in the fire. The articles for which they exchanged these things were knives, chissels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons ; in short, any kind of metal in any form or shape was eagerly sought after by them : they, however, would not purchase glass beads, and of the value or utility of cloth they seemed to have no idea.

In general they were much more honest in their dealings than the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands; but some among them were addicted to thieving, and these were much more dangerous thieves than the natives of those islands, for by means of the sharp iron instruments which they possessed, they managed to cut a hook from the tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, that instant that an opportunity occurred, by the backs of the sailors being for a moment turned.

As the natives on the whole conducted themselves fairly, Captain Cook did not resent or punish any slight deviations from honesty. The commerce thus went on to the satisfaction and advantage of both parties, till at last the inhabitants would on no account deal for any thing but metal; but brass now was in more repute than iron; and it was so eagerly sought for that before the ships sailed, scarcely any of it was left but what belonged to the necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stript of every button, bureaus were deprived of their furniture, copper kettles, tea canisters, candlesticks, &c. were all disposed of.

Among these people one symptom of civilization was found which did not exist, at least to an equal degree, in any other newly discovered country; for they had a very quick and acute sense of property; every thing which their country produced they considered as exclusively their own. At first they wanted to be paid for the wood and water which was carried on board the ships; but the workmen refused to submit to their demands. At another time, some grass which was valued by the natives, but was not of the smallest use to them, was wanted as food for the goats and sheep belonging to the ships; this they would not allow to be cut unless previously purchased on very unreasonable terms.

While the principal object for which Captain Cook had put into this harbour was carrying on, viz. completely repairing the ships for the prosecution of the voyage, he

took the opportunity of examining every part of the sound. In general he found the natives very civil and obliging ; but he met with one chief of a different disposition ; this man could not be softened by presents, though he had no objection to accept them. The females of the place of which he was the chief, were more agreeable and mild ; they dressed themselves in their best apparel, and welcomed the British to their villages, by joining in a song, by no means harsh or disagreeable. Captain Cook had another and a better opportunity of ascertaining the nature of their music, and their proficiency in this science, for on the 22nd of April, a number of the natives, as they came towards the ships in their canoes, stood up and began to sing. Some of their songs, which were accompanied by movements of their whole bodies, were in slow time, others were in quick time ; the most regular motions of their hands accompanied their songs, or they beat in concert with their paddles on the sides of their canoes. As soon as each song was ended, there was silence during the space of a few minutes, after which they began again. They had a kind of chorus consisting of the repetition of the word *hosee*.

This sound was called Nootka by the natives. Captain Cook gave it the name of King George's Sound. The entrance of it is situated in the east corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of $49^{\circ} 33'$ north, and in the longitude of $233^{\circ} 12'$ east. From the experience of the climate which Captain Cook had, as well as from the observation of the thermometer, and the state and progress of vegetation, it was found to be very much milder and more genial than the climate of the east coast of North America, under the same parallel of latitude : the thermometer in the night never fell lower than 42, and in the day time it frequently rose to 60. The woods were chiefly composed of the Canadian pine, the white cypress, and the wild pine : with respect to the other vegetable productions they

could not be fully or accurately ascertained, in consequence of the British being there so early in the year. The sea animals that were observed were seals, porpoises, and whales. Of birds there were few. Fish were much more plentiful, but not in great variety. Snakes and water-lizzards were the only reptiles observed.

The inhabitants were for the most part under the common stature; but by no means slender, being usually plump, though not strong or muscular; they seemed docile, courteous, and good tempered; notwithstanding, from the evidence of their being cannibals, the British at first were naturally led to apprehend that they should find them cruel and ferocious; their temperament was slow and phlegmatic, though when they conceived themselves injured, they were quick enough in displaying their resentment, or in endeavouring to avenge themselves. They did not appear to possess much curiosity, even with respect to those objects which generally rouse that passion in the breasts of savages. The men were principally occupied in fishing, and in killing land and sea animals for the food and clothing of themselves and families: while the women were employed in manufacturing garments of wool or flax, or in their domestic concerns. In their manufactures and mechanic arts they displayed considerable ingenuity, both with respect to design and execution. They wrought in wood with great neatness and dexterity, in consequence of the iron tools which they employed, and the use of which they perfectly understood. Captain Cook was of opinion that they had become acquainted with iron and its uses through Hudson's Bay and Canada; and subsequent information respecting the connexion between these parts and Nootka Sound, renders this opinion highly probable.

On the 26th of April, the ships having received every necessary repair, Captain Cook intended to have sailed without delay; but in the afternoon of that day, just as

the ships were on the point of sailing, the mercury in the thermometer fell unusually low, and there were other symptoms of an approaching storm; in consequence of which, Captain Cook hesitated whether it would not be more proper to remain in the sound, till the weather became more settled and favourable; but his anxiety to proceed on his voyage overcame his apprehension of bad weather, and he resolved, therefore, to put to sea at all events. That evening, therefore, they sailed; but scarcely were the ships out of the sound before a strong gale began with squalls and rain, and the sky became so extremely dark, that they could not see the length of the ships. Had this wind blown towards the coast, accompanied as it was by such extreme darkness, it must have rendered their situation very critical; but fortunately it blew from the land. On the 27th, it rose to a perfect hurricane; the Resolution sprang a leak, but no material damage ensued.

Captain Cook now sailed along the coast of America, but he frequently kept at a considerable distance from it, whenever the wind blew strongly upon it: hence he was unable to explore the whole of it, particularly between the latitude of 50° and 55° . The first place at which he landed, after leaving Nootka, was an island lying in the latitude of $59^{\circ} 49'$ north, and in the longitude of $216^{\circ} 58'$ east; it appeared to be about ten or twelve leagues in length; to this he gave the name of Kays Island. On the 12th of May, the ships came to an anchor in a sound which he called Prince William's Sound: here the leak of the Resolution was stopped. The inhabitants of this part of the coast resembled the Esquimaux and Greenlanders; their canoes, weapons, and their instruments for hunting and fishing were exactly the same. The animals were similar to those of Nootka Sound. There were, however, offered for sale the skin of an animal which seemed peculiar to the place; it was small and of a most beautiful colour, it seemed to be of the marmot species. The

birds observed were the white-headed eagle, the shag, the great king fisher, and the humming bird, the last, however, cannot possibly exist here during the rigours of a winter, and must, therefore, be considered solely as a bird of passage. A species of diver, about the size of the partridge, seemed peculiar to the place. They obtained very few fish; vegetables also were not plenty. The trees were the Canadian and spruce pine. The natives were in possession of beads and iron, probably derived from the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, or the settlements on the lakes of Canada. Prince William's Sound, in the opinion of Captain Cook, occupied at least a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, exclusive of the branches, the extent of which he did not ascertain.

As the communication with the east coast of America, which they were in search of, if it did exist, must be found in the inlets with which the coast they were now traversing abounded, Captain Cook was anxious to explore every inlet which he discovered. Soon after leaving Prince William's Sound he came to an inlet, the appearance and situation of which led him to hope that he had at last discovered what he was in search of; but he was soon convinced that his expectations were groundless; and in consequence of a complete investigation, he ascertained that it was merely a river. It was traced as high as the latitude $61^{\circ} 30'$, and the longitude 210° , being seventy leagues from its mouth, and yet there was not the smallest appearance of its source. This river was afterwards called Cook's River, by the direction of the Earl of Sandwich.

During this investigation there were many opportunities of seeing the natives. They resembled those of Prince William's Sound, but were very unlike those of Nootka, both in their persons and language. A few glass beads, iron points to their spears, and iron knives, were the only things in use among them, not of their own ma-

nufacture. They were in possession of a great number of rich and beautiful furs; but they did not seem to be acquainted with their value.

On the 6th of June, Captain Cook left the neighbourhood of this river. On the 21st, some hills were descried on the mainland, one of which had a volcano that continually threw up vast columns of black smoke: it lies in the latitude of $54^{\circ} 48'$, and in the longitude of $195^{\circ} 45'$, at no great distance from the coast; its figure is that of a complete cone, and the volcano is at the very summit. On the 26th, there was so thick a fog that they could not see a hundred yards before them; as the weather, however, was moderate, Captain Cook still kept on his course; till at length being alarmed at the noise of breakers, he immediately came to an anchor. A few hours afterwards, the fog having cleared away, the danger in which the ships had been, was discovered. They had indeed, during the fog, sailed between rocks, that Captain Cook would not have ventured to pass through in a clear day. On the 27th, they reached an island called Oonashka Bay; Captain Cook came to an anchor in a harbour, on the north side of it, in the latitude of $53^{\circ} 55'$ north, and the longitude of $193^{\circ} 30'$ east. The inhabitants of this island appeared much more advanced in the politeness and ease of civilization than those of any other country previously visited. A young man, who had over-set his canoe, came on board the ship, went down into the captain's cabin upon the first invitation, and did not express the least alarm, reluctance, or uneasiness. In some respects, however, they did not seem so far advanced, for they ate their fish raw.

On the 2nd of July, Captain Cook left this island, and on the 16th, he came in sight of a promontory, near which he ordered one of his officers to land and examine the country. He reported that from the highest hill near the coast, he found that the farthest part of the coast in sight

bore nearly north. To this promontory Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Newenham; it is situated in the latitude of $58^{\circ} 42'$, and in the longitude of $197^{\circ} 36'$.

On the 3rd of August, the ships had reached the latitude of $62^{\circ} 31'$ north. On the 9th, they came to anchor under a point of land, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Prince of Wales; it is situated in the latitude of $65^{\circ} 46'$, and in the longitude of $191^{\circ} 45'$. It is distant from the eastern Cape of Siberia only thirteen leagues. On the 10th, Captain Cook came to anchor in a bay, on the eastern extremity of Asia. From this bay he steered, on the 11th, to the east, with the design of approaching nearer the coast of America. As soon as this was effected, their course was again directed to the north, till, on the 17th, they reached the latitude of $70^{\circ} 33'$; their longitude at this time was $197^{\circ} 41'$. Here they perceived the first symptoms of ice, viz. that brightness in the northern horizon which in the Greenland seas is called a blink; this arises from the reflection from the ice. In about an hour afterwards a large field of ice was discovered: the ships at this time were in the latitude of $70^{\circ} 41'$. On the 18th, when the ships were in the latitude of $70^{\circ} 44'$, the ice which lay alongside of them was as compact as a wall, and seemed to be about ten or twelve feet high; its surface was very rugged and uneven, and on different parts of it pools of water were discovered. An immense number of sea-horses were lying on it, some of which, as they were in want of food, they caught and eat.

On the 29th, Captain Cook persevered in his endeavours to get further northwards, by traversing the sea beyond Beering's Straits; but it was so full of ice, and there seemed so little appearance of its becoming more open and free from it, that he soon began to despair of attaining, at least for this year, the grand object of his voyage. Before he returned, however, he resolved to examine the geography

of these straits as far as possible, both on the Asiatic and American sides. In this examination he ascertained the accuracy of Beering as far as he went, and made large additions to the geographical knowledge of this part of the world. "It reflects," as Mr. Coxe justly observes, "the highest honour, even on the British name, that our great navigator extended his discoveries much further in one expedition, and at so great a distance from the point of his departure, than the Russians accomplished in a long series of years, and in parts belonging, or contiguous to their own empire."

On the 2nd of October, they again came in sight of the Island of Oonalashka, and the next day anchored. The great object which Captain Cook had in view was the repairing of his ships: while this was going on he permitted one third of the crews to go ashore and obtain berries, with which the island abounds; these along with spruce beer happily eradicated every symptom of the scurvy. A considerable quantity of fish was also procured.

On the 8th of October, Captain Cook received a very singular and unexpected present, a rye loaf, or rather a pie in the form of a loaf, inclosing some highly seasoned salmon: a similar present was sent to Captain Clerk. Along with these presents were two notes written in what was supposed to be the Russian characters. In return for these Captain Cook sent an intelligent corporal of the marines, along with the natives who brought these presents, with a few bottles of rum, porter, and wine. The corporal was desired to make the Russians understand that the voyagers were Englishmen, and consequently friendly to their country. On the 10th, the corporal returned with three Russian seamen; they informed Captain Cook that they resided in a village a little distance off, where they had a small sloop: they seemed to be

employed in collecting furs. On the 14th, another Russian arrived, from whom Captain Cook obtained two maps or charts, one of which was very interesting and important, for it contained all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamschatka, towards the coast of America; these, however, were not extensive or numerous.

During the stay of Captain Cook at this island, he followed his usual plan of endeavouring to obtain as accurate a knowledge of it and its inhabitants as possible; but neither presented much novelty. One circumstance however, connected with the character of the islands must not be omitted. They are the most peaceable and inoffensive of any Captain Cook met with; and with respect to honesty, quite extraordinary. The dialect which they spoke is very similar to that of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; from this circumstance, and their manifest resemblance in other respects, there is good reason to believe that the natives of all these countries are derived from one common stock. Norton's Sound is a large inlet extending to the northward as far as the latitude of $64^{\circ} 55'$.

On the 26th of October, every thing having been obtained and performed, on account of which they came to this island, they sailed for the Sandwich Islands. Nothing particular occurred on their course southward till they came to the latitude of $20^{\circ} 55'$, when land was discovered: this proved to be an island that had not been visited before: it forms one of the group of the Sandwich Islands. On the 30th, another island was discovered belonging to the same group, called by the natives Owhyhee. As this island appeared to be of considerable extent, and in other respects well suited for accomplishing all the objects which Captain Cook had now in view, he spent nearly seven weeks in sailing round and examining

its coast. The inhabitants soon made their appearance, and seemed remarkably free from suspicion, as well as very friendly and accommodating.

They brought as usual a great number of articles to traffic with, among which was a quantity of sugar cane; from this Captain Cook made a kind of beer, but not one of the crew would taste it.

On the 19th of December, while the ships were employed in examining the coast of this island it fell calm, and the Resolution being left to a north-easterly swell, was driven fast towards the land. The night came on dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain. As soon as it was light, a dreadful surf breaking on the shore was observed, within half a league of the vessel. Their situation was alarming, but by the shifting of the wind and great exertion and skill on the part of the officers and crew the vessel was saved.

On the 16th of January, 1779, not fewer than one thousand canoes were round the two ships; most of these were crowded with people, and laden with hogs and other productions of the island. The thievish disposition of the inhabitants now began to appear: one of them took a boat's rudder out of the Resolution. Captain Cook considering this as a favourable opportunity to render them acquainted with the use of fire arms, and of the great advantage which, by means of these weapons, he possessed over them, ordered two or three muskets and four-pounders to be fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. But the inhabitants not feeling any bad effects, seemed more surprised than alarmed.

A bay, possessing good anchorage and fresh water, having been discovered, the captain resolved to carry the ships thither, in order to refit and obtain every refreshment which the place could afford. On the 17th, the ships accordingly came to anchor in this bay; the vessels were almost immediately surrounded by an immense

number of natives, and all the shore was crowded with spectators.

Hitherto the natives, notwithstanding a few instances of theft, had conducted themselves with much more friendliness and honesty than Captain Cook had experienced in many other islands which he had visited. But after the arrival of the ships in this bay the case was greatly altered. There were many causes for this alteration in their conduct: in the first place, detection of theft was very difficult, in consequence of the immense numbers which daily crowded the ships, and thus an opportunity being given of thieving, without much chance of discovery, the natives could not resist it. In the second place, the chiefs encouraged the pilfering of their people, because the greatest part of the booty came to their share.

One of the principal objects which engaged Captain Cook's attention at Owhyhee, was the salting of hogs for sea store. He had made several attempts of this kind before, but at this time he was completely successful. Captain King brought home with him some of the pork which was pickled at this island, in January, 1779, and on its being tasted, about Christmas, in the year, 1780, it was found to be perfectly sound and wholesome.

On the 26th, Captain Cook had his first interview with the king of the island, whose name was Terreeoboo. The intercourse with the natives still continued very friendly, for the change in their disposition, already noticed, was by no means so rapid or striking as to create any suspicion. A society of priests, in particular, displayed great generosity; for they furnished a constant supply of hogs and vegetables to the ship's companies, and did not expect, nor would they receive any thing in return. The warrior chiefs, however, were not so friendly as the priests, and at last these began to be very impatient to learn how soon the British would depart. On the king of

the island being informed that they were to leave the island in a day or two, a proclamation was immediately made through the villages requiring the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the *Orono*; a title of high honour which had been bestowed on Captain Cook.

Their departure was fixed for the 4th of February. On the 3rd, the king invited Captain Cook and some others to attend him to the place where another great man resided. On their arrival they found the ground covered with parcels of cloth, at a small distance from which lay an immense quantity of vegetables, and near them a drove of swine. As soon as the visit was finished the greater part of the cloth, and the whole of the hogs and vegetables were given to the captain.

Early on the next day the ships sailed out of the harbour; they were followed by an immense number of canoes. The fate of Captain Cook was now drawing to a close; as every thing attending it must be of the highest importance and interest to all our readers, and as the most full and authentic account of the circumstances preceding and accompanying his death was given to the world, soon after it occurred, by Mr. Samwell, one of the officers, and as this account is not now frequently met with, we shall offer no apology for inserting it entire, notwithstanding its length, especially as the limits which we are obliged to assign to the biographical division of the remainder of this work, will not permit us to give a regular and formal life of this most celebrated and justly lamented navigator.

“ On the 6th, we were overtaken by a gale of wind; and the next night, the *Resolution* had the misfortune of springing the head of the foremost, in such a dangerous manner, that Captain Cook was obliged to return to *Keragegooah*, in order to have it repaired; for we could find no other convenient harbour on the island. The

same gale had occasioned much distress among some canoes that had paid us a visit from the shore. One of them, with two men and a child on board, was picked up by the *Resolution*, and rescued from destruction: the men, having toiled hard all night, in attempting to reach the land, were so much exhausted, that they could hardly mount the ship's side. When they got upon the quarter deck, they burst into tears, and seemed much affected with the dangerous situation from which they had escaped; but the little child appeared lively and cheerful. One of the *Resolution's* boats was also so fortunate as to save a man and two women, whose canoe had been upset by the violence of the waves. They were brought on board, and, with the others, partook of the kindness and humanity of Captain Cook.

“ On the morning of Wednesday, the 10th, we were within a few miles of the harbour; and were soon joined by several canoes, in which appeared many of our old acquaintances, who seemed to have come to welcome us back. Among them was Coo, aha, a priest: he had brought a small pig, and some cocoa-nuts in his hand, which, after having chaunted a few sentences, he presented to Captain Clerk. He then left us, and hastened on board the *Resolution*, to perform the same friendly ceremony before Captain Cook. Having but light winds all that day, we could not gain the harbour. In the afternoon, a chief of the first rank, and nearly related to Kariopoo, paid us a visit on board the *Discovery*. His name was Ka, mea, mea: he was dressed in a very rich feathered cloak, which he seemed to have brought for sale, but would part with it for nothing except iron daggers. These, the chiefs, some time before our departure, had preferred to every other article; for, having received a plentiful supply of hatchets and other tools, they began to collect a store of warlike instruments. Kameamea procured nine daggers for his cloak; and,

being pleased with his reception, he and his attendants slept on board that night.

“ In the morning of the 11th of February, the ships anchored again in Keragegooah Bay, and preparation was immediately made for landing the Resolution's foremast. We were visited but by few of the Indians, because there were but few in the bay. On our departure those belonging to other parts, had repaired to their several habitations, and were again to collect from various quarters, before we could expect to be surrounded by such multitudes as we had once seen in that harbour. In the afternoon I walked about a mile into the country, to visit an Indian friend, who had, a few days before, come near twenty miles, in a small canoe, to see me, while the ship lay becalmed. As the canoe had not left us long before a gale of wind came on, I was alarmed for the consequence: however, I had the pleasure to find that my friend had escaped unhurt, though not without some difficulties. I take notice of this short excursion, merely because it affords me an opportunity of observing, that there appeared no change in the disposition or behaviour of the inhabitants. I saw nothing that could induce me to think that they were displeased with our return, or jealous of the intention of our second visit. On the contrary, that abundant good-nature which had always characterised them, seemed still to glow in every bosom, and to animate every countenance.

“ The next day, February 12, the ships were put under a taboo by the chiefs, a solemnity, it seems, that was requisite to be observed before Kariopoo, the king, paid his first visit to Captain Cook after his return. He waited upon him the same day, on board the Resolution, attended by a large train, some of which bore the presents designed for Captain Cook, who received him in his usual friendly manner, and gave him several articles in return. This amicable ceremony being settled, the taboo was

dissolved; matters went on in the usual train; and the next day, February 13, we were visited by the natives in great numbers: the Resolution's mast was landed, and the astronomical observatories erected on their former situation. I landed, with another gentleman, at the town of Kavaruah, where we found a great number of canoes just arrived from different parts of the island and the Indians busy in constructing temporary huts on the beach, for their residence during the stay of the ships. On our return on board the Discovery, we learned that an Indian had been detected in stealing the armourer's tongs from the forge, for which he received a pretty severe flogging, and was sent out of the ship. Notwithstanding the example made of this man, in the afternoon another had the audacity to snatch the tongs and a chissel from the same place, with which he jumped overboard, and swam for the shore. The master and a midshipman were instantly dispatched after him in the small cutter. The Indian seeing himself pursued, made for a canoe; his countrymen took him on board, and paddled as swift as they could towards the shore; we fired several muskets at them, but to no effect, for they soon got out of the reach of our shot. Pareah, one of the chiefs, who was at that time on board the Discovery, understanding what had happened, immediately went ashore, promising to bring back the stolen goods. Our boat was so far distanced, in chasing the canoe which had taken the thief on board, that he had time to make his escape into the country. Captain Cook, who was then ashore, endeavoured to intercept his landing; but it seems that he was led out of the way by some of the natives, who had officiously intruded themselves as guides. As the master was approaching near the landing-place, he was met by some of the Indians in a canoe: they brought back the tongs and chissel, together with another article that we had not missed, which happened to be the lid of the water-cask. Having recovered

these things, he was returning on board, when he was met by the Resolution's pinnace, with five men in her, who, without any orders, had come from the observatories to his assistance. Being thus unexpectedly reinforced, he thought himself strong enough to insist upon having the thief, or the canoe which took him in, delivered up as reprisals. With that view he turned back; and having found the canoe on the beach, he was preparing to launch it into the water, when Pareah made his appearance, and insisted upon his not taking it away, as it was his property. The officer not regarding him, the chief seized upon him, pinioned his arms behind, and held him by the hair of his head; on which one of the sailors struck him with an oar: Pareah instantly quitted the officer, snatched the oar out of the man's hand, and snapped it in two across his knee. At length the multitude began to attack our people with stones. They made some resistance, but were soon overpowered, and obliged to swim for safety to the small cutter, which lay further out than the pinnace. The officers, not being expert swimmers, retreated to a small rock in the water, where they were closely pursued by the Indians. One man darted a broken oar at the master; but his foot slipping at the time, he missed him, which fortunately saved that officer's life. At last, Pareah interfered and put an end to their violence. The gentlemen, knowing that his presence was their only defence against the fury of the natives, entreated him to stay with them till they could get off in the boats; but that he refused, and left them. The master went to seek assistance from the party at the observatories; but the midshipman chose to remain in the pinnace. He was very rudely treated by the mob, who plundered the boat of every thing that was loose on board, and then began to knock her to pieces, for the sake of the iron-work; but Pareah fortunately returned in time to prevent her destruction. He had met

the other gentleman on his way to the observatories, and suspecting his errand, had forced him to return. He dispersed the crowd again, and desired the gentlemen to return on board: they represented that all the oars had been taken out of the boat; on which he brought some of them back, and the gentlemen were glad to get off without farther molestation. They had not proceeded far, before they were overtaken by Pareah, in a canoe: he delivered the midshipman's cap, which had been taken from him in the scuffle, joined noses with them in token of reconciliation, and was anxious to know if Captain Cook would kill him for what had happened. They assured him of the contrary, and made signs of friendship to him in return. He then left them, and paddled over to the town of Kavarooah, and that was the last time we ever saw him. Captain Cook returned on board soon after, much displeased with the whole of this disagreeable business; and the same night sent a lieutenant on board the *Discovery* to learn the particulars of it, as it had originated in that ship.

“ It was remarkable, that in the midst of the hurry and confusion attending this affair, Kanynah (a chief who had always been on terms particularly friendly with us) came from the spot where it happened, with a hog to sell on board the *Discovery*: it was of an extraordinary large size, and he demanded for it a pahowa, or dagger, of an unusual length. He pointed to us, that it must be as long as his arm. Captain Clerk not having one of that length, told him, he would get one made for him by the morning; with which being satisfied, he left the hog, and went ashore without making any stay with us. It will not be altogether foreign to the subject, to mention a circumstance that happened to-day on board the *Resolution*. An Indian Chief asked Captain Cook at his table, if he was a *Tata Toa*; which means a fighting man, or a sol-

dier. Being answered in the affirmative, he desired to see his wounds : Captain Cook held out his right-hand, which had a scar upon it, dividing the thumb from the finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bones. The Indian, being thus convinced of his being a Toa, put the same question to another gentleman present, but he happened to have none of those distinguishing marks ; the chief then said, that he himself was a Toa, and shewed the scars of some wounds he had received in battle. Those who were on duty at the observatories were disturbed, during the night, with shrill and melancholy sounds, issuing from the adjacent villages, which they took to be the lamentations of the women. Perhaps the quarrel between us might have filled their minds with apprehensions for the safety of their husbands : but, be that as it may, their mournful cries struck the sentinels with unusual awe and terror.

“ To widen the breach between us, some of the Indians, in the night, took away the *Discovery's* large cutter, which lay swamped at the buoy of one of her anchors : they had carried her off so quietly, that we did not miss her till the morning, Sunday, February the 14th. Captain Clerk lost no time in waiting upon Captain Cook, to acquaint him with the accident : he returned on board, with orders for the launch and small cutter to go, under the command of the second lieutenant, and lie off the east point of the bay, in order to intercept all canoes that might attempt to get out ; and, if he found it necessary, to fire upon them. At the same time, the third lieutenant of the *Resolution*, with the launch and small cutter, was sent on the same service, to the opposite point of the bay ; and the master was dispatched in the large cutter, in pursuit of a double canoe, already under sail, making the best of her way out of the harbour. He soon came up with her, and by firing a few muskets, drove her on shore

and the Indian left her : this happened to be the canoe of Omea, a man who bore the title of Orono. He was on board himself, and it would have been fortunate, if our people had secured him, for his person was held as sacred as that of the king. During this time, Captain Cook was preparing to go ashore himself, at the town of Kava-roah, in order to secure the person of Kariopoo, before he should have time to withdraw himself to another part of the island, out of our reach. This appeared the most effectual step that could be taken on the present occasion, for the recovery of the boat. It was the measure he had invariably pursued, in similar cases, at other islands in these seas, and it had always been attended with the desired success : in fact, it would be difficult to point out any other mode of proceeding on these emergencies, likely to attain the object in view. We had reason to suppose, that the king and his attendants had fled when the alarm was first given : in that case, it was Captain Cook's intention to secure the large canoes which were hauled up on the beach. He left the ship about seven o'clock, attended by the lieutenant of marines, a serjeant, corporal, and seven private men : the pinnace's crew were also armed, and under the command of Mr. Roberts. As they rowed towards the shore, Captain Cook ordered the launch to leave her station at the west point of the bay, in order to assist his own boat. This is a circumstance worthy of notice ; for it clearly shews, that he was not unapprehensive of meeting with resistance from the natives, or unmindful of the necessary preparation for the safety of himself and his people. I will venture to say, that, from the appearance of things just at that time, there was not one, beside himself, who judged that such precaution was absolutely requisite : so little did his conduct on the occasion bear the marks of rashness, or a precipitate self-confidence ! He landed with the marines, at the upper end of

the town of Kavaroah: the Indians immediately flocked round, as usual, and shewed him the customary marks of respect, by prostrating themselves before him. There were no signs of hostilities, or much alarm among them. Captain Cook, however, did not seem willing to trust to appearances; but was particularly attentive to the disposition of the marines, and to have them kept clear of the crowd. He first enquired for the king's sons, two youths who were much attached to him, and generally his companions on board. Messengers being sent for them, they soon came to him, and informing him that their father was asleep, at a house not far from them, he accompanied them thither, and took the marines along with them. As he passed along, the natives every where prostrated themselves before him, and seemed to have lost no part of that respect they had always shewn to his person. He was joined by several chiefs, among whom was Kanynah, and his brother Koohowroah. They kept the crowd in order, according to their usual custom; and, being ignorant of his intention in coming on shore, frequently asked him if he wanted any hogs, or other provisions: he told them that he did not, and that his business was to see the king. When he arrived at the house, he ordered some of the Indians to go in, and inform Kariopoo that he waited without to speak with him. They came out two or three times, and instead of returning any answer from the king, presented some pieces of red cloth to him, which made Captain Cook suspect that he was not in the house; he therefore desired the lieutenant of marines to go in. The lieutenant found the old man just awakened from sleep, and seemingly alarmed at the message; but he came out without hesitation. Captain Cook took him by the hand, and in a friendly manner asked him to go on board, to which he very readily consented. Thus far matters appeared in a favourable train, and the natives did not seem much

alarmed or apprehensive of hostility on our side ; at which Captain Cook expressed himself a little surprised, saying, that as the inhabitants of that town appeared innocent of stealing the cutter, he should not molest them, but that he must get the king on board. Kariopoo sat down before his door, and was surrounded by a great crowd : Kanynah and his brother were both very active in keeping order among them. In a little time, however, the Indians were observed arming themselves with long spears, clubs, and daggers, and putting on thick mats, which they use as armour. This hostile appearance increased, and became more alarming, on the arrival of two men in a canoe from the opposite side of the bay, with the news of a chief, called Karemoo, having been killed by one of the Discovery's boats. In their passage across, they had also delivered this account to each of the ships. Upon that information, the women, who were sitting upon the beach at their breakfasts, and conversing familiarly with our people in the boats, retired, and a confused murmur spread through the crowd. An old priest came to Captain Cook, with a cocoa-nut in his hand, which he held out to him as a present, at the same time singing very loud. He was often desired to be silent, but in vain : he continued importunate and troublesome, and there was no such thing as getting rid of him or his noise : it seemed as if he meant to divert their attention from his countrymen, who were growing more tumultuous, and arming themselves in every quarter. Captain Cook, being at the same time surrounded by a great crowd, thought his situation rather hazardous : he therefore ordered the lieutenant of marines to march his small party to the water-side, where the boats lay within a few yards of the shore ; the Indians readily made a lane for them to pass, and did not offer to interrupt them. The distance they had to go might be about fifty or sixty yards ;

Captain Cook followed, having hold of Kariopoo's hand, who accompanied him very willingly: he was attended by his wife, two sons, and several chiefs. The troublesome old priest followed, making the same savage noise. Keowa, the younger son, went directly into the pinnace, expecting his father to follow; but just as he arrived at the water-side, his wife threw her arms about his neck, and, with the assistance of two chiefs, forced him to sit down by the side of a double canoe. Captain Cook expostulated with them, but to no purpose: they would not suffer the king to proceed, telling him, that he would be put to death if he went on board the ship. Kariopoo, whose conduct seemed entirely resigned to the will of others, hung down his head, and appeared much distressed.

“ While the king was in this situation, a chief, well known to us, of the name of Coho, was observed lurking near, with an iron dagger, partly concealed under his cloak, seemingly, with the intention of stabbing Captain Cook, or the lieutenant of marines. The latter proposed to fire at him, but Captain Cook would not permit it. Coho closing upon them, obliged the officer to strike him with his piece, which made him retire. Another Indian laid hold of the serjeant's musquet, and endeavoured to wrench it from him, but was prevented by the lieutenant making a blow at him. Captain Cook, seeing the tumult increase, and the Indians growing more daring and resolute, observed, that if he were to take the king off by force, he could not do it without sacrificing the lives of many of his people. He then paused a little, and was on the point of giving his orders to reembark, when a man threw a stone at him; which he returned with a discharge of small shot (with which one barrel of his double piece was loaded). The man, having a thick mat before him, received little or no hurt; he brandished his spear, and

threatened to dart at Captain Cook, who being still unwilling to take away his life, instead of firing with ball, knocked him down with his musquet. He expostulated strongly with the most forward of the crowd, upon their turbulent behaviour. He had given up all thoughts of getting the king on board, as it appeared impracticable; and his care was then only to act on the defensive, and to secure a safe embarkation for his small party, which was closely pressed by a body of several thousand people. Keowa, the king's son, who was in the pinnace, being alarmed on hearing the first firing, was, at his own entreaty, put on shore again; for even at that time, Mr. Roberts, who commanded her, did not apprehend that Captain Cook's person was in any danger: otherwise he would have detained the prince, which, no doubt would have been a great check on the Indians. One man was observed, behind a double canoe, in the action of darting his spear at Captain Cook, who was forced to fire at him in his own defence, but happened to kill another close to him, equally forward in the tumult: and the serjeant observing that he had missed the man he aimed at, received orders to fire at him, which he did, and killed him. By this time the impetuosity of the Indians was somewhat repressed; they fell back in a body, and seemed staggered: but being pushed on by those behind, they returned to the charge, and poured a volley of stones among the marines, who, without waiting for orders, returned it with a general discharge of musquetry, which was instantly followed by a fire from the boats. At this Captain Cook was heard to express his astonishment; he waved his hand to the boats, called to them to cease firing, and to come nearer in to receive the marines. Mr. Roberts immediately brought the pinnace as close to the shore, as he could, without grounding, notwithstanding the showers of stones that fell among the people: but ——, the lieutenant,

who commanded in the launch, instead of pulling in to the assistance of Captain Cook, withdrew his boat farther off, at the moment that every thing seems to have depended upon the timely exertions of those in the boats. By his own account, he mistook the signal: but be that as it may, this circumstance appears to me, to have decided the fatal turn of the affair, and to have removed every chance which remained with Captain Cook, of escaping with his life. The business of saving the marines out of the water, in consequence of that, fell altogether upon the pinnace; which thereby became so much crowded, that the crew were, in a great measure, prevented from using their fire-arms, or giving what assistance they otherwise might have done to Captain Cook; so that he seems, at the most critical point of time, to have wanted the assistance of both boats, owing to the removal of the launch. For, notwithstanding that they kept up a fire on the crowd, from the situation to which they removed in that boat, the fatal confusion which ensued on her being withdrawn, to say the least of it, must have prevented the full effect, that the prompt co-operation of the two boats, according to Captain Cook's orders, must have had, towards the preservation of himself and his people.* At that time, it was to the boats alone, that Captain Cook had to look for his safety; for, when the marines had fired, the Indians rushed among them, and forced them into the water, where four of them were killed: their lieutenant was wounded, but fortunately escaped, and was taken up by the pinnace. Captain Cook was then the only one re-

* I have been informed on the best authority, that, in the opinion of Captain Philips, who commanded the marines, and whose judgment must be of the greatest weight, that it was extremely doubtful whether any thing could successfully have been done to preserve the life of Captain Cook, even if no mistake had been committed on the part of the launch.

Note by Dr. Kippis.

remaining on the rock: he was observed making for the pinnace, holding his left hand against the back of his head, to guard it from the stones, and carrying his musquet under the other arm. An Indian was seen following him, but with caution and timidity; for he stopped once or twice, as if undetermined to proceed. At last he advanced upon him unawares, and with a large club,* or common stake, gave him a blow on the back of the head, and then precipitately retreated. The stroke seemed to have stunned Captain Cook: he staggered a few paces, then fell on his hand and one knee, and dropped his musquet. As he was rising, and before he could recover his feet, another Indian stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron dagger. He then fell into a bite of water about knee deep, where others crowded upon him, and endeavoured to keep him under; but struggling very strongly with them, he got his head up, and casting his look towards the pinnace, seemed to solicit assistance. Though the boat was not above five or six yards distant from him, yet from the crowded and confused state of the crew, it seems, it was not in their power to save him. The Indians got him under again, but in deeper water: he was, however, able to get his head up once more, and being almost spent in the struggle, he naturally turned to the rock, and was endeavouring to support himself by it, when a savage gave him a blow with a club, and he was seen

* I have heard one of the gentlemen who were present say, that the first injury he received was from a dagger, as is represented in the voyage; but, from the account of many others, who were also eye-witnesses, I am confident in saying that he was first struck with a club. I was afterwards confirmed in this, by Kaireekea, the priest, who particularly mentioned the name of the man who gave him the blow, as well as that of the chief who afterwards struck him with the dagger. This is a point not worth disputing about: I mention it, as being solicitous to be accurate in this account, even in circumstances, of themselves, not very material.

alive no more. They hauled him up lifeless on the rocks, where they seemed to take a savage pleasure in using every barbarity to his dead body, snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.

“ I need make no reflection on the great loss we suffered on this occasion, or attempt to describe what we felt. It is enough to say, that no man was ever more beloved or admired: and it is truly painful to reflect, that he seems to have fallen a sacrifice merely for want of being properly supported; a fate, singularly to be lamented, as having fallen to his lot, who had ever been conspicuous for his care of those under his command, and who seemed, to the last, to pay as much attention to their preservation, as to that of his own life.

“ If any thing could have added to the shame and indignation universally felt on this occasion, it was to find that his remains had been deserted, and left exposed on the beach, although they might have been brought off. It appears, from the information of four or five midshipmen who arrived on the spot at the conclusion of the fatal business, that the beach was then almost entirely deserted by the Indians, who at length had given way to the fire of the boats, and dispersed through the town; so that there seemed no great obstacle to prevent the recovery of Captain Cook's body; but the lieutenant returned on board without making the attempt. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on this painful subject, and to relate the complaints and censures that fell on the conduct of the lieutenant. It will be sufficient to observe, that they were so loud, as to oblige Captain Clerk publicly to notice them, and to take depositions of his accusers down in writing. The captain's bad state of health and approaching dissolution, it is supposed, induced him to destroy these papers a short time before his death.

“ It is a painful task, to be obliged to notice circumstances which seem to reflect upon the character of any man. A strict regard to truth, however, compelled me to the insertion of these facts, which I have offered merely as facts, without presuming to connect with them any comment of my own: esteeming it the part of a faithful historian, to ‘extenuate nothing, nor set down aught in malice.’

“ The fatal accident happened at eight o'clock in the morning, about an hour after Captain Cook landed. It did not seem, that the king, or his sons, were witnesses to it; but it is supposed that they withdrew in the midst of the tumult. The principal actors were the other chiefs, many of them the king's relations and attendants: the man who stabbed him with the dagger was called Nooah. I happened to be the only one who recollected his person, from having on a former occasion mentioned his name in the journal I kept. I was induced to take particular notice of him, more from his personal appearance than any other consideration, though he was of high rank, and a near relation of the king: he was stout and tall, with a fierce look and demeanour, and one who united in his figure the two qualities of strength and agility, in a greater degree, than I ever remembered to have seen before in any other man. His age might be about thirty, and by the white scurf on his skin, and his sore eyes, he appeared to be a hard drinker of Kava. He was a constant companion of the king, with whom I first saw him, when he paid a visit to Captain Clerk. The chief who first struck Captain Cook with the club, was called Karimano, craha, but I did not know him by his name. These circumstances I learnt of honest Kaireekea, the priest; who added, that they were both held in great esteem on account of that action: neither of them came near us afterwards. When the boats left the shore, the Indians carried away the dead body of

Captain Cook and those of the marines, to the rising ground, at the back of the town, where we could plainly see them with our glasses from the ships.

“ This most melancholy accident appears to have been altogether unexpected and unforeseen, as well on the part of the natives as ourselves. I never saw sufficient reason to induce me to believe, that there was any thing of design, or a pre-concerted plan on their side, or that they purposely sought to quarrel with us: thieving, which gave rise to the whole, they were equally guilty of, in our first and second visits. It was the cause of every misunderstanding that happened between us: their petty thefts were generally overlooked, but sometimes slightly punished; the boat, which they at last ventured to take away, was an object of no small magnitude to people in our situation, who could not possibly replace her, and therefore not slightly to be given up. We had no other chance of recovering her, but by getting the person of the king into our possession: on our attempting to do that the natives became alarmed for his safety, and naturally opposed those whom they deemed his enemies. In the sudden conflict that ensued, we had the unspeakable misfortune of losing our excellent commander, in the manner already related. It is in this light the affair has always appeared to me, as entirely accidental, and not in the least owing to any previous offence received, or jealousy of our second visit entertained by the natives.

“ Pareah seems to have been the principal instrument in bringing about this fatal disaster. We learnt afterwards, that it was he who had employed some people to steal the boat: the king did not seem to be privy to it, or even apprized of what had happened, till Captain Cook landed.

“ It was generally remarked, that at first the Indians shewed great resolution in facing our fire-arms; but it

was entirely owing to ignorance of their effect. They thought that their thick mats would defend them from a ball, as well as from a stone; but being soon convinced of their error, yet still at a loss to account how such execution was done among them, they had recourse to a stratagem, which, though it answered no other purpose, served to shew their ingenuity and quickness of invention. Observing the flashes of the musquets, they naturally concluded, that water would counteract their effect, and therefore, very sagaciously dipped their mats, or armour, in the sea, just as they came on to face our people: but finding their last resource to fail them, they soon dispersed, and left the beach entirely clear. It was an object they never neglected, even at the greatest hazard, to carry off their slain; a custom, probably owing to the barbarity with which they treat the dead body of an enemy, and the trophies they make of his bones." *

Such were the circumstances that proceeded and accompanied the death of this celebrated navigator. The reader will not be displeased to turn from so sad a scene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, prefaced by a very short and rapid sketch of his life.

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1727: his father was a labourer in husbandry, or perhaps a very small farmer: at an early age, the son was put apprentice to a shopkeeper, in a neighbouring village: but as frequently happens to those who are brought up in the vicinity of the sea, his natural inclination turned to a seafaring life; he accordingly, being dissatisfied with the employment to which he was bound, soon quitted the counter in disgust, and bound himself for nine years to the master of a vessel, which

* Samweil's Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook, p. 2—20.

sailed in the coal trade. It is a very common and just remark, that the sailors who are brought up in the vessels engaged in this trade are among the best which this kingdom produces; the navigation between Newcastle, Sunderland, and the other coal ports is so extremely dangerous, especially when carried on as it is by the colliers at all seasons of the year, and the vessels themselves, either when in ballast on their return, or when loaded with coals on their voyage to London, &c. are so difficult to be managed, and so inadequately manned, that it requires the utmost skill, enterprize, and attention on the part of the masters and crew to conduct them safe backward and forward. In one of these vessels Captain Cook undoubtedly learnt many of those excellencies and qualifications, which were afterwards of such essential service to him in his character and pursuits as a circum navigator.

At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the king's service, on board of the *Eagle*, commanded at first by Captain Harmer, and afterwards by Sir Hugh Palliser. The latter soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter deck. In 1758 he was master of the *Northumberland*, which was the flag ship of Lord Colville, who at that time commanded the squadron that was stationed in the North American station. Here, during a hard winter, he first applied himself to a regular course of mathematics, beginning with the elements of Euclid: in this course he had no other assistance, than what his own industry and application, and a few books supplied him. At the siege of Quebec he was directed by Sir Charles Saunders to pilot the boats to the attack of Montmorency; he likewise conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham, and examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in their passage up the river. By the courage and skill which he displayed on these occasions, he gained the friendship of Sir Charles

Saunders and Lord Colville, who patronised him, during the remainder of their lives with the greatest zeal and affection. As soon as the war was concluded, his lordship and Sir Hugh Palliser, recommended him as a proper person to survey the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. He continued thus employed executing his task with great judgment, skill, and attention, till the year 1767; when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe. His character and services are depicted with so much genuine zeal and friendship, and at the same time, so impartially, by his coadjutor in his last voyage, Captain King, that we shall offer no apology for laying it before our readers.

“ From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyric. Indeed, he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprize. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge, which can fall to the lot of very few.

“ The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious. His judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were

bold and manly ; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

“ Such were the outlines of Captain Cook’s character ; but its most distinguishing feature was, that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation: During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment ; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons, who have experienced the fatigues of service, will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provisions for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

“ It is not necessary, here, to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view.

“ Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labour of a single man, than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands ; determined

the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterwards explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of two thousand miles.

“ In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of 40° and 70° , in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage he discovered New Caladonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the Southern hemisphere: and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

“ But the voyage we are now relating is distinguished above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the south sea. He afterwards explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of 45° to 70° north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage, in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur,

and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

“As a navigator, his services were not perhaps less splendid; certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new æra in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages, amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind.

“Those who are conversant in naval history, need not be told, at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprizes. It was reserved for Captain Cook to shew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life, in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776;* and whatever improvements the experience of the present voyage has suggested, are mentioned in their proper places.

“With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so

* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him on that occasion.

unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

“ Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relations of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and also of his character and services, I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour, which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his; and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study, to shew him.”

On the death of Captain Cook, the command of the expedition devolved on Captain Clerk: the first object that he had in view was to recover from the natives, what remained of Captain Cook's body and cloathes; before, however, he could effect this, the enmity of the natives compelled him to have recourse to severe measures. At length all that was left of their lamented commander was given up to the British, and committed to the sea, with all due honours, and with feelings of grief, which can be much better imagined than expressed. On the 22nd of February, those disagreeable and melancholy offices having been completed, the ships sailed out of the harbour; but as it was the design of Captain Clerk, to examine some other of the Sandwich Islands, it was the middle of March before he finally left them. His course was again directed to the north, for the purpose, if possible, of accomplishing the great object of his voyage. His intention was to keep as near as he could the same parallel of latitude, till he reached the longitude of Awatska Bay, and afterwards to

steer due north for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. They had fine weather till the 23d of March, when the wind increased to a strong gale, which continued for twelve hours. This gale was succeeded with light winds, that induced Captain Clerk to alter his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes: he therefore, on the 29th began to steer north-west by north. At this time the latitude was 20, 23, and the longitude 180, 40. The weather still continued very warm and close, the thermometer being generally at 80, and sometimes as high as 83.

The ships continued to enjoy the trade wind till the 6th of April, when they were suddenly taken a-back, with the wind from the north-north-west: the latitude, at this time was 29, 50, and the longitude 170, 1. Captain Clerk, convinced that rough weather would soon commence, gave orders for the ropes and rigging to be overhauled, and put in good repair; the carpenters also were employed in repairing the boats. Besides these occupations, the crew were engaged in obeying the standing and regular orders of their late commander, in airing their bedding, placing fires between decks, washing them with vinegar, and smoaking them with gunpowder. The feelings of the crew, as well as the state of the thermometer, now began to indicate a great change of temperature. In the night time of the 7th of April, the thermometer sunk 11 degrees. On the 9th of this month the latitude was 32, 16, and the longitude 166, 40: the variation of the compass was 8, 30 east.

On the 18th of April, the ships had run so far north, that their latitude was 45°, 40', and their longitude 160° 25. Snow and sleet now fell, and strong gales from the south-west helped them on in their course. On the 19th, the thermometer, even during the day, was as low as the freezing point; and at four in the morning it fell to 29°. Captain Clerk now expected daily to fall in with the coast of Asia, but on the 20th the wind suddenly shifted to the

north. On the 21st, however, there were symptoms of the vicinity of land; it was not seen till the 23rd, when mountains covered with snow appeared. From the 24th to the 28th, the wind continued to blow very strong from the north-east, and during the whole of this time, the thermometer was never higher than 30^o. The ships were a complete mass of ice. On the 28th Awatska Bay was clearly seen: its mouth opens in a north north-west direction; on the south side of it, the land is moderately high; on the north there is a bluff head, which is the highest part of the coast. There are three remarkable rocks in the channel between these points, near the north-east side; and farther in, near the south-west coast, there is a single insulated rock of considerable size. As Captain Clerk was informed that the town of St. Peter and St. Paul lay on this bay, he endeavoured to ascertain its position by means of his glasses; but for some time it was not to be seen, in consequence of his imagining it to be a place of some strength and consideration; at length, on a narrow point of land, to the north-north-east, a few miserable log-houses, and some conical huts, raised on poles were seen; there were not more than thirty of them; and these were the town, of which they were in search.

On the morning of the 29th, Captain King was dispatched with the boats to examine the bay: when he had proceeded as far as he could in them, he got upon the ice, and approached the town; but no inhabitants appeared for some time. At last a few men were observed, and shortly afterwards, a sledge drawn by dogs, with one person in it, came opposite Captain King. This man, however, soon returned; but it appeared only for the purpose of conducting a party of Russians, by whom Captain King was taken to the house of the serjeant, who commanded the *Ostrog* or village. After he had changed his cloathes, which were wet from the circumstance of his having fallen into the water, Captain and King his com-

panion were invited to sit down to dinner: it consisted of cold beef sliced, with hot water poured over it. The next course consisted of a large bird roasted. Captain King was unable to ascertain what kind of a bird it was, but the taste and flavour were excellent. After part of it was eaten, it was taken off, and fish dressed in two different ways, was served up: soon afterwards the bird was again placed on the table, in savory and sweet *pastes*: the liquor consisted of *quass*.

The ships continued in this bay, receiving every friendly assistance from the Russians, till the 16th of June, when they left it. As this was the height of summer, the appearance of the land was very different from what it had been when they first arrived: nearly all the snow had disappeared even from the mountains, and the sides of the hills, which were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure. As Captain Clerk was sensible that, notwithstanding the discovery of the Russians, the coast of Kamschatka was very imperfectly known, he determined to keep as much in sight of it as the weather would permit him to do: for this purpose he continued steering to the north-east till the 18th of June. On this day the weather became so thick and hazy, that it was no longer safe to keep near the shore; but the vessels still sailed in the direction of the coast, in order that when the weather became favourable, the investigation of it might be resumed. This investigation Captain Clerk was enabled to carry on greatly to his satisfaction, and to the improvement of the charts of this part of Asia; though not so completely as he would have done had the season not been so far advanced. In consequence of this last circumstance he resolved to run over to Beering's Straits, in order to determine the positions of the principal points of the coast.

On the 3rd of July the latitude was ascertained to be $63^{\circ} 33'$, and the longitude $186^{\circ} 45'$. On this day two islands were discovered; the first was the island of St. Law-

rence : but as Captain Clerk had no certain account of the other, he endeavoured to approach it ; but this, in consequence of the wind, he was unable to effect. He however ascertained accurately the bearings, &c. of the island of St. Lawrence : its latitude was found to be $63^{\circ} 47'$, and its longitude $188^{\circ} 15'$; its circumference seemed to be about three leagues. Soon after these islands were seen the weather became thick, and continued so till the 5th, when Captain Clerk, being sure of his position, steered to the north by east. At ten at night, the weather being clear, they had an opportunity of seeing, at the same moment, the remarkable peaked hill near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the East Cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of St. Diomedé between them.

Captain Clerk soon became apprehensive that he should not be able to proceed much farther to the northward, in consequence of the immense quantities of ice, which already began to impede his progress, and these apprehensions were confirmed ; for after attempting to proceed in every possible way, and reaching as high a latitude as $70^{\circ} 33'$, but finding his passage always obstructed by ice, which rendered every effort to make a nearer approach to the land fruitless, on the 21st of July he took a last farewell of a north-east passage to old England. Captain Clerk's own words will sufficiently explain the reason of this his final determination.

“ It is now impossible to proceed the least farther to the northward upon this coast (America) ; and it is equally as improbable that this amazing mass of ice should be dissolved by the few remaining summer-weeks which will terminate this season ; but it will continue, it is to be believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt we can possibly make. I therefore think it the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, to trace the sea over to the Asiatic coast, and to try if I can

find any opening that will admit me farther north; if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast; where I hope, yet cannot much flatter myself, to meet with better success; for the sea is now so choaked with ice, that a passage I fear is totally out of the question."

The next attempt was in a north-westerly direction, but this was equally fruitless in consequence of the immense quantities of impenetrable ice. On the 27th of July, Captain Clerk came to the determination to lose no more time in what not only he, but Captains Gore and King, concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay. Indeed the ships stood so much in need of repair, that it was absolutely necessary not only to give up the enterprize to the north, but also to seek refuge in some harbour. As soon as the determination of the commander was made known, joy appeared on the countenance of every individual; for all the crew, as well as the officers, were heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, without the least prospect of success or discovery. They, therefore, turned their faces towards home, after an absence of three years, with great and sincere satisfaction.

From the discoveries of the Russians, as well as from the attempts which were made by Captains Cook and Clerk, little doubt can be entertained that a north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean cannot exist to the southward of latitude 65°. If then there exists a passage, it must be either through Baffin's Bay or round by the north of Greenland, in the western hemisphere; or through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on which ever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Straits. But from the quantity of ice in these straits, and the very short period of the year, during which, in this high latitude, navigation is at all practicable, the passage through these straits may safely be pronounced utterly impossible.

NAVAL HISTORY

Captain King, who continued the narrative of the voyage after the death of Captain Cook, has given the following very clear and succinct comparative view of the progress, when the ships made to the northward, at the two different seasons they were engaged in that pursuit; accompanied with a few general observations relative to the sea and the coast of the two continents which lie to the north of Beering's Straits.

“ It may be observed that in the year 1778, we did not meet with the ice till we advanced to the latitude of 70° , on the 17th of August; and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the whole was moveable, since by its drifting down upon us we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north, between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude 69° and 70° , frequently encountering, in this tract, large and extensive fields of ice; and though, by reason of the fogs and thickness of the weather, we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of 70° , whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude $69\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$, and longitude 184° , we were obstructed by it in such quantities as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the south-south-west, till we saw land, which we afterward found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprize for that time.

“ In this second attempt we could do little more than confirm the observations we had made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude of 67° , nor that of America in any parts, except-

ing a few leagues between the latitude of 68° and $68^{\circ} 20'$, that were not seen last year. We were now instructed by ice $3'$ lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward, were principally confined to the mid-space between the two coasts. We penetrated near 3° farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with ice both years sooner and in greater quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced north we still found the ice more compact and solid; yet as, in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the south-west than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling that no conclusions, respecting the existence of any passage to the northward, could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at 28° , and very commonly at $30'$; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we had some high winds, all of which came from the south-west. We were subject to fogs whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.

“ The straits between the two continents, at their nearest approach, in latitude 66° , were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to north-east by east and west-north-west; and in latitude $69'$, they become 14° of longitude, or about one hundred leagues asunder. A great similarity is observable in the

appearance of the two countries, to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water, in the mid-way between them, was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom, in the middle, was a soft slimy mud; and on drawing near to either shore a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was came from the westward."

On the 1st of August, the ships were in the latitude of $64^{\circ} 23'$, and in the longitude of $189^{\circ} 15'$, the coast of Asia being about twelve leagues distant. Next day they had an opportunity of examining the Island of St. Lawrence, and also the land near it, which in September last year, they had considered as a separate island. Of this they were now, however, in some doubts, though Captain King seems disposed to be of opinion that these are two distinct and separate islands. On the 17th, the ships were in latitude $54^{\circ} 28'$, and in longitude $167^{\circ} 52'$. Captain Clerk, who was of a consumptive habit, and who of course had suffered extremely from the severity of such high northern latitudes, was now no longer able to get out of his bed; he, therefore, directed that the ships should proceed as quickly as possible to Awatska Bay. On the 20th, the latitude was $53^{\circ} 7'$, and the longitude $162^{\circ} 49'$. The next day a very high peaked mountain, on the coast of Kamschatka, was seen twenty-five or thirty leagues distant.

"On the 22nd of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerk, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England,

and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits, which continued to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person, whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the *Bellona* and *Courageux*; where, being stationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the *Dolphin*, commanded by Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterwards served on the American station. In 1768, he made his second voyage round the world, in the *Endeavour*, as master's mate; and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the *Rosolution*, of which he was appointed the second lieutenant; and soon after his return in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the *Discovery*, to accompany Captain Cook; and, by the death of the latter has been succeeded, as already mentioned, to the chief command.

“ It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was most zealous and anxious for its success. His health about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to encounter the rigours of a

high northern climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had, in no shape, suffered by the decay of his body: and though he knew, that by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet careful and zealous to the last degree that a regard to his own situation should never bias his judgment to the prejudice of the service, he persevered in the search of a passage, till it was the opinion of every officer in both ships, that it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would not only be fruitless but dangerous."

On the 21th of August, the ships returned to Awatska Bay; and on the 29th, the last sad offices were paid to Captain Clerk. The ships continued in the bay till the 9th of October: this period was actively employed in repairing their damage, and in procuring a supply of cattle, &c. As their course, after they left this bay, was directly for England, after a fruitless attempt to reach the islands north of Japan, and as during the remainder of their voyage nothing sufficiently important, or relevant to the nature and object of this work occurred, we shall here terminate our account of this voyage, simply remarking that it contributed most essentially to maritime discovery, and consequently to raise the maritime character of Britain.

CHAP. III.

Miscellaneous events connected with the Naval History of Great Britain, from the year 1782 to the commencement of the first French Revolutionary war.

THE casualties attendant on the mariner must be regarded with strong and peculiar interest, in a country such as Britain; the glory, security, and riches of which alike rests on its dominion over the ocean. Perhaps not fewer than five thousand natives of these islands perish yearly at sea. But the perpetual exposure to peril materially contributes to the formation of the British naval character; hence the sailors of Britain are pre-eminently distinguished for bravery and fortitude, both active and passive; for presence of mind in every species of danger, and for ready invention. These considerations have induced us to devote a few of our pages to the narrative of some of the most interesting and instructive shipwrecks and disasters at sea, which happened to our countrymen towards the end of the American war, and between that period and the commencement of the first French revolutionary war.

We have already mentioned that scarcely any of the fruits of the splendid and decisive naval victory gained by Admiral Rodney, on the 12th of April, 1782, reached England. Some interesting particulars respecting the loss of the prizes are connected with the loss of the *Centaur* man-of-war, commanded by Captain Inglefield: with a narration of it, therefore, we shall commence the present chapter.

When the *Centaur* sailed from Jamaica she was rather in a leaky state. On the evening of the 16th of Septem-

ber, 1782, a storm came on, and towards night it blew a perfect gale of wind; and the ship made so much water that all hands were obliged to work at the pumps. About two in the morning the wind fell, but soon afterwards sudden and violent squalls came on, which obliged Captain Inglefield to put the ship under bare poles. Scarcely was this done when a squall laid the vessel on her beam ends: the masts were immediately cut away, and the ship righted; but she was now completely unmanageable. At daylight on the 17th, two line-of-battle ships were seen to leeward in great distress; they were supposed to be the *Canada* and the *Glorieux*. About seven in the morning another line-of-battle ship was seen a-head, which was soon ascertained to be the *Ville de Paris*, with all her masts standing. From this vessel Captain Inglefield expected assistance; but when she approached within two miles to windward, she passed the *Centaur*. In the evening the *Ville de Paris* was lost sight of. The night was passed in constant labour at the pumps. Towards the morning of the 18th, Captain Inglefield was informed that there was seven feet water in the hold; and soon afterwards other circumstances still more alarming were communicated to him. The pumps were of no use, and no other means but bailing were in their power to keep down the leak. At daylight on the 19th, there was no vessel in sight. By the morning of the 20th the forehold was cleared of water, and things wore a better appearance. But on the morning of the 21st, the weather again threatened, the water in the hold increased; and on the morning of the 23rd, an unusual quantity appeared all at once in the forehold, in consequence of the ship having sprung a fresh leak. The people, who until this period had laboured as determined to conquer their difficulties without a murmur, seeing their efforts useless, many of them burst into tears and wept like children. It was now apparent that the only hopes of safety were by leaving the

ship: accordingly preparations were made for this purpose; rafts were constructed and the boats were hoisted out. The pinnace seemed, however, the object on which the crew looked with most hope; and as Captain Inglefield perceived that there was some danger she would be overcrowded, he got into her and ordered her to be loosened from the ship.

There were altogether twelve in number in a leaky boat, in nearly the middle of the Western Ocean, without compass, quadrant, or sail, all very thinly clad, in a gale of wind, and with a great sea running. It was nearly five in the evening when they left the ship, and in half an hour they lost sight of her. Before it was dark a blanket was discovered in the boat, which was used as a sail. In the morning the weather became more moderate. When they quitted the ship the wind was at north-west or west-north-west, and Fayal bore east-south-east two hundred and fifty or two hundred and sixty leagues; but in the morning the wind shifted to the south, which was a death-blow to their hopes of reaching the Western Isles. On examining their stock of provisions, it was found that they had a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, two quart bottles of water, and a few cordials.

For the space of eight or nine days the wind continued in the south, but it was never so violent but they could keep the side of the boat to the sea. Their condition now began to be very dreadful, both from hunger and cold; for on the fifth day they had discovered that the bread was nearly all spoiled by the salt water; it was, therefore, necessary to divide a biscuit into twelve morsels for breakfast, and the same for dinner. The neck of a bottle broke off, with a cork in it, served for a glass, and this filled with water was the allowance for twenty-four hours to each man. Fortunately during a shower of rain

they caught six quarts of water, by means of a pair of sheets which they discovered in the boat.

On the thirteenth day it fell calm, and soon after a breeze sprung up from the west-north-west, which increased to a gale, so that they ran before the sea at the rate of five or six miles an hour, till they judged they were to the southward of Fayal, and to the westward sixty leagues. They now wished the wind to shift to the westward, as there was remaining only one day's bread, and one bottle of water. On the fifteenth day the quarter-master perished from hunger and cold. Hitherto as the evenings came on the men had been encouraged by turns to sing a song, or relate a story instead of a supper. but this evening all Captain Inglefield's endeavours were unavailing. As the night came on it fell calm; and about midnight a breeze sprung up from the westward. As soon as day appeared they spread their sail, running before the sea at the rate of four miles an hour.

The last breakfast had been served with the bread and water remaining, when one of the men declared that he saw land in the south-east. So many fog banks had been mistaken for land that Captain Inglefield deemed it prudent to advise the men not to be too sanguine. At last one of them broke out into a most immoderate swearing fit of joy, and declared that he had never seen land in his life, if what he now saw was not land. They immediately shaped their course for it, though the captain had very little confidence in its reality. The wind freshened, the boat sailed at the rate of five or six miles an hour, and in two hour's time the land was plainly seen by every man in the boat, but at a very great distance: it must have been at least twenty leagues from them when first discovered. As they approached they were confirmed in their opinion that it was Fayal. About midnight having discovered a fishing canoe, they were conducted into the road. In the morning they landed; but some of them

who had been the stoutest when they left the *Centaur*, were obliged to be supported through the streets of Fayal.

Of the company of the *Centaur* were saved Captain Inglefield; the master, Mr. Rainy; Robert Baylis, a midshipman; James Clerk, surgeon's mate; the captain's cockswain, two quarter-masters, and five seamen. There were lost five lieutenants, the captain of marines, purser, surgeon, boatswain, gunner, carpenter, ten mates and midshipmen, and all the rest on board. This calamity happened in $48^{\circ} 33'$ north latitude, and $43^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude. Captain Inglefield and the survivors being afterwards tried by a court-martial, were honourably acquitted of all blame on the occasion.

The next shipwreck to which we shall direct the attention of our readers cannot perhaps be exceeded in melancholy details; we allude to the wreck of the *Grosvenor East Indiaman*. On the 13th of June, 1782, this vessel left the Island of Ceylon, homeward bound. On the 3rd of August, her captain considered himself one hundred leagues from the nearest land; but early on the 4th the ship was near breakers, and before she could be veered, her keel struck. On sounding the pumps no water was found in the hold; the ship's stern lying high on the rocks, and the fore part being considerably lower, it had all run forward. The only means of safety appeared now to get on shore, as the ship lay within three hundred yards of it: accordingly a raft was formed; and in the mean time a Lascar and two Italians attempted to swim ashore with a deep sea line. One perished and the others succeeded: By means of this line a hawser was got ashore; and at length every one on board, even the women and children, got safe on shore, excepting the cook's mate, who was intoxicated, and could not be prevailed upon to leave the ship. The disaster occurred on the southern coast of Africa, very far from the Cape of Good Hope. Soon

after it happened a great number of the natives came down, but they retired with the setting sun. On the morning of the 5th of August, they again made their appearance, and began to carry off whatever struck their fancy. Next day was employed in collecting every thing that might be useful during a journey which they intended to make to the Cape of Good Hope. The captain calculated that they should be able to reach some of the Dutch settlements in fifteen or sixteen days.

On the 7th they set off: they were followed by some of the natives, others staying by the wreck. They pursued their journey for four or five days: the natives constantly assembling about them in the day time, and seizing whatever they chose; but as soon as the sun went down they invariably retired. As they advanced they saw many villages, but they kept at a distance from them, to avoid the rudeness and interruptions of the inhabitants. At a deep valley they met three of the natives, who held their lances several times to the captain's throat. At last being irritated he caught hold of one of them, wrenched it out of the hands of the savage who held it, and broke it. The rest seemed to take no notice of this; but the next day on coming to a very large village, they found three or four hundred savages collected together, armed with lances and targets; here they were obliged to engage in a running fight; but having at last got possession of a rising ground, a sort of compromise took place. The next day at noon another party of natives came up and plundered them; besides other things they took away their tinder box, flint, and steel, which was an irreparable loss. Each was now obliged to travel with a fire brand in his hand. The natives still continued to follow them, seizing the watches of the gentlemen, and the diamonds of the ladies.

Next day all waded through the river at ebb tide. Their provisions being now nearly exhausted, and the

fatigue of travelling with the women and children being very great, the sailors began to murmur, and every one seemed determined to take care of himself. Accordingly the captain and several others, with five of the children agreed to keep together and travel on slowly as before. The rest, being in all about forty-three, went on before. This separation did not take place without great regrets, for they had little hopes of meeting again. But next day those who had left the captain's party having waited all night by the side of a river for the ebb tide were overtaken, and the whole company once more united. But they were induced again to separate, in the hope that by marching in distinct bodies they would be less the objects of jealousy to the natives, who they found were determined to harass them as much as possible. Induced by these reasons they separated never to meet again.

The party to whom the person adhered from whom the present narrative is drawn, at the head of which was the second mate, travelled the day after their separation above thirty miles; when having reached the skirts of a wood they took up their abode for the night. The following day they fed on wild sorrel and such berries as they observed the birds to peck at; they likewise got some shell fish on the rocks, and having gained the banks of a wide and deep river, ended their journey for the day. Next morning the size of the river deterred them from crossing it, as several of them could not swim; they, therefore, followed its windings up the country. After a tedious journey they came to a narrower part, where they lashed together all the wood they could collect, and formed a raft: thus they crossed the river.

As they had been obliged to leave the sea coast, as soon as they had passed the river they returned towards it. On the fourth day after this they reached a high mountain, covered with wood: it was night before they gained the summit where the wood terminated, and they

entered upon a spacious plain, with a fine stream of water running through it: here they slept. At the return of day the person from whom this narrative is taken, ascended one of the loftiest trees to determine the direction of the sea coast, and there saw another wood between him and the bottom of the mountain. They reached it at night, after a very fatiguing journey, and saw no path but what had been made by the wild beasts. About noon next day having again reached the sea coast, they found a dead whale on the beach: the sight of this gave them much pleasure, as it would afford them a large stock of provisions; but they had no instrument to cut it up. They, however, made a fire upon it, and dug out the part thus grilled with an oyster shell. On this they subsisted several days. Here they agreed to divide, some being of opinion that they ought still to keep the sea, while others wished to proceed to the north, where they thought the Dutch settlements were. The inland party advanced, during three days and nights, through a fine country, where they saw many deserted villages, subsisting all this time on the oysters which they had brought from the sea coast, and berries and wild sorrel gathered on their way. It became necessary to regain the shore, therefore, in order to obtain provisions.

At a small river where they arrived on the following noon, they found two of the other party, who being unable to swim had been left behind. After crossing this river they, in four days, came to another so large that none of them deemed it prudent to attempt passing it; they, therefore, marched along its banks, and in the course of their journey they came to a village, where they saw the inside of a watch, which some of the other party had exchanged for a little milk: upon this one of them offered part of the inside of his watch for a calf; but no sooner had the natives got the price than they drove the calf away. The British continued to go up the banks of

the river for several days, in the course of which they passed several villages unmolested. After crossing this river they again reached the shore, when they fell in with a large party of savages, by whom they were extremely ill used; to escape their ill usage they ran into a wood. In three days after this they overtook the party from whom they had divided; but they were diminished in numbers, some of them having been left behind through fatigue. The parties thus reunited had not travelled far when they found two planks, in each of which was a spike-nail; these they got by burning the planks, and flattened them between two stones into something resembling knives.

Next morning, after crossing a river, they found another dead whale on the shore; but a number of natives, armed with lances, immediately came down upon them. However when they saw their deplorable condition they behaved peaceably, and helped them to cut up the whale: the pieces cut off were put into bags, and carried till they found wood and water to dress them. For the space of four days, being thus stocked with provisions, they marched more rapidly, and further than usual. The rivers on the coast, however, frequently impeded them, and at one of them the person who supplies the narrative and about ten others separated from their companions, in consequence of the latter not being able to swim across it. On the beach the party found a dead seal, part of which they dressed on the spot, and the rest they carried along with them. After two days separation the party left behind came up. Soon afterwards they saw several female natives, who immediately ran away. Next day, on arriving at a village, they obtained a young bullock, in exchange for the inside of a watch and some buttons. A sandy desert next occupied them ten days in passing, where no natives were seen. Afterwards they, for five or six days, passed through a tribe of them, from whom they

experienced both good and bad treatment. On the borders of the sea a party of natives advised them by signs to go inland; they did so, and came to a village containing only women and children. Soon afterwards the men returned from hunting, each bearing, on the point of his lance, a part of a deer. They shewed the British two bowls of milk, which they seemed willing to barter; but unfortunately nothing acceptable to them was left, and on the bargain being declined, they brought sticks furzed at the ends from their huts, and dipping them in the milk, in a short time sucked the whole of it up. They then all ran off into the woods, but they soon re-appeared with a deer which they had killed: of this the travellers requested part, but in vain.

For several days after this they saw many cattle, but they had no means of obtaining them. On the banks of a river were three or four huts, containing only women and children, who gave them part of the flesh of sea cows and sea lions. The river being broad some of the travellers swam over, while the others not being able to swim were obliged to remain behind. About three or four miles further those who crossed the river descried a seal asleep, which they contrived to kill and cut up. In prosecuting their journey they found another whale, and remained two days on the spot in hopes of their companions coming up; but ten days afterwards they discovered, by some small pieces of rags, that they had got the start of them. Entering a large sandy desert, where little wood or water was to be seen, they observed written in the sand "Turn in here and you will find plenty of wood and water;" hence they concluded their companions had taken this route.

Four or five days afterwards, in consequence of a rock projecting into the sea, they were again obliged to penetrate inland. The remainder of the whale was now exhausted; but they found abundance of land crabs, snails,

and sorrel, on which they made a comfortable meal, and reposed here all night. Next day coming to a wood they were surprised to find many trees torn up by the roots; but they had hardly got into the wood when thirty or forty large elephants started up from among the long grass, but they did not offer to molest them.

For the next five or six days they discovered traces of their companions, and likewise fell in with a hunting party of the natives, distinguished by a kind of shoe, worn on the right foot, which they used in hunting by making a leap from that foot. They next came to a more barren country, where the natives seemed to subsist on hunting and fishing. Here they encountered innumerable difficulties, though they were not molested by the natives. In the space of three or four days longer they reached a rich and populous district; but they could obtain no provisions, the natives driving them away with sticks and stones; so that without the resource of shell fish from the shore they must have perished. A few days after this they came to a village, the inhabitants of which assembled and wounded several of the party. No more huts were now to be seen; but in crossing a sandy desert three of the natives were discovered, who immediately fled.

On arriving at a large river they found one of the other party, who having been sick had been left behind; he informed them that he had travelled inland, and seen many huts, at one of which he procured milk, and at another was beaten. He was so weak that he resolved not to join the party, but to return to the nearest village, as he said the natives could but kill him there, and he was sure to die if he advanced.

The party now began to fall rapidly before the fatigues and hunger which they had undergone. Those who survived suffered dreadfully from want of water; the glands of their throats and their mouths were greatly swollen, and they were at length under the necessity of drinking

their own urine. Soon afterwards they were reduced to three, who with difficulty bore up under the fatigues which had destroyed their comrades. Their faculties were impaired to such a degree, that they could hardly hear or see. On the following morning the torments of thirst became so dreadful, that Wormington, one of the party, earnestly requested his companions to determine by lot who should die, that by drinking his blood the other two might be preserved ; but they would not consent to this, and soon afterwards Wormington found himself unable to proceed.

The other two made little progress, notwithstanding all their exertion ; about ten o'clock of the day on which their companion was left behind, something was observed before them resembling, to their sight, large birds ; but on a nearer approach they discovered they were men. Almost blind, and nearly reduced to a state of idiotcy, they had difficulty in recognizing four of the other party. These they informed of the fate of Wormington, and it was immediately resolved that some of them should go back in search of him : this they accordingly did ; and fortunately discovered and brought him back. The united party employed themselves for two days in collecting and broiling shell fish, to form a stock of provisions for their march ; they then crossed the river, where they found a kind of shell fish which was endowed with the property of sinking in the sand : it is of a triangular form, about two inches long and three broad, having one end pointed with which it makes its way. This it does with uncommon facility wherever the sand is soft and humid, and it penetrated down nearly as fast as the person anxious to take it could follow it.

The whole party, which consisted of six persons, still travelled over a desert country, where there were neither huts nor inhabitants. In about six days they came to another river, where the country assumed a more pleasing

aspect, and huts could be discovered at a considerable distance.

After swimming across the river, next morning, they did not advance far before they found a whale. On this, they proposed to erect a hut, and rest themselves on the spot for a few days: however as they could not discover water, they were under the necessity of giving up this plan; and taking along with them as much of the whale as they conveniently could carry, they proceeded on their journey. At length they reposed for the night in a thicket, where they got water.

Next morning four of the party returned to the whale to bring off a larger supply, leaving the other two to take care of the fire and provide wood for the night. During their absence two men were observed at a little distance, each with a gun in his hand. These belonged to a Dutch settlement in the neighbourhood, and were in search of some strayed cattle. On hearing the melancholy narrative of the travellers, they requested to be conducted to the others, who had gone after the whale; and when they found them, the Dutchmen made them throw all the whale flesh away, promising that they should have better food, and be supplied with every necessary. The joy of the unhappy wanderers can neither be conceived nor described: one man wept, another laughed, and a third danced. After gaining some composure, they learnt that they were within the limits of the Dutch settlement, and not above three or four hundred miles from the Cape of Good Hope.

On arriving at the house of the Dutchman, who was the master of the men they had met, they were treated with great kindness, and immediately supplied with bread and milk; but their voraciousness was such that they had nearly killed themselves.

It was long since they had been acquainted with the calculation of time: when they found the nails, which they

made into knives, they cut notches in a stick for week-days, and one across for Sunday; but they lost the stick while crossing a river. Days, weeks, and months had passed over unascertained, and they were now informed that the period of their deliverance was the 29th of November. As therefore, they had been shipwrecked on the 4th of August, one hundred and seventeen days had been occupied in this journey; during which they suffered incredible hardships, and their preservation was almost miraculous.

As soon as they reached the Cape of Good Hope, the government of that colony sent an expedition into the country, in quest of the other unfortunate people of the Grosvenor. The party sent consisted of one hundred Europeans, and three hundred Hottentots, attended by a great number of waggons, each drawn by eight oxen. They were ordered to save such articles as could be procured from the wreck, and to rescue or ransom such of the sufferers as might be discovered in the power of the natives. Two of those who had reached the Cape, were appointed guides to the expedition. They proceeded till the natives interrupted their progress; and in their journey they found three ship-wrecked mariners. On other parts of the road, the Dutch met seven Lascars, and two black women; from them information was obtained, that about five days after the first division of the travellers, they also separated from the party of the captain. As the natives had obstructed the progress of the waggons, some of the Dutch party travelled fifteen days journey further on horse-back; but the Caffres still continuing to oppose them, they were obliged to return after an absence of three months.

The fate of this unfortunate company, and the belief that many survived, excited universal commiseration, and led to great exertions for their relief. About the end of August, in the year 1790, another expedition was sent

out for this purpose ; they were provided with every thing necessary, and travelled towards the coast of Natal, on which it was supposed the Grosvenor had been wrecked. After a long and painful journey, they met a Dutchman, who had seen the sufferers repeatedly : he said that all the unhappy persons who had got on shore had perished, some by the hands of the natives, and others by hunger ; and that nothing remained except some cannon, iron, ballast, and lead. Nevertheless they made their way to the wreck, which lay no less than four hundred and seventy-seven leagues from the Cape, and within about four days journey of the Rio de la Goa. They found nothing more, however, than what the Dutchman had told them ; nor could they obtain any account of the survivors, except being told that the ship's cook had died of the small-pox about two years before their arrival. The natives expressed great surprise at the trouble which the Dutch had taken in coming so far, and promised, in case of a similar disaster, that the sufferers should be protected, provided they were assured of obtaining copper, bread, and iron, for their reward. This expedition reached the Cape again in the month of January, 1791.

Colonel Gordon informed Captain Bligh, while at the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1788 and 1789, that during his travels into the Caffre country, he met a native, who informed him that there was a white woman among his countrymen. She had a child, he said, whom she frequently embraced, and wept bitterly. Bad health compelled the colonel to retire homewards, but he promised to reward the native if he would carry a letter to the white woman : and he accordingly wrote a letter in French, Dutch, and English, desiring that some sign, such as a burnt stick, or any other token might be returned, and he would make every exertion for her safety. But although he gave presents to the Caffre, who appeared delighted with the commission, he never more heard of him

A general belief prevailed at the Cape, that some of the unfortunate females who survived the shipwreck, though they had it in their power to return, were prevented from doing so, apprehending that their place in Society was lost, and that they would be degraded in the eyes of their former equals, and not being willing to forsake the fruits of those connexions with the Caffres, which they had been obliged to form.

From the perusal of this melancholy narrative we now call the attention and interest of our readers to one of a different description.

The Antelope, a packet of nearly three hundred tons, in the service of the East India Company, commanded by Captain Wilson, having arrived at Macao in China, in the month of June, 1783, was ordered to be refitted with the utmost expedition. On the 20th of July, the ship being again ready for sea, the captain received his dispatches and sailed. The whole ship's company consisted of fifty persons, including sixteen Chinese. In consequence of the season of the year it was determined that the Antelope should not proceed to England by the direct and usual route. Nothing of any importance or interest occurred, till Wednesday the 6th of August, when the weather, which for some days had been variable, became tempestuous: it blew a storm till the mid-day of the 7th; next day there were fresh gales, and soon afterwards the weather became more moderate. In the morning of Monday the 11th, the sky became overcast with much thunder and lightning; the chief mate was then on the watch; he ordered the topsails to be lowered, and was about to reef them, but while the people were busy in this operation, the man who was on the look out called *breakers!* and the call had scarcely reached the officer on deck when the ship struck. All was now in the utmost confusion and dismay; the captain and those who were in their beds, sprung upon deck in an instant; a moment was

sufficient to convince them of their melancholy situations ; for the breakers alongside, through which the rocks made their appearance, presented the most dreadful scene. The ship taking a heel, she filled in less than an hour as high as the lower deck hatchways.

The crew on this occasion behaved with wonderful coolness, propriety, and steadiness ; they crowded round the captain, requesting him to give the necessary directions, and assured him they should be implicitly and cheerfully obeyed by them all. Accordingly he directed that the gunpowder, small arms, bread, and such provisions as would spoil by wet, should be brought on deck, while the masts were cut away, for the purpose of easing the ship. The boats were hoisted out and filled with provisions, and every precaution was taken to enable the crew to get into them, when it became absolutely necessary, without inconvenience, confusion, or danger. As the quarter deck lay highest out of the water, all the crew assembled on it ; and the captain addressed them, advising them in the strongest language, to abstain from spirituous liquors, and in every respect to be obedient and active. After this two glasses of wine and a little bread were given to each individual. It was still dark, and they waited with anxiety for the return of day, in the hope of being able to ascertain what kind of land they were thrown upon. When daylight appeared, a small island was seen to the southward at the distance of three or four leagues, and some other island to the eastward. The boats being put under the care of Mr. Benger, the chief mate, were dispatched to the principal and nearest island ; as soon as they departed, a raft was constructed, as the ship was hourly expected to go to pieces. In the afternoon the boats were observed returning ; Mr. Benger informed the captain that he had seen no inhabitants, but that there was a secure harbour and fresh water. The raft was now completed as expeditiously as possible, and

loaded with as much provisions and stores as it would carry. The pinnace also was filled with provisions, ammunition, and small arms. Soon afterwards, as it was evident that the Antelope could not long keep above water, all the crew left her; there was some danger in passing the surf, but that being cleared, they came into smooth water. As soon as they got ashore, they resolved to endeavour to save some more things from the ship, while she continued above water and unbroken up; indeed they seem to have entertained the expectation that she might still be saved, repaired, and made fit to convey them back to Macao. In this however they were disappointed; but they got many useful things out of her. In the morning the captain and one of his crew being on the beach collecting water, the people who were behind clearing away the ground, gave notice that some of the natives were approaching, as they observed a canoe coming round the bay. The people alarmed took up their arms; but as there were only two canoes, they were desired to remain out of sight till they saw what reception the captain and Rose his companion met with. As soon as the natives approached the shore, they addressed them in the Malay language; they did not understand it, but stopped their canoes. Soon afterwards however, one of them asked in Malay who the strangers were, whether friends or enemies; to which the captain desired Rose, who acted as interpreter in the ship, to answer, that they were unfortunate Englishmen who had lost their ship. They then left their canoes, and the captain having waded into the water, embraced them, and introduced them to his officers and crew. The strangers were eight in number, two of whom it was afterwards ascertained, were brothers to the king. They were all, at first rather alarmed, but soon gained confidence. The Malay who was among them informed Captain Wilson, that he had commanded a trading vessel, and had been cast away about ten months before on an island then in sight to the

southward ; that the island on which they then were, was called Pelew, where he had been so well received by the king, who he said was a good man, and his subjects were very peaceable and friendly. As the natives requested Captain Wilson to send back some of his people with them to the king, in order that he might see what like they were, Mr. Wilson, the brother of the captain was dispatched : he took with him a present to the king of a small piece of blue cloth, a canister of tea, one of sugar-candy, and a jar of rusks. This last article was added at the particular request of the king's brothers, the younger of whom went in the canoe, while the elder and three men remained with Captain Wilson.

It soon appeared that the natives had never seen white men before ; they were themselves of a deep copper colour, perfectly naked, and their skins soft and glossy from the constant and regular use of cocoa-nut oil. Their legs were *tattooed* from a little above the ancles to the middle of their thighs : their hair was of a beautiful black colour, long, and rolled up behind ; they expressed great surprise at the dress of the English, and were evidently in doubt whether their cloathes were not part of their bodies. The next thing they noticed was the people's hands and the blue veins on their wrists, which they seemed to consider as a species of *tattooing*, for they requested that the sleeves of the jackets might be drawn up, in order that they might ascertain whether the arms were of the same colour. As the ship was still unbroken up, the pinnace was again sent off to her ; she returned after dark, reporting that some canoes had been at the vessel, and had carried off iron, &c. They had found the way to the medicine chest, but not finding the medicines palatable, they had thrown out the contents and carried off the bottles. Fortunately the surgeon had brought away some of the most useful medicines with him. The king's brother was very indig-

nant when he learnt that the natives had visited and plundered the ship, asking why the British did not shoot them, and saying on the next offence, it might be done, and he would justify it to the king.

As the king's brother appeared a most friendly man, many questions were asked him. Observing that he wore the polished bone of some animal like a bracelet on his wrist, the people wished to know on what account it was there; he informed them that it was a mark of great distinction, conferred by the king on his own family, and on officers of state, &c.; and that he wore it, both as brother to the king, and as commander-in-chief of the land and sea forces.

Captain Wilson now proposed to the crew that all the liquor casks should be staved; this he was induced to propose, lest intoxicated with the liquor, his crew might quarrel with the natives: and to the honor of his crew be it mentioned, that they unanimously agreed to the captain's proposal, and offered immediately to go on board and stave every cask of strong liquors that same day, which they conscientiously performed.

In the mean time, Captain Wilson's brother proceeded on his embassy; he was conducted by an immense concourse of people to the town on the king's island, there he was directed to sit down on a mat. When the king appeared, the presents were graciously received; he ate some of the sugar-candy, and then desired some refreshments to be brought to Mr. Wilson; an immense assemblage of natives was now collected. Mr. Wilson having by accident taken off his hat, they were all struck with astonishment; on this, he unbuttoned his waistcoat, and pulled off his shoes. When it became dark, the king, his brother, several others, and Mr. Wilson retired into a house, where supper, consisting of shell-fish, yams, &c. were served on a stool: he was then conducted to another

house, where there were forty or fifty men and women; in this he was told he was to sleep. Accordingly he laid down, but was unable to close his eyes, and soon afterwards he was much alarmed, on observing eight men arise and light two great fires at each end of the house; his apprehensions however were speedily relieved, for, after warming themselves, they all retired again to their mats. The favorable intelligence of his reception by the king, encreased and enlivened all the people who were now employed in recovering rice, iron, and stores from the wreck. The natives, however, still continued to plunder her, till they were driven away by the king's order.

On Friday, the 15th of August, the king's son, accompanied by one of his uncles, went off to the ship; the second mate and the pinnace soon followed: both returned about noon with rice and stores, and were going again, when information was given that the king was coming. His canoe advanced between four others, the rowers of which splashed the water about with their paddles, and flourished them over their heads in a very dexterous manner; and as the king passed, some canoes which had lain to, closed his train, and followed him into the cove, sounding conch shells. Captain Wilson was desired by the king to enter the royal canoe, which he did, and embraced the king, informing him of his situation, and his desire to build a vessel. The king replied, that he was perfectly welcome to build where he chose. The king afterwards stepped into the water and waded ashore; upon which Captain Wilson presented him with a scarlet coat. The king was perfectly naked: he wore no bone on his wrist, nor any mark of distinction, but carried a hatchet on his shoulder made of iron, while those of the others were of shell. About three hundred persons were in his train: he was presented with ribbons and cloth of various colours, which he immediately gave away to his attendants. While

the natives were rolling up the ribbons, the British observed that every chief fixed his attention on some particular person. This alarmed them much, being apprehensive that they were all destined to be prisoners; but they soon found it was quite the reverse, and that the chiefs were each fixing on the person who was to be his particular friend. The king next expressed a desire to see the men exercise; accordingly every man was ordered under arms, and drawn up on the beach; three vollies were fired, on which the natives testified extraordinary surprise, hooting, hallowing, chattering, and leaping. A live fowl was next shot at, and its wing and leg being broken, created a vast murmur of wonder and dread. Raa Kook carried his brother to a grind-stone, and the king was astonished at the rapidity of its motion, and more especially when he saw the sparks flying out of the iron, while it was sharpening. Raa Kook, in order to shew the king what an adept he was, next began to blow the fire with the bellows.

The next day, the king after considerable hesitation, informed Captain Wilson that he was going in the course of a few days to wage war with an island that had done him an injury, and requested Captain Wilson to send four or five of his men to accompany him with their muskets. The captain consented; the expedition ended successfully, and the king expressed much gratitude. In the mean time they had began building their vessel, each was appointed to his particular post, and all went to work with the utmost alacrity. By Friday, on the 22d, they had got the keel laid on the blocks, and the stem and stern post bolted. On the 25th, four canoes from islands to the south, which were understood to be at war with the King of Pelew came ashore; they were full of men, but after having examined every thing, and conducted themselves with great propriety, they departed. At the end of the month, Cap-

tain Wilson on the king's invitation went to Pelew, where he was most hospitably received and entertained. The king came down to the beach without any state to receive him, and conducted him to the town of Pelew; they entered a house, from which a number of women issued forth; they were the wives of the chiefs: they were fairer than the rest of the women, but they wore few ornaments; their faces and part of their bodies were rubbed with turmeric. The English were presented with sweet drinks, and cocoa-nuts. The ladies employed themselves in making mats. A message soon came from the queen, requesting to see the English; they accordingly went, and came to a sequestered dwelling, before which was a rail, with some tame pigeons on it tied by the leg. This bird is held in such estimation, that none except the chiefs and their families are allowed to eat it. As soon as they approached, the queen opened her window, and desired them to sit down on a pavement before the house, when refreshments were brought out; she took great notice, and wished some of them to come close to the window, and draw up their coat sleeves, that she might see the colour of their skin. They visited some other of the chiefs; and Raa Kook's wife did them the high honour of setting before them a broiled pigeon.

Soon after this, the king again requested Captain Wilson to send ten of his men against the same enemy as before; they were accordingly placed at the king's disposal, at which he was highly gratified. Captain Wilson next accompanied him to his boat-builders, where the king gave directions, and shewed the captain a design of his own for ornamenting some canoes; the design was marked on a board with great accuracy in different colours. The English dined this day with the king on pigeons.

When the king visited the vessel on the stocks, he expressed his amazement at the magnitude of it; he ex-

amined every part of it minutely, and called on his artificers to examine it also. They were quite in astonishment at the iron work; most of the frame work having been made of trees growing in the island, the king pointed out a kind of wood which he said he was sorry to see used, as it was unlucky wood, and would expose the people to some accident, earnestly requesting them to take it out. The noise of the forge attracted his attention; and the boat's crew happening to be beating out a piece of hot iron on a pig of the same metal, the king and all the natives were absorbed in admiration: they could not be persuaded to be kept at a distance, nor be deterred from catching in their hand the luminous particles flying from the stroke of the hammer: the operation of the cooper sawing timber, &c. appeared equally marvellous. The king then requested that a six pounder might be fired. The report seemed to stun them all, for every one kept his fingers in his ears for a full quarter of an hour, calling out, "very bad, very bad."

On Monday, the 13th of September, the men who had gone on the expedition returned, with intelligence of its success. The victory obtained by the king was greater than the preceding one; great execution had been done by the fire arms, and the enemy could not comprehend how their people dropped without receiving a blow. Though holes were seen in their bodies, they could not devise how they were made, nor by what means they were thus at once deprived of life. The battle lasted about three hours, six canoes were captured and nine men, the whole of whom were put to death, notwithstanding the earnest interposition of the English.

On the 3d of September the vessel was so far advanced that the people were ready to plank under her keel; but an accident happened that had likely to have been destructive of all their labours. In the beginning of the

night, the tide rising higher than usual, broke into the trench, and had nearly washed away the blocks from under the vessel. In the mean time, the king elated with the success of his expeditions, planned another of still greater magnitude, in which three hundred canoes were employed. Captain Wilson sent ten men and a swivel; the attack was successful, though with great loss on both sides.

On the 17th of October the king paid Captain Wilson another visit; he arrived attended by nine canoes: his youngest daughter, a girl about nine years old, and eight or nine women accompanied him. One of these was particularly remarkable for her superior elegance and beauty: she was very young, and was one of the king's wives. After having amused themselves with seeing every thing, a piece of canvas was spread, and the captain entertained them in the cove with fish and boiled rice, mixed well with molasses to sweeten it; this, which they had never tasted before, they seemed to relish very much.

Three of the inhabitants of the island with whom the King of Pelew had been at war, and against whom he had obtained the assistance of the English, now came to visit Captain Wilson, who gave them and Raa Kook an invitation to breakfast. On seeing the small arms they expressed very forcibly and plainly by their looks and gestures, that these were the instruments that had killed so many of their countrymen. A flying squirrel having settled on a tree near where they were at breakfast, Captain Wilson's servant shot it. The strangers seeing the animal drop from a lofty tree without any thing apparently causing it to drop, ran to take it up; and when they perceived the shot holes, they remarked that such of their own countrymen as had been killed in the late battles, had similar holes in their bodies. The king seemed very anxious that Captain Wilson should not leave the country

without acquainting him, and promised to send colours to paint the vessel, which he accordingly did.

On the 23rd of October, the caulkers finished their work at the bottom of the vessel; steps for the mast were then fixed: the trench under her was filled up; the pinnae was also cleared and floated. The night of the 28th was overcast and it rained. Next morning the rain and wind were both so violent and incessant that they carried away all the awnings laid over the vessel. Next day was also stormy, with thunder and lightning. The night proved still worse: the people apprehended that their tents would be blown down, and they were very much afraid for the safety of their companions, who were absent on another expedition; but the following morning brought them intelligence that they were well, and that the king's enemies had, on this occasion, laid down their spears without resistance.

The new vessel now being in a state of great forwardness, and the time of departure drawing near, Captain Wilson determined to explore the islands whereon they had been cast; but when he proposed this scheme to the crew, they objected to it; they were anxious to get away; they felt no curiosity respecting the situation, &c. of a place which had been to them a prison; and besides they were apprehensive that during their voyage they might be exposed to new dangers; to these they certainly did not, after the sufferings which they had undergone, wish to expose themselves. The design, therefore, was abandoned.

On Monday, the 3rd of November, the weather having become fair and settled, with fresh gales from the north-east, the carpenters were employed in making the rudder, and the quarter-master in making the masts; the rest were employed in caulking, painting, &c. A consultation was now held respecting the mode and time of launching her, when it was agreed to be done as soon as conve-

nient, on ways and not on rollers as at first intended. On Tuesday some of the men were employed in making the blocks and launching ways. At this period a suspicion and dread entered the minds of the people that the king intended to prevent their departure. This arose from the surgeon having communicated to them that the king was to visit them in four or five days; and though they had experienced both from him and his subjects nothing but the most frank and friendly behaviour, yet the state of the minds of the English was such that suspicion and distrust easily entered them, and took fast possession of them. Captain Wilson in vain endeavoured to dispel their apprehensions: reasoning, remonstrance, ridicule—an appeal to experience had no effect. A watch was always kept after dark, the swivels and the six pounders were loaded with grape shot.

One of the seamen at this time informed Captain Wilson that he was resolved to remain at Pelew if the king would permit him. The captain endeavoured to divert him from this resolution, representing the disadvantages under which he would labour when his companions were gone; and that as he was unacquainted with any mechanical employment, the natives would soon become tired of him. Finding that he could not be persuaded, the captain resolved to make a merit with the king of leaving him behind; accordingly the first opportunity he told the king that he would leave one of his people with him to take care of the guns and other things, in return for the kindness he and his crew had experienced. The king was highly pleased: he promised to make him a chief, and to give him two wives, together with a house and plantation. The person to be left behind was of a grave disposition, good tempered, and inoffensive; but he was a man of no education, not being able even to read. He turned out very ill: he left off clothing; through Captain Wilson particularly recommended the reverse, as while

clothed he would always retain a distinguishing mark between himself and the savages. About seven years after the captain left him on the island, he was killed in a bloody battle between the king and a neighbouring island.

While the vessel was painting, her stern was particularly decorated by Raa Kook: this being finished, several baskets of cocoa nuts, in a state of vegetation, and other seeds were brought, and the captain was informed it was for the purpose of being planted for the English. After being planted he was told there would now be fruit for them when they returned, and should any inhabitants of the other islands come on shore and eat the fruit, they would thank the English. After several unsuccessful attempts, they at last, about seven o'clock, on Sunday, the 9th of November, launched the vessel. The English gave three loud huzzas at her going off, in which they were joined by the natives.

Soon after this the king sent a message to Captain Wilson desiring him to come to the watering place. On his arrival he was invested with the order of the Bone, and formally made a *Rupack*, or chief of the highest rank. Raa Kook having received the bone from the king, anointed the captain's hand with oil, and endeavoured to get it drawn through the bone: other chiefs assisted; all preserving the most profound silence. The operation was difficult, but being at last accomplished, the whole assembly expressed their joy. The king told him that the bone ought to be rubbed bright every day, preserved as a testimony of the rank he held among them, nor suffered to be torn from his arm but with the loss of life.

In the evening the tents were all cleaned and every thing carried on board. When all the officers were on board, and the sails bent, the vessel was carried to the west side of the island, and moored in six fathom water, off the well which supplied the fresh water.

Before this, the king had frequently expressed a wish to

send his second son Lee Boo to England, under the protection of Captain Wilson; and he now again reverted to his desire on this point. He described him as a young man of a gentle, amiable disposition, sensible and of a mild temper. Raa Kook had made a request of a similar nature for himself, which had been refused by the king, who assigned as his objection that Raa Kook was next heir to the crown, for the succession passed by brothers before descending to sons, and the inconvenience that might arise if he himself should die before his brother's return. Captain Wilson acceded to the plan of taking Lee Boo.

Before quitting the cove the seamen hoisted an English pendant on a large tree, growing close to the place where the tents had been erected. They also affixed to another tree, near the place where they had built their vessel, a plate of copper, with the following inscription on it, "The Honourable the East India Company's ship the Antelope, Henry Wilson, commander, was lost on a rock north of this island, in the night between the 9th and 10th of August, who have built a vessel, and sailed from hence the 12th day of November, 1783." The king, who was informed of the meaning of this inscription, promised that it should never be taken down.

The Prince Lee Boo now arrived, and was introduced by his father to Captain Wilson and all the officers on shore. Every one was highly pleased with his affability and the good humour which his countenance expressed. Before dark the officers took leave of the king, and went on board; but the captain, at the king's request, remained on shore.

On Wednesday, the 12th, an English jack was hoisted at the mast head of the vessel at daylight, and one of the swivels fired as a signal for sailing. The king on learning what these meant, immediately ordered the canoes to take

on board yams, cocoa nuts, sweetmeats, &c. As soon as the vessel was loaded with every thing that could be taken on board, the boat was sent on shore for the captain. The king on this said he would soon follow him: accordingly, soon after eight o'clock, he, his son and his chiefs came on board. The king went almost as far as the reef in the vessel before he made the signal for his canoe: he then gave his son Lee Boo his blessing, wishing him happiness and prosperity, which he received with great respect. He shook all the officers by the hand in the most cordial manner; and then embraced the captain; and having assured the crew that his affectionate wishes for their prosperous voyage accompanied them, he went over the side of his vessel into his canoe. Raa Kook still remained on board very pensive, and suffered the vessel to proceed a considerable way from the reef, before he summoned his canoes. As this chief had been the first and truly valuable friend of the English, they presented him with a brace of pistols, and a cartouch box filled with cartridges: he then left them, much affected by the separation.

On the 25th they came in sight of the Bashee Islands, and at noon of the same day they were in the Chinese sea. On the 27th they arrived at Macoa.

Lee Boo, who had been remarkably clean in his person during the voyage, washing himself several times during the day, was extremely astonished at seeing the large Portuguese ships at anchor in the port of Macao; and he was lost in admiration at the first house which he entered. The upright walls and flat ceilings struck him most; he was puzzled to comprehend how they were formed. A string of beads with which he was presented threw him into perfect extacy; he immediately ran to Captain Wilson, and begged him to get him immediately a vessel to send his treasures to Pelew to his father. He also told the

captain that if the Chinese faithfully performed their charge, he would on their return present them with one or two beads, as a reward for their fidelity.

From Macao Captain Wilson went to Canton, where he sold his vessel. The officers and men then dispersed. The captain and Lee Boo embarking in the Morse East Indiaman, then bound for England, where they arrived in safety on the 14th of July, 1784.

Lee Boo, who was eighteen years old, interested all who beheld him: he was extremely desirous to learn every thing, and his motive was most praiseworthy, in order that on his return to Pelew, he might be able to point out what was for the benefit of his country. The utmost care was taken to prevent his catching the small pox, but unfortunately within five months after his arrival in England, he caught this disorder and died of it. Captain Wilson behaved as a father to him, and he was considered and treated by the rest of the family as one of themselves. The King of Pelew told Captain Wilson that he was aware of the dangers and diseases to which his son would be exposed in visiting foreign countries: but that if he unfortunately died, he trusted it would not deter him or any of his countrymen from visiting Pelew, where he should always rejoice to see them.

The Directors of the East India Company having resolved to acquaint the king with the death of his son, orders were sent to Bombay to fit out two vessels for that purpose. Accordingly the Parker and Endeavour sailed on the 24th of August, 1790, having on board two officers, who had been shipwrecked along with Captain Wilson. After a boisterous and rather dangerous voyage the southernmost of the Pelew Islands was in sight, on the 21st of January, 1791, and on the next day the vessels anchored within two miles of the shore. In the evening a number of canoes were rowing very fast, and one of them, from its great number of paddles, was known to

be the king's. On coming on board he received the intelligence of his son's death with fortitude, saying that he never entertained any doubt of the goodness of the English and Captain Wilson. He was disappointed at not seeing the captain; but he immediately recognized the two officers.

A considerable quantity of live stock was landed for the purpose of breeding on the islands, where the only native quadrupeds are rats. The cattle and sheep, it was afterwards understood, throve remarkably well. The presents from the East India Company to the king were afterwards sent on shore: they produced a wonderful effect on the natives, but they did not utter a word, being silent from astonishment. The king immediately distributed the arms to his principal chiefs; recommending that they should always be kept clean and fit for service. Grand stoves, shovels, saws, &c. were next unpacked; when their uses were explained to the king he remained silent for about an hour, and then calling his chiefs round him, he made a long harangue, in the course of which the name of the English was frequently repeated. He then distributed various articles apparently with regard to rank. He seemed to think that some return was expected for all these presents, saying that his country if he could send *it*, would be inadequate to what was now before him. At length, as soon as he understood that no return was expected, and that these things were sent from England as an acknowledgment for his great humanity, he replied that his services were very trifling. On the 8th of February seeds of different sorts were sown, and a large piece of ground was prepared from other plantations. Soon afterwards the king solicited the captain's assistance against his old enemies; the long boat was therefore made ready, with a six pounder, two swivels, a musqueteer, and ten men with small arms. On the arrival of the hostile army at Artingall, a messenger was sent

by the king of Pelew to offer terms of accommodation, which were accepted after a considerable delay: the enemy being chiefly intimidated by the sight of the English, and the report of their fire arms. After peace was made the English played off some rockets and other fire works, to the great amazement of the inhabitants of Artingall, and the enjoyment of their friends. The King of Pelew was in future acknowledged the sovereign of all the neighbouring islands.

The English vessels were next employed in a survey of the coast of New Guinea, in their way to which they touched at Amboyna, sailed to the coast of New Holland, and thence to the island of Timor. In January, 1793, they returned to Pelew, where they learnt the melancholy tidings of the death of the king. In the month of February Captain M'Cluer, who commanded one of the vessels, formed the most extraordinary resolution of resigning the command of his ship, and spending the remainder of his days on the Pelew Islands. He was accordingly left there, with a quantity of arms, utensils, &c. However he seems to have been tired of his situation, for he unexpectedly appeared at Bombay in the month of June, 1794. He had embarked in a boat along with three Malays and two slaves of his own, intending to go to the island of Tornato; but when he got to the southward of Pelew Islands, he altered his plan, and determined to proceed to China.

Having taken in a stock of provisions he reached the Bashee Islands in the course of ten days. He met very bad weather in crossing the Chinese seas, but arrived at Macoa without any accident. He had no food but coconuts and water, nor any map to guide him, except a chart of Captain Wilson's. When his health was re-established he returned to the Pelew Islands, where he had a son and some property, in order to bring them away. He arrived, and embarked the whole as well as some natives,

and brought them all to Bencoolen, from whence he sent six of the Pelew women to Bombay in another vessel, and was then proceeding in his own with the other natives, but neither he nor they were ever more heard of. In the year 1797, Captain Wilson, who was then at Bombay, found three of the Pelew women, who were sent back to their own country. A small vessel was prepared for this purpose, which, after a tedious voyage, arrived at the Pelew Islands, in 1798. The inhabitants were highly pleased at the return of their countrywomen, and behaved to the English with their usual friendship and kindness.

In February, 1802, Captain Nathaniel Tucker sailing with dispatches from Bombay to China, touched at the Pelew Islands. Four canoes came off to him, in one of which was an Englishman. He and three more Europeans belonging to a country ship, which had gone to Port Jackson, were put on shore to collect beeca de mer, tortoise-shell, shark skins, &c. for the Chinese market. The ship was to return and take them on board. This was the fourth time he had been left on shore on a similar employment, and he had always experienced the most friendly and hospitable attention.

As our readers will probably be desirous of learning further particulars respecting Captain Wilson, we shall briefly mention that he commanded one of the East India ships which so gallantly and honorably repulsed a French squadron under Admiral Linois. A sword, to the value of fifty pounds, was voted him by the East India Company, on this occasion; and a reward of the same kind and value was given him by the Patriotic Society. When he grew old he retired from the service of the East India Company, and died near London, in the month of May, 1810.

We are naturally disposed to regard with very different degrees of sympathy and horror those shipwrecks and disasters at sea, which happen at a great distance from

our own shores, especially if they occur on uninhabited or savage coasts, and those which take place, as it were, under our own eyes and observation. On the one hand remoteness of place, like distance of time, has a direct and strong tendency to lessen the vividness of our impressions and feelings, and to induce us to believe that we are less intimately connected with the events that occur either far from us, or in former times: on the other hand, we are apt to believe with respect to shipwrecks and disasters at sea, that if they had occurred near our own shores, the sufferers would have experienced a greater degree of assistance and protection, which would have lessened and mitigated their misfortunes. Besides, our sympathy towards those who are shipwrecked or lost near our own shores, is increased from the consideration that by thus suffering near us they have a stronger claim to our commiseration; and if it should happen that the sufferers are our own countrymen, losing their lives on the coasts of that land which gave them birth, where they have enjoyed so many years of happiness, which contain their relatives and friends from whom perhaps they have just parted, and from which they in vain look for preservation or assistance; under all these circumstances united, such shipwrecks must be peculiarly calculated to excite our interest and sympathy. One such we are about to narrate.

The *Halsewell*, East Indiaman, of seven hundred and fifty-eight tons, commanded by Captain Richard Pierce, sailed through the Downs on Sunday, the 1st of January, 1786, on her third voyage to the Coast and Bay. She was reckoned one of the finest ships in the service, and had been put into the best condition for the voyage. Captain Pierce was an officer of distinguished ability and skill, and in every respect he bore an excellent character; his officers and crew were such as seemed to ensure the safety of the ship: the former were of approved

fidelity and unquestionable knowledge in their profession ; and the latter were not only as numerous as the East India Establishment admitted at that time, but they were the best seamen that could be procured. There was likewise on board a considerable body of soldiers who were going to recruit the East India Company's army in Asia.

Among the passengers there were seven ladies, two of whom were daughters to the captain, and other two of them his relations. The ladies were remarkable for their beauty and accomplishments.

On Monday, the 2nd of January, a breeze from the south sprung up in the afternoon, when the ship ran on shore for the purpose of landing the pilot. In the evening of that day very thick weather came on, and the ship anchored at nine o'clock in eighteen fathom water ; the topsails were furled, but on account of the snow which was falling thick, the seamen could not furl the courses. At four o'clock next morning a strong gale from the east-north-east arose, and as the ship began to drive, they were obliged to cut their cables, and run out to sea. At eight in the evening the wind freshened, they continuing to run down the channel ; at ten o'clock the wind having changed, blew a violent gale from the south, so that they were obliged to carry a press of sail for the purpose of keeping the ship clear of the shore. On sounding the well it was found there was five feet water in her hold, on which the crew endeavoured to furl the sails, but could not effect it ; all the pumps were set to work. At two o'clock in the morning of Wednesday, the 4th of January, not having succeeded in veering the ship, the main and mizen masts were cut away ; she had now seven feet of water in the hold, the pumps were of little avail, and she appeared in immediate danger of foundering. At eight o'clock in the morning she was got before the wind, and kept thus for two hours. In the mean time the pumps had reduced

the water in the hold two feet, and the ship's head was laid to the eastward, under the foresail only. At eleven the wind came round to the westward, and the weather clearing up, the Berry Head was seen, bearing north by east, distant four or five leagues. Jury masts having been erected Captain Pierce bore up for Portsmouth.

At two o'clock next morning the wind again blew from the south, and the weather became very thick. At noon the Isle of Portland was seen, bearing north by east, distant two or three leagues; at eight at night the gale from the south increased. At this time the lights on Portland were seen bearing north-west, distant four or five leagues; the ship was then veered to the westward, but losing ground on that tack, the captain ordered her to be veered again, and kept stretching to the eastward in hopes to have weathered Peverel Point, and then to have anchored in Studland Bay, in the Isle of Purbeck. At eleven o'clock at night it became clear, and St. Alban's Head in that isle was seen a mile and a half to leeward: on this, sail was immediately taken in, and the small bow anchor let go; the ship rode thus for about an hour, when she drove: the sheet anchor was now let go, and the ship rode for about two hours longer, when she drove again.

At two o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 6th of January, the ship still driving and approaching very fast to the shore, the second mate went into the cuddy, where the captain was. On the evening before, they had a conversation respecting the possibility of saving the lives of the ladies; and this conversation was now renewed; but the mate deemed it impracticable. The captain then lifted up his hands in silent and distressful ejaculation. At this dreadful moment the ship struck with such violence as to dash the heads of those standing in the cuddy against the deck above them, and the shock was accompanied by a shriek of horror that burst at one and the same instant from every quarter of the ship. The seamen now lost all

sense of propriety or discipline ; at one time skulking in their hammocks, then rushing on deck, but without being of any assistance, and the next moment in frantic exclamations demanding of heaven and their fellow-sufferers that succour, which by their own timely efforts they might possibly have procured for themselves.

The ship continued to beat on the rocks, and soon afterwards fell with her broadside towards the shore. The second mate having done all he could to persuade the crew to take such measures as might give them the chance of safety, went to the round-house, where by this time all the passengers and most of the officers had assembled.

The place where the ship had struck is one of the most dangerous and frightful on the south coast of England. It was on the rocks near Seacombe, in the Island of Purbeck, between Peverel Point and St. Alban's Head, at a part of the shore where the cliffs are of vast height, and rise almost perpendicularly from their base. At the particular spot where she struck, there is a cavern at the foot of the cave of ten or twelve yards in depth, and of breadth equal to the length of a large ship ; the sides of this cavern are so nearly upright as to be of extreme difficult access, while sharp and uneven rocks form the bottom. The ship lay with her broadside opposite the mouth of this cavern, with her whole length stretched almost from side to side of it.

The numbers in the round-house were now encreased to fifty, in consequence of three black women and two soldiers coming in. Captain Pierce sat on a cot with a daughter on each side, whom he pressed alternately to his breast ; the rest were seated on the deck. Here also the second mate, having cut several wax candles in pieces and stuck them up in various parts of the round-house, and lighted up all the glass lanthorns he could find, took his seat. They all anxiously expected the break of day, as they did not yet know exactly the situation of the ship.

The sides of the vessel were now visibly giving away, and the deck seemed to be lifting, so that the second mate, who observed these things, did not believe that she could hold much longer together; upon this he went forward for the purpose of looking out, but he immediately saw that the ship had separated in the middle. The crew and the soldiers were now leaving her in great numbers, and he resolved to follow their example. As it was sufficiently light to discover the exact situation of the vessel, and her nearness to the shore, the ensign staff had been unshipped for the purpose of being laid across to the rocks, but it broke before it reached them. However after this the second mate found a spar which some of those who had already left the vessel had laid from her to the shore, and on this he determined to attempt his escape. He accordingly lying down upon it pushed himself forward, but he found it had no communication with the rocks, and slipping off the end of it he received a very severe bruise; before he could recover himself the surge washed him away, but being a good swimmer he supported himself till the returning wave brought him up with great violence against the back part of the cavern. Here he laid hold of a part of the rock that projected, but he was so much exhausted with fatigue, exertion, and cold that he could not have retained his hold longer, when a seaman, who had a secure footing, assisted him to secure himself on the rock. He afterwards clambered a little higher, and got out of the reach of the surf.

The narrative of the loss of the *Halsewell* was drawn up and published from the communications, and under the authorities of Mr. Henry Meriton, the second mate, whose escape we have just narrated, and Mr. John Rogers, the third mate, who remained on board after Mr. Meriton left the ship. The further melancholy detail of this most dreadful shipwreck we shall lay before our readers in the words of Mr. Rogers, being persuaded that

any change of language by us would only serve to diminish the interest and sympathy which all must deeply feel on perusing a narrative of such sufferings, drawn up by one who himself witnessed and partook of them.

“ Mr. Rogers, the third mate, remained with the captain and the unfortunate ladies, and their companions, near twenty minutes after Mr. Meriton had quitted the ship. Soon after the latter left the round-house, the captain asked what was become of him? and Mr. Rogers replied, that he was gone on the deck to see what could be done. After this a heavy sea breaking over the ship, the ladies exclaimed, “ Oh poor Meriton; he is drowned, had he stayed with us he would have been safe;” and they all, and particularly Miss Mary Pierce, expressed great concern at the apprehension of his loss. On this occasion Mr. Rogers offered to go and call in Mr. Meriton; but this was opposed by the ladies, from an apprehension that he might share the same fate.

“ At this time the sea was breaking in at the fore part of the ship, and reached as far as the main-mast, and Captain Pierce gave Mr. Rogers a nod, and they took a lamp, and went together into the stern-gallery, and after viewing the rocks for some time, Captain Pierce asked Mr. Rogers if he thought there was any possibility of saving the girls; to which he replied he feared there was not, for they could only discover the black face of the perpendicular rock, and not the cavern which afforded shelter to those who escaped; they then returned to the round-house, and Mr. Rogers hung up the lamp, and Captain Pierce, with his great coat on, sat down between his two daughters, and struggled to suppress the parental tear which then burst into his eye.

“ The sea continuing to break in very fast, Mr. M'Manus, a midshipman, and Mr. Schutz, a passenger, asked Mr. Rogers what they could do to escape? who replied, “ Follow me;” and then they all went into the stern

gallery, and from thence by the weather upper quarter gallery upon the poop, and whilst they were there a very heavy sea fell on board, and the round-house gave way, and he heard the ladies shriek at intervals, as if the water had reached them; the noise of the sea at other times drowning their voices.

“ Mr. Brimer had followed Mr. Rogers to the poop, where they had remained together about five minutes, when on the coming on of the last-mentioned sea, they jointly seized a hen-coop, and the same wave which he apprehended proved fatal to some of those who remained below, happily carried him and his companion to the rock, on which they were dashed with such violence as to be miserably bruised and hurt.

“ On this rock were twenty-seven men, but it was low water, and as they were convinced that upon the flowing of the tide they must all be washed off, many of them attempted to get to the back or sides of the cavern, out of the reach of the returning sea; in this attempt scarce more than six, besides himself and Mr. Brimer, succeeded; of the remainder some shared the fate which they had apprehended, and the others perished in their efforts to get into the cavern.

“ Mr. Rogers and Mr. Brimer both however reached the cavern, and scrambled up the rock, on narrow shelves of which they fixed themselves. Mr. Rogers got so near to his friend Mr. Meriton as to exchange congratulations with him; but he was prevented from joining him by at least twenty men who were between them, neither of whom could move without immediate peril of his life. At the time Mr. Roger reached this station of possible safety his strength was so nearly exhausted, that had the struggle continued a few minutes longer he must have been inevitably lost.

“ They now found that a very considerable number of the crew, seamen, soldiers, and some petty officers, were

in the same situation with themselves, though many who had reached the rocks below, had perished in attempting to ascend; what that situation was they were still to learn; at present they had escaped immediate death, but they were yet to encounter cold, nakedness, wind, rain, and the perpetual beating of the spray of the sea, for a difficult, precarious, and doubtful chance of escape.

“ They could yet discern some part of the ship, and solaced themselves, in their dreary stations, with the hope of its remaining entire till day-break, for in the midst of their own misfortunes, the sufferings of the females affected them with the most acute anguish, and every sea that broke brought with it terror, for the fate of those amiable and helpless beings.

“ But, alas! their apprehensions were too soon realized. In a very few minutes after Mr. Rogers had gained the rock, an universal shriek, which still vibrates in their ears, and in which the voice of female distress was lamentably distinguishable, announced the dreadful catastrophe; in a few moments all was hushed, except the warring winds and beating waves: the wreck was buried in the remorseless deep, and not an atom of her was ever after discoverable.

“ Thus perished the *Halsewell*, and with her worth, honour, skill, beauty, amiability, and bright accomplishments.

“ Many of those who had gained the precarious stations which we have described, worn out with fatigue, weakened by bruises, battered by the tempest, and benumbed with the cold, quitted their holdfasts, and tumbling headlong either on the rocks below, or in the surf, perished beneath the feet of their wretched associates, and by their dying groans and gulping exclamations for pity, awakened terrific apprehensions in the survivors, of their own approaching fate.

“ At length, after the bitterest three hours which misery

ever lengthened into ages, the day broke on them, but instead of bringing with it the relief with which they had flattered themselves, served to discover all the horrors of their situation; they now found that had the country been alarmed by the guns of distress which they had continued to fire for many hours before the ship struck, but which from the violence of the storm were unheard, they could neither be observed by the people from above, as they were completely ingulphed in the cavern, and over-hung by the cliff, nor did any part of the wreck remain to point out their probable place of refuge; below, no boat could live to search them out; and had it been possible to have acquainted those who would wish to assist them with their exact situation, no ropes could be conveyed into the cavity to facilitate their escape.

“ The only prospect which offered, was to creep along the side of the cavern, to its outward extremity, and on a ledge scarcely as broad as a man’s hand to turn the corner, and endeavour to clamber up the almost perpendicular precipice, whose summit was near two hundred feet from the base.

“ And in this desperate effort did some succeed, whilst others trembling with terror, and their strength exhausted by mental and bodily fatigue, lost their precarious footing and perished in the attempt.

“ The first men who gained the summit of the cliff, were the cook, and James Thompson, a quarter-master; by their own exertions they made their way to the land, and the moment they reached it, hastened to the nearest house, and made known the situation of their fellow-sufferers.

“ The house at which they first arrived was *Eastington*, the present habitation of Mr. Garland, steward or agent to the proprietors of the Purbeck quarries, who immediately got together the workmen under his direction, and with the most zealous and animated humanity, exerted

every effort for the preservation of the surviving crew of this unfortunate ship; ropes were procured with all possible dispatch, and every precaution taken that assistance should be speedily and effectually given; and we are happy in this opportunity of bearing testimony, under the authority of the principal surviving officers, to the kind, benevolent, and spirited behaviour of this gentleman, whose conduct on the melancholy occasion entitles him to universal respect and regard, as well as to the particular gratitude of those who were the immediate objects of his philanthropy.

“Mr. Meriton made the attempt, and almost reached the edge of the precipice; a soldier who preceded him, had his feet on a small projecting rock or stone, and on the same stone Mr. Meriton had fastened his hands to help his progress; at this critical moment the quarry-men arrived, and seeing a man so nearly within their reach, they dropped a rope to him, of which he immediately laid hold, and in a vigorous effort to avail himself of this advantage, he loosened the stone on which he stood, which giving way, Mr. Meriton must have been precipitated to the bottom, but that a rope was providentially lowered to him at the instant, which he seized as he was in the act of falling, and was safely drawn to the summit.

“The fate of Mr. Brimer was peculiarly severe; this gentleman, who had only been married nine days before the ship sailed to a beautiful lady, the daughter of Captain Norman, of the royal navy, in which service Mr. Brimer was a lieutenant, but was now on a voyage to visit an uncle at Madras, came on shore, as we have already observed, with Mr. Rogers, and like him got up the side of a cavern, where he remained till the morning, when he crawled out, and a rope being thrown to him, he was either so benumbed with the cold as to fasten it about him improperly, or so agitated, as to neglect making it fast at all; but from which ever cause it arose, the effect was fatal to

him; at the moment of his supposed preservation he fell from his stand, and was unfortunately dashed to pieces, in the presence of those who could only lament the deplorable fate of an amiable and worthy man, and an able and skilful officer.

“ As the day advanced, more assistance was obtained; and as the life-preserving efforts of the survivors would admit, they crawled to the extremities of the cavern, and presented themselves to their preservers above, who stood prepared with the means which the situation would permit them to exercise, to help them to the summit.

“ The method of affording this help was singular, and does honour to the humanity and intrepidity of the quarrymen. The distance from the top of the rock to the cavern was at least one hundred feet, with a projection of the former of about eight feet; ten of these formed a declivity to the edge, and the remainder of it was perpendicular. On the very brink of the precipice stood two daring fellows, a rope being tied round them, and fastened above to a strong iron bar fixed in the ground, behind them in like manner two more, and two more. A strong rope also, properly secured, passed between them, by which they might hold and support themselves from falling; they then let down another rope, with a noose ready fixed below the cavern; and the wind blowing hard, it was in some instances forced under the projecting rock sufficiently for the sufferers to reach it without crawling to the extremity; in either case, whoever laid hold of it, put the noose round his waste, and after escaping from one element, committed himself, full swing to another, in which he dangled till he was drawn up with great care and caution.

“ It is but justice in this place to say, that the survivors received the friendly and humane assistance of Mr. Jones and Mr. Hawker, gentlemen resident near the spot.

“ But in this attempt many shared the fate of the unfortunate Mr. Brimer ; and unable, through cold, weakness, perturbation of mind, or the incommodiousness of the stations they occupied, to avail themselves of the succour which was offered them, were at last precipitated from the stupendous cliff, and were either dashed to pieces on the rocks beneath, or falling into the surge, perished in the waves.

“ Among these unhappy sufferers, the destiny of a drummer belonging to the military on board the *Halsewell*, was attended with circumstances of peculiar distress, being either washed off the rock by the seas, or falling into the surf from above, he was carried by the counter-seas or returning waves, beyond the breakers, within which his utmost efforts could never again bring him, but he was drawn further out to sea ; and as he swam remarkably well, continued to struggle with the waves, in sight of his pitying companions, till his strength was exhausted, and he sunk to rise no more.

“ It was not till late in the day that the survivors were all conveyed to safety ; one indeed, William Trenton, a soldier, remained on his perilous stand till the morning of Saturday the 7th of January, exposed to the united horrors of the extremest personal danger, and the most acute disquietude of mind ; nor is it easy to conceive how his strength and spirits could have supported him for such a number of hours, under distress so poignant and complicated.

“ Though the remains of the wreck were no longer discoverable among the rocks, yet the surface of the sea was covered with the fragments as far almost as the eye could reach ; and even so late as ten o'clock on the Friday morning, a sheep, part of the live stock of the unfortunate officers, was observed buffeting the angry waves.

“ The surviving officers, seamen, and soldiers, being now assembled at the house of their benevolent friend,

Mr. Garland, they were mustered, and found to amount to seventy-four, out of rather more than two hundred and forty, which was about the number of the crew and passengers in the ship when she sailed through the Downs; of the remainder, who unhappily lost their lives, upwards of seventy are supposed to have reached the rocks, but to have been washed off, or to perish in falling from the cliffs, and fifty or more to have sunk with the captain and the ladies in the round-house, when the after-part of the ship went to pieces.

“All those who reached the summit survived, except two or three who are supposed to have expired in drawing up, and a black, who died in a few hours after he was brought to the house, though many of them were so miserably bruised that their lives were doubtful, and they are scarcely yet recovered.”

Mr. Meriton and Mr. Rogers having been supplied with the necessary means for their journey to London, by Mr. Garland, set off to carry the tidings of this disaster to the East India House, where they arrived at noon on Sunday, the 8th. On their way they acquainted the magistrates of the town, through which they passed, that a number of shipwrecked seamen would soon be on the road to the metropolis. This communication they made in order to prevent any suspicions of their travelling for some other purpose. It ought not to be omitted, that the master of the Crown Inn, at Blandford, not only sent for all the distressed seamen to his house, where refreshments were liberally given them, but also presented each with half-a-crown on his departure.

Captain Pierce left a widow and six children to deplore his loss. A midshipman who was under his immediate and particular care, after gaining the rock was swept off by the waves: being a good swimmer he again reached it; but unable to support himself from weakness, and the beating of the storm, he was obliged to let go his hold and

perished. It may be interesting to add that a warm friendship subsisted between Mr Meriton and Mr. Rogers; they had made a long and painful voyage together in another Indiaman, where they survived an uncommon mortality by which the crew were visited. They returned to England, and an interval of only twenty-five days elapsed before they again embarked in the *Halsewell*.

The next narrative of maritime disaster, which we shall lay before our readers, is, in almost all its parts and features, so romantic that it cannot fail most powerfully to arrest their attention and win their interest: we allude to the dangerous voyage of Captain Bligh in an open boat from *Tofoa* to *Timor*; Captain Bligh's second voyage to transplant the bread fruit-tree from the South Sea Island to the West Indies; the wreck of the *Pandora* frigate which was sent out to seize and bring home the mutineers of the *Bounty*; and the adventures of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, after they had turned Captain Bligh a-drift, till their survivor and children were discovered in *Petcairn's Island*. But before we commence this narrative, it may be proper to give some account of the bread fruit which was the indirect cause of all the adventures we shall have to describe.

So long ago as the year 1688, Captain Dampier, whose life we have given in our sixth volume, presents us with a description of the bread-fruit: according to him, it grows on a large tree, as high and large as our largest apple trees; it has a spreading head, full of branches and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs like apples; it is as big as a penny loaf, when wheat is at five shillings a bushel; it is of a round shape, and has a thick tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft, and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of *Guam* use it for bread, they gather it when full grown, while it is green and hard; then they bake it in an oven which scorches the rind and makes it black, but they scrape off the out-

side black crust, and there remains a tender thin crust; the inside is soft, tender and white, like the crumb of a penny loaf. There is neither seed, nor stone in the inside, but all of a pure substance like bread. It must be eaten new, for if it be kept above twenty-four hours it grows harsh and choking; but it is very pleasant, before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in the season eight months in the year, during which the natives eat no other sort of bread. Dampier observes that he never saw this fruit any where but at Guam, but the natives told him that there was plenty of it in the rest of the Ladrone Islands.

Hawksworth, in his account of Captain Cook's first voyage, gives us additional or corroborative information on this subject; according to him the bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak; its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice on being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated not much unlike a truffle: it is covered with a thin skin and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife; the eatable part lies between the skin and the core. it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread. It must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts: its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness, somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread, mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke. Dr. Hawksworth in another part gives a very flattering picture of the advantages resulting from the bread fruit-tree, which, however, is rather fanciful than correct. Of this tree, it is interesting to know every circumstance connected with its cultivation. Captain Cook makes some valuable observations on this head; he enquired carefully into their manner of cultivating it at Otaheite; but was always answered, that they never planted it. This indeed.

he observes, must be evident to every one who will examine the places where the young trees come up. It will be always observed that they spring from the roots of the old ones, which run along near the surface of the ground, so that the bread fruit-tree would be reckoned those that would naturally cover the plains, even supposing that the island was not inhabited, in the same manner that the white barked trees found at Van Diemen's Land, constitute the forests there. So that the inhabitant of Otaheite, instead of being obliged to plant his bread, is rather under the necessity of preventing its progress.

Captain King notes a singular fact, that the bread fruit-tree does not thrive in point of number, so well in the Sandwich islands, as in the plains of Otaheite, but that they produce double the quantity of fruit. The trees too, in the former are of the same size with those of the latter; but differ in having their branches striking out much lower. The inhabitants of Otaheite take up the young shoots from the parent stock, with vast success after wet weather, when the earth forms balls round the roots. The plants so removed are not then liable to suffer.

The bread-fruit is used in different ways; it is sometimes cooked in an oven, which renders it soft and something like a boiled potatoe; not quite so farinaceous as a good one, but more so than those of the middling sort. Of this fruit the Otaheitans also make three dishes, by putting either water or the milk of the cocoa upon it, then beating it to a paste with a stone pestle, and afterwards mixing it with ripe plantains, bananas, or the sour paste which they call *mahie*. The *mahie* which is used instead of ripe bread-fruit, before the season for gathering a fresh crop comes in, is made in the following manner:—The fruit is gathered just before it is perfectly ripe, and having been laid in heaps, is closely covered with leaves; in this state, it undergoes a fermentation, and becomes disagreeably sweet. The core is then taken out entire, which is done by gently

pulling the stalks, and the rest of the fruit is thrown into a hole which is dug for that purpose, generally in the houses, and neatly lined in the bottom and sides with grass: the whole is then covered with leaves, and heavy stones laid upon them: in this state it undergoes a second fermentation, and becomes sour, after which it will suffer no change for many months: it is taken out of the hole as it is wanted for use, and being made into balls, it is wrapped up in leaves and baked. After it is dressed it will keep five or six weeks: it is eaten both cold and hot, and the natives seldom make a meal without it. To those not accustomed to it, the taste is agreeable: as the making of this mahie depends like brewing, upon fermentation, so like brewing it sometimes fails, without their being able to ascertain the cause; it is very natural therefore that the making of it should be attended with superstitious notions and ceremonies. It generally falls to the lot of old women, who will suffer no creature to furnish any thing belonging to it, but those whom they employ as assistants, nor even to go into that part of the house where the operation is carrying on.

In consequence of the accounts given of the bread-fruit, it occurred to the West India merchants and planters, that the introduction of it on their property would be extremely beneficial; the nature of the climate in the West Indies, and the strength of the plant seemed to promise luxuriant fruit; and from various observations made in different voyages, there appeared to be little doubt that its cultivation in the West Indies would be attended with success.

Accordingly a representation to this effect, having been presented to his majesty, by the West India merchants and planters, he was pleased to determine on sending out an expedition to the South Sea Island, from which plants of the bread fruit-tree were to be conveyed to the British West India settlements.

A ship named the *Bounty* was fitted out expressly for the voyage: she was an armed transport of two hundred and fifteen tons: the great cabin was appropriated for the preservation of the plants, and extended as far forward as the after hatchway: it had two large sky-lights, and on each side, three shutters for air, and was fitted with a false floor, cut full of holes to contain the garden pots in which the plants were to be brought home. The deck was covered with lead, and, at the foremost corners of the cabin, were fixed pipes to carry off the water that was drained from the plants into tubs placed below, to save it for future use. The *Bounty* carried four four-pounders and ten swivels. The crew consisted of forty-four officers, petty officers and seamen; besides, two skilful and careful men were appointed, at the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks, to have the management of the plants intended to be brought home. One, David Nelson, who had been engaged in a similar employment on Captain Cook's last voyage, the other, William Brown as an assistant to him. The *Bounty* was stored and victualled for eighteen months, and a quantity of iron work and trinkets was put on board, to facilitate an intercourse with the natives.

According to Captain Bligh's instructions he was to proceed with all expedition round Cape Horn, to the Society Islands in the south sea, and there having taken in a sufficient quantity of bread-fruit plants, he was to proceed through Endeavour Straits to Princes Island in the straits of Sunda, or to the island of Java, as should prove most convenient. Hence he was directed to proceed round the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies, and deposit one half of the plants in His Majesty's garden at St. Vincent, for the benefit of the Windward Islands, and then sailing to Jamaica, to leave the remainder there. Captain Bligh, however, conceiving it might be too late in the season for doubling Cape Horn, received a discre-

tionary power to proceed to Otahcite, round the Cape of Good Hope.

The *Bounty* sailed from Spithead on the 23d of December in the year 1787. Captain Bligh directed his course to Teneriffe, whence he sailed for Cape Horn. Off this he encountered such boisterous weather, that he bore away for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 2nd of March, while off the coast of Brazil, he gave to Mr. Fletcher Christian one of the mates, whom he had before directed to take charge of the third watch, a written order to act as lieutenant.

On the 23d of May, the *Bounty* came to an anchor in Simon's Bay at the Cape of Good Hope. Having remained thirty-eight days at this place, and the crew having received all the advantages that could be derived from the refreshments which the Cape supplied, the vessel sailed on the 1st of July: on the 20th of August she anchored in Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's land.

In his passage from the Cape of Good Hope to Adventure Bay, Captain Bligh remarked that the winds were chiefly from the westward, with very boisterous weather. The approach of strong southerly winds is indicated by many birds of the albatros or petrel tribe, and the abatement of the gale, or the change of the wind, by their keeping away. The thermometer also varies five or six degrees in its height, when a change of these winds may be expected.

In the land surrounding Adventure Bay, are many trees one hundred and fifty feet high; some were measured, the girth of which was above thirty-three feet. Several eagles, some beautiful blue-plumaged herons, and paroquets in great variety were observed. When the crew of the *Bounty* first saw the natives of Adventure Bay, they made a prodigious clattering in their speech, and held their arms over their head; they spoke so quick, that it was

impossible to catch one single word that they uttered : their colour is of a dull black, their skin scarified about the breast and shoulders. One was distinguished by his body being coloured with red ochre, but all the others were painted black, with a kind of soot so thick laid over their faces and shoulders, that it was difficult to ascertain what they were like.

On the 4th of September the *Bounty* sailed out of Adventure Bay ; and on the 19th she came in sight of a small cluster of rocky islands, which Captain Bligh named *Bounty Isles*. Soon afterwards they frequently observed the sea in the night time, to be covered by luminous spots, caused by amazing quantities of small blubbers or *medusæ*, which emit a light like the blaze of a candle from the strings or filaments extending from them, while the rest of the body continues perfectly dark.

On the 25th of September, the island of *Otaheite* was discovered : the whole distance which the ship had run indirect and contrary courses, from the time of leaving England till she reached this island was twenty-seven thousand, eighty-six miles, which, on an average was one hundred and eight miles each twenty-four hours.

On the 5th of January, 1789, the small cutter was missed ; on the ship's company being mustered, it was found that three of the crew were absent, who had carried her off. They had taken with them eight stand of arms and ammunition. Captain Bligh immediately went on shore, and engaged all the chiefs to assist him in recovering the boat and the deserters. Accordingly the former was brought back in the course of the day by the natives ; but the men were not taken till about three weeks afterwards. Captain Bligh having learnt that they were in a different quarter of the island, went thither in the cutter, thinking there would be no difficulty in securing them, with the assistance of the natives ; but they had heard of

his arrival, and when he was near the house in which they were, they came out, without their fire arms, and delivered themselves up.

Captain Bligh having taken on board one thousand and fifteen bread-fruit plants, and many other plants, some of them bearing fruit of the most exquisite and delicious flavour, and others, valuable on account of the brilliant dyes which they afforded, sailed from Otaheite on the 4th of April. Next morning the island of Huaheine was seen; a double canoe coming alongside, Captain Bligh observed among the people on board, a young man who recollected him and called him by his name. Captain Bligh had been there in the year 1780, along with Captain Cook.

Soon after the *Bounty* left this island, a water spout was seen at no great distance, the weather having previously become squally, and a thick body of clouds having collected in the east. The upper part of the water-spout seemed to be about two feet in diameter, and the lower about eight inches; it rapidly advanced towards the ship, on which Captain Bligh ordered the course to be immediately altered, and all the sails to be taken in, except the foresail. Soon after which it passed within ten yards of the stern, with a rustling noise; it seemed to be travelling at the rate of ten miles an hour, in the direction of the wind, and it dispersed in a quarter of an hour after passing the ship.

On the 23d of April they anchored at Annamooha, when an old lame man whom the Captain had known in the year 1777, came on board along with some other of the natives; they exhibited numerous marks of the peculiar mourning which they express on losing their relatives; such as bloody temples, their heads nearly without hair, and nearly the whole of them had lost several of their fingers. Several fine boys not above six years old had lost

both their little fingers; and several of the men had lost not only these, but also the middle finger of the right hand. A brisk trade for yams was carried on; this vegetable was very fine, and some of them very large; one of them weighed above five pounds.

On Sunday the 26th of April they sailed from this island; and they kept near the island of Kooto, all the afternoon of Monday, in the hope that some canoes would come off to the ship; but in this they were disappointed, and the wind being northerly, they steered in the evening to the west, for the purpose of bearing to the southward of Tofoa. Captain Bligh gave directions for this course to be pursued during the night; the master had the first watch, the gunner the middle watch, and Mr. Christian the morning watch; this was the turn of the duty for this night.

Just before sunrise, on Tuesday morning, while Captain Bligh was yet asleep, Mr. Christian, with the master at arms, gunner's-mate, and Thomas Burkett, seaman, came into his cabin, and seizing him, tied his hands with a cord, behind his back; threatening him with instant death if he spoke a single word, or made the slightest noise. However, Captain Bligh not intimidated, called out as loud as he could, in hopes of assistance; but those of the officers who had not joined the mutineers, had been already secured by sentinels placed at the doors of their cabins. Three men were now placed at the cabin door of Captain Bligh; besides the four men who were in it. Christian, who evidently was the leader, was armed with a cutlass, while the others had muskets and bayonets: the Captain was dragged out of bed, and forced upon deck in his shirt. On his demanding the reason of such mutinous and violent conduct he was only abused for not holding his tongue. The boatswain, carpenter, and clerk, were permitted to come on deck; the master gunner, surgeon, master's mate, and

Nelson the gardener were kept confined below. Captain Bligh was not long in suspense respecting the fate which awaited him, for the boatswain was ordered to hoist out the launch, accompanied by a threat, if he did not instantly take care of himself. As soon as the boat was hoisted out, Mr. Hartyard, and Mr. Hallet, two of the midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel, the clerk, were ordered into it. On Captain Bligh's remonstrating and interfering, the constant answer was "hold your tongue, sir, or you are dead this moment." The boatswain and such of the seamen as were to be put into the boat were permitted to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, and an eight and twenty gallon cask of water. Mr. Samuel got one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine; also a quadrant and compass; but he was prohibited on pain of death, to touch any map or astronomical book, or any instrument, or any of Captain Bligh's surveys or drawings.

The mutineers having thus forced those of the seamen whom they wished to get rid of into the boat, Christian ordered a dram to be given to each of his own crew: the officers were next called on deck, and forced over the ship's side into the boat, while the Captain was kept apart from every one. Christian then armed with a bayonet, held the cord, fastening the captain's hands, while the guard stood round with their pieces cocked; but on his daring them to fire, they uncocked them. Isaac Martin one of them, evidently had the inclination to assist the captain; and as he fed him with shaddock, his lips being quite parched, they explained each other's sentiments by looks; but this was observed and he was removed. Martin then got into the boat, attempting to leave the ship, but he was compelled to return; some others also were kept contrary to their inclination. Christian seemed for some time in doubt whether he should keep the carpenter or his mates; at last, he determined on the

latter, and the carpenter was ordered into the boat, being permitted to take his chest of tools : four cutlasses were thrown into the boat, as she was leaving the ship. The officers and men being now in the boat, they only waited for Captain Bligh, who was forced over the side of the ship into it, and his hands untied : the whole number in the boat was eighteen, besides the captain : viz. the master, acting surgeon, botanist, carpenter, gunner, boatswain, master and quarter-masters, mate, two quarter-masters, the sail maker, two cooks, the captain's clerk, the butcher and a boy. There remained on board, Christian, the master's-mate, three midshipmen, the master at arms, gunner's-mate, boatswain's-mate, gardener, armourer, carpenter's-mate, carpenter's-men, and fourteen seamen.

There being little or no wind, they rowed pretty fast towards the island of Tofoa, which lay north-east, about ten leagues distant. The ship, while the boat was in sight, steered west north-west, but this Captain Bligh considered merely as a faint, for "huzza for Otaheite" was frequently heard among the mutineers.

Captain Bligh's first determination was to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water at the island of Tofoa, and afterwards to sail for Tongataboo, and to solicit the king of that island to equip the boat, and grant them such a supply of provisions as might enable them to reach the East Indies. On examination they found they had on board one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, eighty-two of pork, six quarts of rum, six bottles of wine, and twenty-eight gallons of water. They reached Tofoa in the evening after it was dark ; at day-break, having rowed along shore in search of a landing place, they discovered a cove, where they dropped anchor, within twenty yards of the shore. Mr. Samuel and some others landed in search of supplies, and towards noon, returned with a few quarts of water : a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine was now served to each person for dinner.

They continued at the island of Tofoa for some time, getting a small supply of provisions and water : but at last the natives evidently manifesting their intention to attack them, they left it, but not without one of their men having been killed by the savages.

They continued to steer along shore, Captain Bligh's mind being occupied with the thoughts of what was best to be done ; he was solicited by them all to take them towards home. On this he told them, that except what hopes of relief they might find at New Holland, they could expect none, before reaching the island of Timor, a distance of full twelve hundred leagues : at this place there was a Dutch settlement, but in what part of the island Captain Bligh was ignorant. It was agreed by all, that they should live on an ounce of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water a day each man. Accordingly after examining the stock of provisions, and the Captain recommending to them not to depart from their resolution respecting them, they bore away across a sea, where the navigation is but imperfectly known, in a small boat twenty-three feet long, deeply laden with eighteen men. The people were divided into watches, and a reefed lug-foresail set.

At day-break, there were indications of an approaching storm ; the breeze increased ; the sun rose red and fiery. At eight o'clock it blew violently, so that between the seas the sail was becalmed, and when on the top of the wave, it was too much to have it set : but they durst not take it in altogether, for they were in very great danger, the sea curling over the stern of the boat, which obliged them to bale with all their might.

Their great care was to keep the bread dry ; for this purpose Captain Bligh examined what cloaths were in the boat ; and having determined that only two sails should be kept for each person, the rest was thrown overboard along with ropes and spare sails. This lightened the boat con-

siderably : fortunately the carpenter had a good chest on board, in which the bread was in a great measure secured from the salt water. His tool-chest was also cleared, and the tools stowed in the bottom of the boat. As they were all very wet and cold, Captain Bligh served a tea-spoon of rum to each person, along with a quarter of a bread-fruit.

In the afternoon the sea ran higher ; and the fatigue of baling was very great : it was now necessary to put the boat before the wind, but she sailed so well in this direction, that the captain no longer dreaded any danger in that respect. Still however, they were all extremely wet, the night was very cold, at day-light their limbs was so benumbed, that they could scarcely find the use of them : a tea spoon of rum at this time was of very great benefit.

On the 4th of May, some small islands were discovered ; and the course of the boat was kept towards them ; the gale had now considerably abated, in which the captain had scarcely been able to keep any account of this run ; but now he got a log-line marked, and having practised counting seconds, several could do it with a considerable degree of accuracy. At noon of the 5th they were in latitude $18^{\circ}. 10'$. south, and their longitude from Tofoa, by account $4^{\circ}. 29'$. Since the day before at noon they had run ninety-four miles. Their allowance for the day was a quarter of a pint of cocoa nut milk, and the meal of it which did not exceed two ounces, to each person ; and for supper, one ounce of damaged bread, and a quarter of a pint of water. In order to remedy, as much as possible, the inconvenience from want of room, the men were put at watch and watch, so that one half of them always sat up, while the other half lay down in the bottom of the boat on the chest : their limbs were dreadfully cramped, and the nights were so cold, and they were so constantly wet, that after a few hours sleep they could scarcely move.

On the morning of the 7th, they again discovered land: the country appeared agreeably interspersed with high and low ground, and in some places covered with wood. Soon afterwards, two large fast sailing canoes were observed coming towards the boat. one of them gained fast on her, and by three o'clock was not more than two miles distant, when she gave up the chase.

Heavy rain coming on in the evening every one did his utmost to catch some water, and by this means they increased their stock to thirty-four gallons, besides quenching their thirst completely, for the first time since they had been in the boat; but on the other hand, the rain made them excessively wet and cold. The next forenoon fortunately turning out fair, they stripped and dried their clothes. In order, if possible, to increase their stock of provisions, a fishing line was generally tending astern of the boat; but though they saw great numbers of fish, they never could catch any. As it became necessary to be very exact with respect to the quantity of provisions which each man got daily, and as hitherto the allowance had been made merely by guess, Captain Bligh now made a pair of scales, and accidentally having some pistol balls in the boat, twenty-five of which weighed a pound or sixteen ounces, he chose one; weighing two hundred and seventy-two grains, as the proportion of weight that each person should receive of bread, at the time he served it. But it was nearly as desirable and necessary to fix the attention and rouse the interest of the people, as it was to supply them with food, in order that their thoughts might be drawn off from their dreadful situation, and that hope might not entirely desert their breasts: the captain therefore amused them with describing the situation of New Guinea and New Holland, and with giving them every information in his power, that might be useful in enabling them to find their way to Timor, in case any accident should befall him.

On Sunday evening they again caught, during a shower of rain, about twenty gallons of water, but the sea constantly broke over them so much that it required the labour of two men to bale the boat, and they were obliged to keep her regularly before the wind and waves. On Monday morning their situation was extremely dangerous, the sea running frequently over the stern of the boat. The sun appeared at noon, and they ascertained their latitude to be $14^{\circ} 50'$ south; they had run since the day before one hundred and two miles. As the rain still continued, and there was no prospect of getting their cloaths dry, Captain Bligh recommended that they should strip and wring them through the salt water, by which means they received a warmth, that while wet with rain they could not derive from them.

During the succeeding day they discovered several islands; the largest seemed to be twenty leagues in circuit, the others five or six; but though they were nearly without provisions, and it was highly probable that these islands would afford an ample supply, yet they durst not approach them in consequence of the dreadful sea that was running, and the danger which they dreaded from the attacks of the inhabitants. These islands Captain Bligh judged to be some of the New Hebrides: they saw smoke in several places ashore.

The night of the 15th was very dark, not a star was to be seen by which they could steer, and the sea continually broke over them. In order to counteract the effect of these southerly winds, which might have driven them too near New Guinea, in the intervals of moderate weather, they steered a more southerly course. Next day, besides their allowance of one twenty-fifth of a pound of bread, and a quarter of a pint of water, Captain Bligh issued for dinner about an ounce of salt pork to each person. This night was truly horrible with thunder, lightning and rain.

At break of day every person was complaining, and

being exceedingly exhausted some of them requested extra allowance; but this the captain had the good sense and firmness to refuse. They now found the little rum they had of great service; as when the nights were particularly dreadful and harassing, a spoonful or two served to each person, animated their spirits, and recruited their bodily powers. At noon this day they had a narrow escape from a water spout, which was very nearly on board of the boat. Since the day before they had run one hundred miles: the night was again dark and dismal, and they were obliged to run before the wind and waves. As Captain Bligh intended, if possible, to reach New Holland, to the southward of Endeavour Straits, it was necessary to preserve such a situation as to make a southerly wind a fair one.

At day-break of Wednesday, the 20th, the effects of the dreadful weather which they had experienced were very visible and striking on many of them; they seemed half dead; extreme hunger was now too evident, but they did not appear to suffer equally from thirst; nor had they much inclination to drink, that desire perhaps being satisfied by means of the rain which the skin imbibed. The little sleep they procured was in the midst of the water, and they always woke with severe cramps and pains in their bones. All the afternoon they were covered with rain and salt water, so that they could scarcely see; during the night the rain fell so heavily that they were afraid it would fill the boat, and they could scarcely prevent this happening by constant baling.

On Friday their condition was no better, they were obliged to take the course of the sea, running right before it, and watching with the utmost care, as the least error at the helm would have been attended with instant destruction. At noon it blew very hard, and the foam of the sea kept running over the stern and the quarters of the boat. They had run one hundred and thirty miles in the

course of the preceding day : the night was dreadful, and Captain Bligh began to fear that neither he nor his people could sustain such weather much longer.

Fortunately, however, a fine morning broke out on Sunday, and animation and hope brightened every countenance : the first time during the space of fifteen days they felt the warmth of the sun. In the afternoon many birds were observed near them, especially boobies and noddies which are never far from land. Captain Bligh took the opportunity of fair weather to examine into the stock and condition of their bread : he found that according to their usual rate of allowance there was sufficient to serve them for twenty-nine days ; but as it was possible that they might not be able to reach Timor, but be obliged to go on to Java, he determined to regulate the allowance in such a manner that it might serve six weeks ; and to this determination the people cheerfully assented, on his representing to them the necessity of guarding against casual delays that might arise from adverse winds and other causes. Accordingly by giving each individual one twenty-fifth of a pound for breakfast, the same for dinner, and omitting the usual proportion for supper, they found they would have forty-three day's allowance.

On Monday, at noon, they caught one noddy ; it was about the size of a small pigeon. Captain Bligh divided it, entrails and all, into fifteen portions, and it was distributed by a method well known at sea, where one person turns his back on the subject that is to be divided, another then pointing separately to the portions, each of them asks aloud who shall have this ; to which the first answers by naming somebody : thus every one has an equal chance. The bird was distributed in this way, with the allowance of bread and water for dinner, and ate up bones and all, with salt water for sauce. In the evening a booby was caught, which was as large as a duck ; it was killed for supper : and the blood was given to three of the

people, who had suffered most from want of food. Next day they were so fortunate as to catch other three boobies; the stomachs of two of them contained several flying fish and two cuttle fish, which were all served for dinner on Wednesday. To make their bread a little savoury, most of the people dipped their share of it in salt water; but Captain Bligh generally broke his into small pieces, and ate it in his allowance of water, out of a cocoa-nut shell with a spoon, taking care only to put a very small piece into his mouth at once, so that he was as long at dinner as if it had been a much more plentiful meal.

At one in the morning the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers, and they were soon seen close under the lee, not more than a quarter of a mile distant. The boat was immediately hauled on a wind to the north-north-west, and in the space of ten minutes they could neither be seen nor heard. When day broke as they hoped to be able to get into smooth water, through the reefs on the coast of New Holland, they again bore away, and at eight o'clock again came in sight of the breakers. The sea broke furiously over every part of them, but they saw smooth water within; but their hopes were soon changed into apprehensions for their safety; for in consequence of the wind changing they were embayed, and the sea set in strongly towards the reefs: the sails in this situation were of no use, and they could do but little with the oars having scarce strength to pull them. In these circumstances Captain Bligh resolved to pull over the reef, when a break was discovered in it about a mile off, and at the same time an island within, which the captain called the *Island of Direction*. They entered this passage with a strong stream running to the westward, and found it about a quarter of a mile broad, with every appearance of deep water.

As they advanced within the reefs, the coast of New

Holland began to shew itself very distinctly, in a variety of high and low land, some of which was covered with wood. Two islands were seen about four miles off, but on approaching the nearest it proved to be merely a heap of stones, and its size too inconsiderable to afford shelter to the boat; they, therefore, proceeded to the other, which was within a quarter of a mile of a projecting part of the main land. Every one was anxious to find something to eat, and oysters were soon discovered on the rocks; but as it was nearly dark very few could be collected. One half of the company slept on shore, and the other half in the boat. The next day a party was sent out in search of supplies, while the rest were engaged in repairing the boat. Plenty of oysters and fresh water were procured, and by the help of a small magnifying glass a fire was made. One of the people had brought from the ship a copper pot; and they made a stew with oysters, pork, and bread; of which each received a full pint. This refreshed them very much: indeed their general complaints were by no means serious or alarming: they complained for the most part of giddiness of the head, great weakness of the joints, and violent constipation, which in some had continued from the time of leaving the ship.

The oysters which they obtained were of considerable size, and of good flavour; they adhered so fast to the rocks that to save time and trouble they opened them where they were fixed. They also found good water in this island, by merely thrusting a stick into the ground; there was besides a small stream on the south side of the island.

There were many signs of the natives of New Holland having been often at this place; such as the marks of fire, two ill-constructed huts, with only one side loosely covered, and a pointed stick having a slit in one end; this

is used for the purpose of slinging stones by the natives of Van Diemen's land. The tracks of some animal were visible; it seemed to be the Kangaroo.

As soon as they landed Captain Bligh gave repeated and strict injunctions to his people not to taste any kind of berry or fruit which they might find; yet no sooner were they out of his sight, but they began to eat plentifully of three different kinds, which grew all over the island. Fortunately, the fruit proved wholesome and good, though some of the people who had eaten too much were taken ill, and this filled them and the rest with apprehensions that they were poisoned. One sort of fruit grew on a small delicate kind of vine; it was the size of a large gooseberry, and of a sweet taste: another grew in clusters on bushes, like elder berries; and the third was a black berry, resembling a large sloe both in size and taste: they were all eaten by the birds, and hence Captain Bligh was satisfied that they were wholesome. On the summit of the island there were plenty of wild pigeons, parrots, and other birds; but for want of fire arms they could not obtain any of them. Lizards were seen, and the blackberry bushes were full of the nests of ants, webbed like the spiders, but so close and compact as not to admit any rain.

On Saturday, the 30th of May, a visible alteration for the better appeared in all the company; and Captain Bligh sent them away again to gather oysters: there were only two pounds of pork now remaining, as it had not been kept under lock and key; like the bread it had been pillaged; Captain Bligh, therefore, resolved to divide what remained for dinner that day. While the party were gathering oysters, the boat was got in readiness for sea, and nearly sixty gallons of water were put into the water vessels. Early in the afternoon the party returned with what they had collected for sea store, and every thing was put into the boat. There were still thirty-eight days

allowance of bread according to the mode of issuing a twenty-fifth of a pound for breakfast and as much for dinner.

Being ready for sea all hands were directed to attend prayers. At four o'clock they were preparing to embark, when about twenty of the natives appeared, running and hallooing on the opposite shore; evidently wishing that Captain Bligh and his people should come to them: they were all armed with a spear or lance, and many of them also had a short weapon in their left hand. Captain Bligh did not, however, think it prudent to trust them, or even to continue longer on the coast.

At day-break the face of the country had entirely changed; the coast being now low and sandy, with very little verdure, and nothing growing on it except a few patches of trees and brushwood. There were seen near at hand many small islands; and the boat passed in a channel between the nearest and the mainland. Large shoals of fish were near the boat; but they could catch none. While they were passing the straits, another party of natives appeared; some of whom endeavoured to entice the people ashore, by waving green branches of bushes; but others displayed less amicable dispositions. A little farther off was a larger party of natives, who likewise came towards them. Captain Bligh, however, was afraid to land; but he laid the boat close to the rocks, and beckoned to them to approach, but none of them would come within two hundred yards. They were armed in the same manner as the natives of Restoration Island, and were quite naked, black, with short bushy hair or wool, and in every other respect like them.

They landed on another island about four miles distant. Two parties were sent out to search for supplies, while the rest remained with the boat. Here there were the first symptoms of discontent and disobedience to the authority and wishes of Captain Bligh; for some of the

people expressed their discontent at having worked harder than their companions, and declared that they would rather want their dinner than go in search of it. One person was so audaciously insolent as to tell the captain, with a mutinous look, that he was as good a man as himself. On this Captain Bligh resolved to act with the most prompt and decisive resolution, as he was sensible if he permitted his authority to be questioned, there would be an end of all prospect of safety for himself and people; he, therefore, seized a cutlass and ordered the man to take hold of another and defend himself; on which he immediately made concessions.

To this island Captain Bligh gave the name of Sunday island. On the north side of it they saw an old canoe, about thirty-three feet long and about three feet broad in the middle; it was lying bottom upwards, and half buried in the beach; this discovery induced the captain to take a more retired spot, for the purpose of resting during the night. Their dinner this day was abundant, consisting of a full pint and a half of stewed oysters and claws, thickened with small beans, each man.

On Monday, the 1st of June, they landed on another island, four leagues distant from the main land. Parties were despatched in search of supplies on it. Towards noon Nelson returned, but in so weak a condition that he was obliged to be supported by two men: he complained of a violent heat in his bowels, and had other symptoms which indicated that he was suffering from over exertion; as however he had little or no fever, Captain Bligh ventured to give him some wine, with pieces of bread soaked in it, and he soon began to recover.

As Captain Bligh found that all his people were much indisposed, he thought that a quiet night's rest on this island would be of great service to them. But in order that the natives, if there were any, might not be made aware of their being there, he cautioned every one against

making too large a fire, or suffering it to blaze up after dark; and having committed the charge of this to Mr. Samuel and the gunner, he strolled about the beach to observe whether the island could be seen from the main land. He had just satisfied himself that it could not, when on a sudden the island appeared all in a blaze; he ran to learn the cause, and found that it was occasioned by the imprudence and obstinacy of one of the party, who resolved to have a fire to himself, and in making it, the flames caught the grass and spread rapidly: fortunately the natives did not notice this fire; but the apprehensions of Captain Bligh and his people on this score, prevented them from enjoying sound repose, of which they had so much need.

Mr. Samuel and the gunner went out to watch for turtle, and three men were sent to another place to endeavour to catch birds; all the others being sick, except two, went to rest. The bird party returned about midnight, with only twelve noddies; they might have caught many more had it not been for the folly of one of the party, who separated from his companions and disturbed the birds. The captain was so much offended at this that he gave the offender a good beating. He afterwards acknowledged that he had eaten nine birds raw. The party which went out for turtles had no success. The birds were half dressed in order that they might keep the better, and the clams were cut into slices to dry. Ten birds were divided for dinner, and the usual quantity of bread: to Nelson, who was now nearly recovered, was given half a glass of wine.

Hitherto their time had been regulated by the watch of the gunner, who was the only person who had brought his watch from the ship; but this now unfortunately stopped, so that sun-rise, noon, and sun-set were the only points of which they were henceforward certain. After seeing two more small islands on the coast of New Holland, they

launched again into the open ocean; but this had not the dreadful effect on the people which the captain apprehended: on the contrary, it seemed as if they had embarked on a voyage to Timor in a vessel sufficiently calculated for safety and convenience. Encouraging them all with hopes that eight or ten days would bring them to a land of safety, and after praying to God for a continuance of his gracious protection, Captain Bligh served an allowance of water for supper, and stood away west-south-west. They had been six days on the coast of New Holland, and in this time they had not only gained some provisions, but they had also been even more benefitted by rest from the fatigue of being always in the boat.

Next day, Thursday, the 4th of June, a number of water snakes were seen; they were ringed yellow and black. The following evening a few boobies came near them, one of which Captain Bligh caught with his hands: the blood was divided among three of the men who were weakest, and the bird itself kept for a future meal. Some clams which had been hung up to dry were stolen, but every one solemnly denied the theft. On the afternoon of the 6th the captain examined into the state of the bread; he found that there were nineteen days allowance remaining, at the rate of one twenty-fifth of a pound three times a day: therefore, as he saw every prospect of a quick passage, he ventured to grant an allowance for supper. All that night the sea ran very high, and there were many complaints: the surgeon and an old hearty seaman appeared to be giving way very fast, but there was no mode of relief or support except his administering a small quantity of wine to them, and that was done accordingly.

On Monday afternoon a small dolphin was caught, of this the captain distributed about two ounces, including the offals, to each person, keeping the remainder for the next day. The wind blew strong all night, so that they shipped much water, and suffered dreadfully from the wet

and cold. At daylight there was much complaining; but the captain could only encourage them with the hope that at their then rate of sailing, a very few days more would bring them to Timor. Gannets, boobies, men-of-war birds, and tropic birds were constantly about them. At noon they dined on the remains of the dolphin, which allowed them about an ounce a man. Captain Bligh having eaten part of the stomach was seized with a violent sickness.

The people every day now began to exhibit symptoms of declining health and strength; extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, with a debility of understanding were melancholy presages that they could not hold out much longer: the surgeon and the old seaman in particular were miserable looking objects. The captain occasionally gave them a few tea-spoonsful of wine out of the little that remained, and this was of very great service to them. In the course of the last twenty-four hours they had run one hundred and eleven miles.

The following afternoon they saw gannets and many other birds, and at sun-set kept a very anxious look out. At three the next morning, to their inexpressible joy, Timor was discovered, and by daylight they were within two leagues of the shore. Thus in an open boat, very poorly provided in every respect, they had reached this island in forty-one days after leaving Tofoa; having in that time run by the log the distance of three thousand six hundred and eighteen miles; and notwithstanding their extreme distress no one perished in the voyage.

Captain Bligh was not certain on what part of the island the Dutch settlement was situate, but he had a faint idea that it was in the south-west: he, therefore, after daylight bore away along shore to that quarter. The land appeared to them extremely beautiful, partly from having at length reached it, and partly because it was in reality beautiful: it was interspersed with wood

and lawns; the interior was mountainous, but the shore low. Only a few huts were visible, whence they concluded that no Europeans resided in this part of the island. During the afternoon they continued their course along a low shore, covered with innumerable palm trees of that kind called the fan palm, from the leaf spreading like a fan. That they might not run past any settlement in the night, they brought to under a close-reefed foresail. At two in the morning they stood in towards the shore till daylight, when they found that they had drifted about three leagues to the westward. On examining the coast and not seeing any signs of a settlement, they bore away in that direction. Coming to a grapnel in a sandy bay, they had a view of a beautiful country; it seemed as if formed by art into lawns and parks. At two o'clock they ran through a dangerous breaking sea, and discovered a spacious bay or sound, with a fair entrance, about three or four miles wide. This being a likely place for an European settlement, they came to a grapnel near the east side of the entrance, where they saw a hut, a dog, and some cattle. Captain Bligh immediately sent the gunner and boatswain towards the hut: they soon returned with several of the natives. From these people he learned that the governor resided at a place called Coupang, at some distance to the north-east; and one of the natives readily agreed to come into the boat and conduct them to his residence.

The Indians here were of a dark tawny colour, had long black hair, and chewed a great deal of betel; they brought a few pieces of dried turtle, and some ears of Indian corn. With respect to the turtle it could not be eaten, till it had been previously soaked in hot water; the Indian corn, therefore, was the most acceptable and useful present. The Indians offered to bring other refreshments, but Captain Bligh declined their offer, as he was anxious to get forward.

By direction of the pilot they kept close under the east shore, with all their sails set. When night came on, however, the wind fell, and they were obliged to have recourse to their oars: at first they were apprehensive that, from the weakness to which they were sensible they were reduced, they should not be able to manage the oars; but they were agreeably disappointed, for they used them with some effect. At ten o'clock they came to a grapnel; and now, for the first time, the captain issued a double allowance of bread and a little wine to each person. At one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 14th day, having enjoyed a sound and refreshing sleep, to which they had been long complete strangers, they weighed, and continued to sail along the east shore. Shortly afterwards two cannons were heard, and in a very few minutes they discovered two square rigged vessels and a cutter at anchor: as these vessels were to windward they endeavoured to work up to them in that direction, but finding that the boat made little or no progress, they again had recourse to their oars, and kept rowing close to the shore till four o'clock, when they brought to a grapnel, and another allowance of bread and wine was given to all the people. As soon as they had rested a little they weighed again, and rowed till near daylight, when they came to a grapnel off a small fort and town, which the pilot informed them was Coupang.

They happened to have in the boat a bundle of signal flags, which the boatswain had thrown in when he left the *Bounty*; these had been occasionally used during their voyage as a jack, and it was now hoisted on the main shrouds as a signal of distress, because Captain Bligh did not think it either prudent or decorous to land without leave.

Scarcely was it daylight when a soldier from the fort made a signal that they might land; this was accordingly done among a crowd of Indians. Captain Bligh was

scarcely on shore before he discovered an English sailor belonging to one of the ships in the roads; he informed Captain Bligh that the commander of his vessel was the second person in the town, on which the captain desired to be introduced to him. He was particularly anxious for this introduction, as he learnt that the governor was ill and could not be seen. The commander of the vessel, Captain Spikerman, received him with great humanity: as soon as he learnt the circumstances and distressed situation of Captain Bligh and his people, he gave immediate directions for their kind reception at his own house, while he himself went to the governor, for the purpose of learning when he could see Captain Bligh. The captain's people however would not have been able to have accepted this kindness, as they were by no means able to walk, had they not been supported on their way to the house, where they found a breakfast of tea and bread and butter provided for them.

“A painter (to use Captain Bligh's own words)—a painter might have ably delineated the two groupes of figures which at this time presented themselves to each other: an indifferent spectator would have been at a loss which most to admire, the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of our preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the causes had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bone, our limbs full of sores, and we were clothed in rags. In this condition, with tears of joy and gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and commiseration.”

The governor himself, notwithstanding his illness was so violent and serious as might have afforded a just excuse for delaying introduction to him, became so anxious respecting Captain Bligh and his people, that the captain saw him before the appointed time. He received him

with great kindness and attention, and in every thing he did, as well as in all his expressions and sentiments, impressed the captain with the persuasion that he was a tender and humane man. He said that he regarded it as the greatest blessing of his life that he was able to relieve and comfort them; and that though his infirmity was such that he could not himself do the office of a friend, he would give the necessary immediate directions that they should be supplied with every thing that could alleviate their distressed situation. There was only one uninhabited house in Coupang, but this he assigned to Captain Bligh, and his people he directed should be kept either in the hospital or in Captain Spikerman's vessel.

When Captain Bligh returned from his interview with the governor he found that every attention had been paid to his people: the surgeon had dressed their sores, and the cleaning of their persons had not been less attended to; several friendly gifts of apparel having been presented to them. Captain Bligh next went to examine the house which had been set apart for himself, and he found it ready prepared, with servants in waiting. As, however, he wished his people to be near himself, he allotted only one room in the house for his own use, another for the master, surgeon, botanist, and gunner, a loft to the other officers, and the men had a back piazza. The governor as soon as he was informed of this arrangement, sent down chairs, tables, bedding, and other necessaries for the use of every one. When Captain Bligh took leave of him he desired to be acquainted with every thing of which they stood in need; but Captain Bligh could not think of troubling him, as he enjoyed only a very few moments of ease, being then in a dying state.

At noon a plentiful dinner was brought to the people; and as soon as the captain had seen that every one of them had an abundant meal, he himself dined with Mr. Wanfou, son-in-law to the governor, who, and not Cap-

tain Spikerman, was second in the place. But Captain Bligh was more disposed for rest and reflection than for conviviality, and he therefore soon retired to his own room. "But instead of rest," he observed, "I began to reflect on our late sufferings, and the failure of the expedition; and above all, on the thanks due to God, who had endowed us with power to endure such heavy calamities, and had enabled me at last to be the means of saving eighteen lives.

"In times of difficulty, circumstances bearing hard on a commander will generally arise. In our late situation it was not the least of my distresses to be constantly assailed with the melancholy demands of my people for an encrease of allowance, which it grieved me to refuse. The quantity of provisions with which we left the ship we could have consumed in five days. There was a necessity for observing the most rigid economy; and by invariably practising it we had still, on our arrival, provisions for eleven days more, so that had we been unfortunate enough to have missed the Dutch settlement of Timor, we could, on the same scanty allowance, have proceeded to Java, where I was certain of supplies.

"Another disagreeable circumstance to which my situation exposed me, was the caprice of ignorant people. Had I been incapable of acting they would have carried the boat on shore as soon as we made Timor, without considering that to land among the natives, at a distance from the European settlements, might have been as dangerous as among any other Indians.

"When I reflected how providentially our lives were saved at Tofoa, by the natives delaying their attack, and that with scarce any thing to support life, we had crossed a sea of more than one thousand two hundred leagues, in an open boat without shelter; when I reflected that in such stormy weather we escaped foundering, and that none of us were taken off by disease, that we passed the

hostile natives of other countries without accident, and at last happily met the most friendly people to relieve our distress, I was enabled to bear with cheerfulness and resignation the failure of our expedition, the success of which I had so much at heart.

“ With respect to the preservation of health during the sixteen days of heavy and almost continual rain, I would recommend to every one, in a similar situation, the method we practised ; which is to dip his cloaths in salt water as often as they become drenched in rain, and then wring them out. It was our only resource, and I believe it was of the greatest service to us, for they then felt more like a change of dry cloaths than can well be imagined. We had occasion to do this so often that at length all our cloaths were wrung to pieces ; for except the few days we passed on the coast of New Holland, we were continually wet with either rain or sea.”

Soon after his arrival at Timor, Captain Bligh presented to the governor a formal account of the loss of the *Bounty*, and a requisition in his Britannic Majesty's name that instructions might be sent to all the Dutch settlements, to stop the vessel if she made her appearance ; along with this he gave in a complete list and description of all the mutineers.

As it was of the utmost consequence for Captain Bligh to arrive at Batavia before the October fleet sailed for Europe, he gave public notice of his intention to hire a vessel to carry himself and his crew thither. In consequence of this notice several offers were made to him ; at last he effected the purchase of a small schooner, which was lying in the road : she was thirty-four feet long. For this vessel he gave one thousand rix-dollars. No time was lost in making her ready for sea, under the name of His Majesty's schooner *Resource*. Mr. Wanfou obligingly presented him with four brass swivels and fourteen stand of small arms, to be left at Batavia. These were

necessary, as the coast of the island of Java is much infested with pirates.

On the 20th of July Mr. David Nelson died of an inflammatory fever: his death was principally occasioned by his having imprudently thrown off his warm cloathing; but ever since they left New Holland he had been in a weak condition. "The loss of this honest man," observes Captain Bligh, "I very much lamented: he had with great care and diligence attended to the object for which he was sent out, and had always been ready to promote the good of the mission in which we were engaged. Next day, after reading our funeral service, he was interred in the burial ground behind the chapel, appropriated to the Europeans of the town. I regretted that I could get no tombstone to place over his remains."

"This was the second voyage he had undertaken to the south seas, having been sent out by Sir Joseph Banks in Captain Cook's last voyage, to collect seeds and plants; and now, after surmounting so many difficulties, and in the midst of thankfulness for his delivrance, he was called upon to pay the debt of nature at a time when least expected."

As soon as the schooner was victualled and ready for sea, Captain Bligh, on the afternoon of the 20th of August, took an affectionate leave of the inhabitants of Coupang; having the launch in tow, as he was by no means disposed to leave behind a boat which had contributed so essentially to their preservation.

The town of Coupang is situated in a great bay, which is an excellent road for shipping; it is the only settlement which the Dutch have in Timor: on the north side of the island is a Portuguese settlement. The natives in the neighbourhood of Coupang are extremely indolent, but those at a distance from Europeans are strong and active. The chief or king of the island resides about four miles from Coupang. Captain Bligh had an opportunity of

paying a visit to him, and was received with much civility: his dress was a checked wrapper fastened round his waist with a silk and golden belt, a loose linen jacket and a coarse handkerchief about his head. A few of his chiefs were with him when Captain Bligh paid his visit, and these partook of the repast he had provided for the captain and his companions; after the repast was finished, he retired for a short time with three of his chiefs, and on returning presented Captain Bligh with a round plate of metal about four inches in diameter, on which was stamped the figure of a star.

Nothing remarkable occurred on their voyage, after they left Coupang, till Sunday the 6th of September, when they saw the high land of Cape Sandana, in the north-east part of the island of Java; on the 10th of the same month they arrived at, and anchored off, Passourang, a Dutch settlement, which lies on the coast. This settlement lies on a small river, up which Captain Bligh proceeded for about a mile; there he landed at a fort, and met a friendly and polite reception from the commandant.

The next day they sailed, and anchored in Sauraborga Bay, where they were informed that it would not be permitted to them either to land or to send a boat on shore; this was the custom of the place, with respect to all foreign vessels on their first arrival. The next morning however, Captain Bligh was received with much attention and civility by the governor, and commandant, and hospitably entertained by them. According to the captain's description, Sauraborga is an uncommonly pleasant place, situated on the banks of a river, and about a mile and a half from the shore. The interior parts of the country near the mountains, are infested with a breed of fierce tigers; this of course renders it extremely dangerous to travel into the interior districts of the island.

On the 17th they left this place and arrived at Samarang, a fortified town, surrounded by a wall and ditch.

This town, next to Batavia, is the most important settlement which the Dutch have in Java. Here the captain experienced considerable civility from some of the inhabitants. The surgeon of the hospital particularly, gave both his attendance and medicines, and would on no account receive any gratification for them.

On the 26th of September they sailed from Samarang, with a galley mounting six swivels, which the governor had ordered to accompany them to Batavia, where they anchored on the 1st of October. At this place they found riding at anchor a Dutch man of war, and twenty sail of Dutch East India ships, besides many smaller vessels. The first business of Captain Bligh was to accompany the Sabaudar, an officer with whom strangers transact business, to the governor-general. After he had acquainted his excellency with his situation, he requested that his people might be taken care of, and that he as well as they should be permitted to engage a passage for Europe in the first ship that sailed for that quarter of the world. Captain Bligh likewise requested permission to sell the schooner and the launch. All this the governor told him should be granted. The next day these petitions were formally written out, and presented to the council by the Sabaudar.

Batavia has long been proverbially noted for its unhealthiness, principally from the circumstances that the Dutch in imitation of their own country fixed its scite in a low part of the island, and not content with this, intersected the town with canals. The hotel for the accommodation of strangers in which Captain Bligh was lodged, is situated near the great river in the most healthy part of the city; nevertheless, he found the air hot and suffocating, and was taken in the night with a severe pain in his head: next day the pain increased, and a violent fever came on. He immediately sent to acquaint the Sabaudar with his situation, and the head surgeon of the town hos-

pital was despatched to attend him ; by his care the fever considerably abated in the course of twenty-four hours, though the head-ache still continued. In order to remove this effectually, and to preserve himself from future attacks while he staid on the island, Captain Bligh desired leave to hire a house in the country ; and the governor in a very polite and hospitable manner gave orders for his being accommodated in that of the physician-general, Mr. Sparling. On the 6th of October he was carried about four miles from the city to Mr Sparling's house ; near it was the convalescent hospital, in which there were then eight hundred patients. As, however, Captain Bligh received no relief from a change of air, but on the contrary experienced an encrease of indisposition, the physician general advised him to leave Batavia as speedily as possible, assuring him, and representing to the governor, that it was absolutely necessary for his health. The governor on this representation, told Captain Bligh that the homeward-bound vessels were so crowded, that it would be impossible for all his people to go in a single vessel : under these circumstances, the captain requested of the governor that he might be allowed to take a passage for himself in a packet which was about to sail for Europe, and also for as many of his people as she could conveniently accommodate. To this a communication in reply was sent, that the captain and two more could be accommodated in the packet, but that the rest must go in other vessels, as she was too small to admit of a greater number ; the rest the governor assured him should be sent to Europe by the earliest opportunity.

On Friday the 9th of October, the General Elliott East Indiaman anchored in the road, having saved a quantity of treasure that was on board the Vansittart, a British East Indiaman, that had been lost in the straits of Banca. Next day the Resource was sold by public auction to the highest bidder : the custom of selling by auction, at Ba-

tavia is the same as that which is followed in Holland; viz. to begin high, and to lower the price, until some person bids, and the first bidder is the buyer. The vessel was put up at two thousand rix dollars; but to Captain Bligh's great disappointment, no one offered to purchase till the price came down as low as two hundred and ninety-five, and at this price she was sold to an Englishman commanding a ship from Bengal. The launch was likewise sold: "the services she had rendered me, observes Captain Bligh, made me feel great reluctance at parting with her; nor should I have done so, if I could have found a convenient opportunity of conveying her to Europe." An order of council imposed a duty on all vessels sold, but with this Captain Bligh would by no means comply, as he thought that he had already sustained a sufficient loss in seven hundred and five rix dollars, the vessel having cost him one thousand.

He agreed with the captain of the packet for a passage to Europe for himself, his clerk, and his servant, and embarked on the 16th of October. The packet was commanded by Captain Peter Couvrat, and bound for Middleburg, in the island of Zeeland. Before Captain Bligh left Batavia the governor assured him that the remainder of his people should follow in the first ships, and be as little divided as possible. The Captain had previously authorized the master, Mr. Frazer, to supply the men and officers left under his command, with one month's pay, in order to enable them to purchase cloathing for their passage to England.

Captain Bligh had been at great pains to bring living plants from Timor and Batavia in six tubs; these he intended to carry as far as the Cape of Good Hope, or perhaps to England, but he had the mortification of being obliged to leave them all behind him at Batavia.

Two days after they sailed, they spoke an American brig called the Rambler, bound from Boston to Batavia.

After passing the straits of Sunda, they steered to the northward of the Cocoa isles; these Captain Couvrat informed Captain Bligh are full of cocoa-nut trees, from which they take their name, there is no anchorage near them: but good landing for boats. Nothing worthy of remark occurred in the passage to the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived on the 16th of December. By a standing order of the Dutch East India Company no person who took a passage in any of their ships from Batavia to Europe, was at liberty to leave the ship before she reached the intended port; if this regulation had been insisted on in the case of Captain Bligh, he would have been obliged to have proceeded to Holland in the packet. However on making use of the governor of Batavia's name, by his desire, to the governor of the Cape, he not only dispensed with the rule, but received the captain in the most friendly and hospitable manner.

They sailed from the Cape in company with the *Astree* French frigate, and on the twenty-first saw Ascension Island. On the 13th of March, 1790, the Bill of Portland was in sight; and on the evening of Sunday, the next day, Captain Bligh left the packet and was landed in the Isle of Wight.

Such of his people as were left at Batavia, were provided with passages by the earliest ships, and were apparently in good health at the time Captain Bligh left them. Nevertheless they all did not live to quit Batavia; one of the seamen died before the captain's departure, and another seamen, as well as the master's mate, within a fortnight after it. The hardships which they had experienced it is probable rendered them unable to support so unhealthy a climate as that of Batavia. Of nineteen who were forced by the mutineers into the launch, twelve surmounted the difficulties and dangers of the voyage, and lived to revisit their native country.

Although the infamous mutiny of the crew of the *Bounty* had entirely frustrated the designs of the British government in sending out that ship, yet it did not lessen their zeal for benefiting the West India islands, which had first suggested the plan; accordingly as soon as circumstances permitted, a new expedition was set on foot under the same commander.

Captain Bligh sailed from England in command of his Majesty's ship *Providence*, with a small vessel to attend him called the *Assistant*, on the 3rd of August, 1791, to proceed to Otaheite, in the South Sea, and thence to bring the bread fruit plant to the West Indies, and such other plants as might be found of rarity and use. On his return it was entirely left to his option to explore the passage between New Holland and New Guinea, a passage which had never been attempted before Captain Bligh's voyage in the *Bounty*, as already related.

On the 28th of August, 1791, Captain Bligh anchored with his tender in St. Cruz Road, in the Island of Teneriffe; having taken in wine and refreshments, he sailed from thence on the 1st of September. After having touched at the Isle of St Jago, he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and anchored in Table Bay on the 6th of November.

The vessels remained at the Cape till the 23rd of December, 1791, when they sailed for Van Dieman's Land, which they reached on the 9th of February, 1792. On the 24th of the same month they left this, and arrived on the 9th of April in Matavia Bay, in the Island of Otaheite. At this place they remained till the 18th of July, being principally occupied during the whole of this time in collecting bread-fruit plants, and stowing them in the great cabin of the *Providence*, which had been previously prepared for their reception: when they left Otaheite they had on board one thousand two hundred and eighty-one

pots and tubs of plants, all of which were in the best condition.

After a most dangerous passage through the straits which separate New Holland from New Guinea, Captain Bligh anchored at Coupang, in the Island of Timor on the 2nd of October; where he remained, replacing such plants as had died with others of that island, until the 10th of the same month, when he sailed by the Cape of Good Hope, which he passed without having the thermometer lower than 61 of Fahrenheit, or going farther south than $37^{\circ} 46'$ south latitude.

On the 17th of December he anchored at St. Helena; there fifty-seven kinds of fruit trees were collected, and in order that this island might be benefitted by those which Captain Bligh had on board, he gave to the governor twenty-three bread-fruit plants, besides some other valuable fruit trees. From St. Helena he proceeded to the Island of St. Vincent. On the 23rd of January, 1793, he arrived in Kingston Bay; here he remained for some time, when having left under the care of Dr. Anderson, who at that time was superintendant of the botanical garden there, three hundred and thirty-three bread-fruit trees, and two hundred and eleven fruit trees; and having received four hundred and sixty-seven plants for his Majesty's garden at Kew, he sailed for Jamaica agreeably to his orders. On the 5th of February he arrived at Port Royal, where he landed six hundred and twenty-three plants, three hundred and forty-seven of which were bread-fruit, the others consisted of the finest fruit of the east.

To complete all the objects of Captain Bligh's mission it only remained for him to return to England with a selection of plants for the royal garden at Kew, and accordingly he accomplished that end; bringing with him a great variety of beautiful and rare specimens. The two

vessels sailed from Jamaica on the 14th, and having left some plants at the Grand Cayman, they arrived in the Downs on the 2nd of August, 1793. The Providence was four hundred and twenty tons burden, with one hundred men; the Assistant was one hundred and ten tons, with twenty-seven men; the latter was commanded by Lieutenant Nathaniel Portlock.

As it was of the utmost consequence that so flagrant and desperate an instance of insubordination and mutiny, as that which Christian and his comrades had exhibited, should not be permitted to go unpunished, the British government soon after the return of Captain Bligh resolved to send out an expedition, the principal object of which should be the search for and apprehension of the mutineers. This expedition had also another object, namely, the survey of Endeavor Straits, in order to facilitate the passage to Botany Bay; the second voyage of Captain Bligh, which we have just related, being exclusively designed for the purpose of collecting the bread-fruit plants.

The vessel prepared for the expedition we are now about to record, was the Pandora frigate, of twenty-four guns, and one hundred and sixty men, under the command of Captain Edwards. She left England the latter end of the year 1790. In January, 1791, she passed the Straits of Magellan, and on the 23rd of March anchored in Matavia Bay, in the island of Otaheite. At dawn next morning a native paddled on board, and from him Captain Edwards received the intelligence that several of the mutineers of the Bounty were still on the island; but that Christian and nine men had long since left it in the Bounty; before he left it he told the natives that Captain Cook was still living, and that Captain Bligh had gone to settle at Whytutakee along with him.

Soon after this intelligence was communicated to Captain Edwards, he ordered the Pandora to be brought to

an anchor, and made preparations to send ashore to apprehend the mutineers; but before this could be done, some of them voluntarily came on board, and delivered themselves up. The rest, who some time before the arrival of the Pandora, had gone on an expedition to the south-east parts of Otaheite, learnt while there of the arrival of this vessel, and immediately formed the resolution of putting to sea: some of these however deemed it more prudent to place themselves under the protection of a chief on the heights of the island; but he declined protecting them; and though these mutineers at first manifested an intention of resisting the party sent against them from the Pandora, yet they soon altered their plan, and grounded their arms.

They were immediately brought down to the coast, and a prison was built on the quarter-deck of the Pandora, that they might be kept separate from the ships's company, and at the same time in a place where they could enjoy a free circulation of air. They were victualled in every respect in the same manner as the crew of the Pandora, and had also all the extra indulgences with which they were supplied. Many of the mutineers had married the daughters of the most respectable chiefs; their wives visited them daily, bringing their children, and supplying them with every delicacy they could procure. These interviews were very affecting; and one circumstance is mentioned well deserving of a particular account.

A midshipman, who had joined the mutineers, married the daughter of an Otaheitan chief, and they both lived at the residence of her father, in the happiest state of conjugal affection. When the Pandora arrived, a beautiful female infant, the fruits of their union, was still at its mother's breast; but the offender alone was seized and secured in irons on board of the frigate. Frantic with grief, the unhappy mother procured a canoe, and with her

infant in her arms, hastened to her husband. "So painful and tender a scene ensued that the officers beholding it were altogether overwhelmed, and the unfortunate youth himself entreated that she might not again be received on board the ship; but it required violence to separate her from him, and she was conveyed ashore in a state of distraction. The pang was too great; withheld from her husband, the poor victim sunk into the deepest dejection, she lost all relish for life, and after pining two months in a rapid decay, died of a broken heart."

While the Pandora was at Otaheite her tender was put in commission. On the 8th of May they left this island; their first object was to touch at Wytuiakee, but there they could learn no information respecting the mutineers. At Palmerston's Island some of the yards and spars that had belonged to the Bounty were discovered; and a boat was sent to make a further search, but she never returned, nor could any probable conjecture of her fate be formed.

Annamooka, where Captain Bligh had been treated with so much severity, was twice visited, but without effect. On the 8th of August a new island was discovered, from which a fleet of natives put off to attack the ship; they were all armed with clubs, and resting on their paddles gave the war whoop at stated periods; some of them ventured on board, these proved very expert at thieving. They were uncommonly stout and bold, so that five of the strongest men in the ship could not hold one of them, who was detected making off with his booty.

From this island the Pandora sailed for Endeavor Straits; here she nearly ran on a shoal, and other dangers appearing, a boat was sent out for the purpose of discovering whether there was a passage: a signal was made that a passage was found, but while the frigate was lying to, she struck on a reef of rocks. Every possible exertion was immediately made to get her off by means of the sails; but these turning out to be unavailing, the boats

were hoisted out to carry out an anchor. Before that could be done, however, the carpenter reported that the frigate was making eighteen inches of water in a minute, and in a quarter of an hour more, there were nine feet of water in the hold. All hands were immediately ordered to the pumps, and some of the prisoners let out of irons to assist. As it blew violently the ship beat hard on the rocks, so that it was apprehended she would go to pieces every minute: the night came on dark and stormy.

About ten o'clock, however, the frigate beat over the reef, and the anchor was let go in fifteen fathoms; the guns were thrown overboard, and a topsail was hauled over the ship's bottom; but these measures were of no avail; one of the chain pumps gave way, the top-sail was abandoned, and every man on board laboured at the pumps, as it was absolutely necessary if possible to keep the vessel above water till morning. The efforts of those at the pumps were so great that they became exhausted, but they behaved with the utmost obedience and intrepidity, never shrinking from their duty, though the water came faster in at the gun ports than the pumps could discharge it.

A very short time before day broke a council was held by the officers, when it was unanimously determined that as the ship was fast sucking down in the water, nothing more could be done for her preservation. (In this determination being come to, spars, booms, &c. were all cast loose, that the men might have some chance to save themselves as she sunk, for it was necessary to keep the boats at a distance on account of the high surf that was running. The prisoners were freed from their irons: at this time the ship having taken a heavy heel lay quite down on her side. In a very few minutes afterwards one of the officers told the captain that she was going down, for the anchor at the bow was under water, and bidding him farewell leapt overboard; the captain followed, and

then the vessel taking her last heel, while every one was trying to get to windward, sunk in an instant. The crew had just time to leap overboard, which they did uttering a most dreadful yell ; such a cry, as may well be supposed, was at first awful, but it died away by degrees as they became faint and sunk. In half an hour the boats saved those who still kept themselves above water.

As soon as it was quite daylight the boats arrived at a small sandy bay, about four miles distant, which afforded a place of refuge : here a muster was made, when it was found that thirty-five seamen and four prisoners had perished. As soon as the people had recovered a little strength, the boats were hauled up, and a guard was placed over the prisoners. They had saved from the ship a small barrel of water, a keg of wine, some biscuits, and a few muskets, and cartouch boxes. As day advanced the heat of the sun and reflection of the sand became very oppressive, while the quantity of salt water which the men had swallowed created intolerable thirst ; excruciating tortures were endured, and one of the men died mad. Notwithstanding their dreadful situation it was not judged proper to serve out any thing from the cask the first day, for on calculation it was found that only two small wine glasses full of water could be allowed to each, if they wished the water to last even for so short a period as sixteen days.

As it was impossible that they could continue on the sand bank, immediate preparations were made to fit the boats for a voyage : some necessary articles, in addition to those they had, were procured from that part of the wreck which still lay above water. On the second day after their shipwreck the pinnace, launch, and two yawls set out on a voyage to Timor, having on board one hundred and ten persons.

In order to accommodate this number, as soon as they had embarked, oars were laid on the thwarts, forming a

platform so as to afford room for two tier of men : a pair of wooden scales was put into each boat, and a musket-ball weight of bread served to each individual.

Such were the only means which they possessed of accomplishing a long and arduous voyage ; they visited several islands in the hopes of procuring refreshments, but they were generally disappointed, either from the circumstance that the island on which they landed did not afford any kind of food, or that the natives attacked them while they were endeavouring to procure it. As the principal part of the food which they had was in the launch, all the boats were obliged to keep close together ; for this purpose they towed each other during the night, and cast off the tow line in the day time, but the encreasing height of the sea, and the haziness of the weather obliged them to desist from their night towing.

As it was uncommonly hot, and they had no means of shelter, those of them who were occupied in steering were often subject to a *coup de soleil* ; those who were not steering preserved themselves from this attack by wetting their shirts and putting them on their heads, in order to alleviate the scorching heat of the sun. It was found, however, that if this method of putting their shirts while wet with sea water over their heads, was practised for several days, the skin absorbed so much salt that the saliva became intolerable in the mouth.

At length the people neglected their slender allowance, as from the extreme dryness of their mouths they could not eat it ; what was not claimed was returned to the general stock. It was observed that the old people suffered much more than the young ; of this fact a very striking instance was seen in a young boy, a midshipman, who sold his allowance of water during two days for one allowance of bread. As their sufferings encreased they became, as might indeed be expected, more cross and savage in their temper.

On the morning of the 13th of September, the Island of Timor was seen; the person who discovered it was rewarded with a glass of water. Notwithstanding the access to the shore was very dangerous, yet so great was the impatience of the people to land, that the boats ventured a passage through a high surf. Fortunately the landing was effected without loss: their first search was for a spring, which having found, they drank copiously, and then reposed a few hours on the grass. Crowds of the natives soon came down, who brought an ample supply of all kinds of provisions; after making a repast, part of the British spent the night on shore, and the rest in the boats. On the following morning the whole embarked for Coupang, where they were received with the utmost kindness and hospitality by the Dutch; every thing that could in any manner or degree conduce to their comfort and satisfaction being liberally provided for them. They continued at Coupang for the space of five weeks, and then embarked on board a Dutch East Indiaman for Batavia. As they were passing the Island of Flores, a most dreadful storm arose, which shivered every sail of the ship to pieces in a very few minutes: as all the pumps were choked, and thus rendered useless, the leak gained on the crew in a very rapid manner; to add to their danger, a shore not more dreadful on account of its rocks, than on account of the savages by which it was inhabited, lay about seven leagues under their lee, and to this the ship was drifting fast. The storm of wind was accompanied by incessant and tremendous thunder and lightning: under these circumstances the Dutch seamen, panic struck, could not be kept to their duty, but skulked below; so that had it not been for the wonderful exertions of the British sailors, the ships must have been lost, but by their means, she was with difficulty saved.

When they arrived at Samaravi, in the island of Java, they were most agreeably surprised with the sight of the

Pandora's tender, which they had so long given up for lost. Soon after she left the frigate, she had been attacked by a regular body of savages in their canoes ; but, after a severe and bloody contest, they were repulsed with great loss. Afterwards, when she was visiting some islands in search of the Pandora, she was again attacked ; but this attack also was repulsed ; her crew suffered much distress from want of water, with which, however, they were at last supplied by a Dutch vessel, after they had passed Endeavour Straits : from these straits they sailed for Java. All the survivors of the Pandora, and of the mutineers obtained a passage at Batavia for the Cape of Good Hope, thence to Holland, and from Holland they soon had the happiness of reaching their native country.

We now come to the most romantic part of this narrative, the adventures of the mutineers after they took possession of the Bounty, and the discovery of their descendants at Pitcairn's Island.

Little doubt was entertained by Captain Bligh respecting the motives which influenced the mutineers in their seizure of the Bounty, or the object which they had in view ; he conjectured, and his conjecture afterwards was confirmed, that they meant to return and settle at the island of Otaheite, drawn to it by the courteous manners of the inhabitants, and above all, the beauty, blandishments, and loose conduct of the females.

Immediately on Captain Bligh being turned adrift, Christian was chosen to command his comrades, and sailed for Otaheite ; most of the mutineers wished to remain on this island, but Christian persuaded them to form an establishment in the island of Toobouai, ninety leagues to the southward, as being less exposed to the visits of Europeans. To this island, therefore, they sailed ; but finding it deficient in live stock, they returned to Otaheite, and having laid in a large supply, they once more took their departure for Toobouai, carrying with

them eight men, nine women, and seven boys, natives of Otaheite. On their arrival they commenced building a fort; but their conduct was ill calculated to gain the confidence or good will of the natives; they were constantly endeavouring to seize on the women, became unruly, and divided among themselves. Christian discovered that his authority over his accomplices was at an end; and at last they resolved to leave the island with their stock. But the natives by this time began to understand its value, and were unwilling to see the animals collected and removed; in consequence of this, discussions arose, which brought on a pitched battle, when one hundred of the natives were killed. Despairing of forming an establishment after this, the mutineers embarked, and some reached Otaheite on the 29th of September, 1789.

During the passage, Christian became very melancholy, confining himself to his cabin, and scarcely speaking to any of his comrades. When they arrived at Matavia sixteen of the twenty-five desired to be landed, fourteen of whom were afterwards seized and taken on board of the Pandora. Some of the mutineers having formed a plan to seize on Christian and the ship, and the conspiracy having been discovered to him by a favorite female, he put to sea, on the night between the 21st and 22nd of September, with eight of the mutineers and several natives of Otaheite, the greater part of whom were women. In the morning the ship was discovered from Point Venus, steering in a north westerly direction. Such is the account given by the mutineers who were either taken or surrendered themselves at Matavia Bay, when the Pandora was there. They added that Christian, on the night of his departure, was heard to declare that he should seek some uninhabited island, and having established his party, break up the ship; but all endeavours of Captain Edwards to gain intelligence either of the

ship or her crew, at any of the islands visited by the Pandora, were completely fruitless.

We have already mentioned that fourteen out of the sixteen mutineers, who were landed at Matavia Bay, were afterwards taken on board the Pandora; of the other two, as reported by Coleman, (the first who surrendered himself to Captain Edwards) one had been made a chief, killed his companion, and was shortly afterwards murdered himself by the natives. It appears, that as several well disposed individuals of the Bounty's crew had been compelled to join the mutineers, because their services were required, they adopted industrious habits, on reaching Otaheite. Having got timber and other necessary articles, they managed to build a schooner of the size of a Gravesend boat. One named Churchhill, who had been master at arms, and very active in the mutiny, was invited by a chief to reside with him, and his patron dying soon afterwards without any children, Churchhill, according to the custom of the country, inhabited his territory; but unfortunately another seaman called Thomson, a rude and brutal fellow, envying his preferment and good fortune, shot him. The natives on this revenged the murder of their new chief, by stoning Thomson to death.

From the period of the arrival of the crew of the Pandora in England, no information respecting Christian or his companions was obtained for twenty years. About the beginning of the year 1809, Sir Sydney Smith, who was then commander-in-chief in the Brazil station, transmitted to the Admiralty a paper which he had received from Lieutenant Fitzmaurice, purporting to be an "extract from the log-book of Captain Folger, of the American ship *Lopaz*," and dated Valparaiso, 10th October, 1808. From this it appeared that Christian, when he left Otaheite, sailed for Pitcairn's Island, lying in $25^{\circ} 2'$

north latitude, and 130° west longitude, where he run the ship ashore, and broke her up in 1790. Soon afterwards he became insane, and threw himself into the sea.

The subsequent information which has reached England respecting Pitcairn's Island and its colony, is given in the twenty-sixth number of the Quarterly Review; and as, if we are not greatly mistaken, the means of information, and the authority of the writer, are undoubted, and as the whole narrative is told by him in a most interesting manner, we shall give it in his own words:

“ About the commencement of the year 1815, Rear Admiral Hotham, when cruising off new London, received a letter addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty, of which the following is a copy, together with the azimuth compass to which it refers:

“ Nantucket, 1st March, 1815.

“ My Lords,

“ The remarkable circumstance which took place on my last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, will, I trust, plead my apology for addressing your lordships at this time. In February, 1808, I touched at Pitcairn's Island, in latitude $25^{\circ} 02'$ south, longitude 130° west from Greenwich. My principal object was to procure seal skins for the China market; and from the account given of the island, in Captain Carteret's voyage, I supposed it was uninhabited; but, on approaching the shore in my boat, I was met by three young men in a double canoe, with a present, consisting of some fruit and a hog. They spoke to me in the English language, and informed me that they were born on the island, and their father was an Englishman, who had sailed with Captain Bligh.

“ After discoursing with them a short time, I landed with them, and found an Englishman of the name of

Alexander Smith, who informed me that he was one of the *Bounty's* crew, and that after putting Captain Bligh in the boat, with half the ship's company, they returned to Otaheite, where part of their crew chose to tarry; but Mr. Christian, with eight others, including himself, preferred going to a more remote place; and, after making a short stay at Otaheite, where they took wives and six men servants, they proceeded to Pitcairn's Island, where they destroyed the ship, after taking every thing out of her which they thought would be useful to them. About six years after they landed at this place, their servants attacked and killed all the English, excepting the informant, and he was severely wounded. The same night the Otaheitan widows arose and murdered all their countrymen, leaving Smith with the widows and children, where he had resided ever since without being resisted.

“ I remained but a short time on the island, and on leaving it, Smith presented me a time-piece, and an azimuth compass, which he told me belonged to the *Bounty*. The time-keeper was taken from me by the governor of the island of Juan Fernandez, after I had had it in my possession about six weeks. The compass I put in repair on board my ship, and made use of it on my homeward passage, since which a new card has been put to it by an instrument maker in Boston. I now forward it to your lordships, thinking there will be a kind of satisfaction in receiving it, merely from the extraordinary circumstances attending it.

(Signed) MAYHEW FOLGER.

“ Nearly about the same time a further account of these interesting people was received from Vice-admiral Dixon, in a letter addressed to him by Sir Thomas Staines, of His Majesty's ship, *Briton*, of which the following is a copy :

“ Briton, Valparaiso, 18th October, 1814.

“ Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on my passage from the Marquesas islands to this port, on the morning of the 17th September, I fell in with an island where none is laid down in the Admiralty, or other charts, according to the several chronometers of the Briton and Tagus. I therefore hove to, until day-light, and then closed to ascertain whether it was inhabited, which I soon discovered it to be, and, to my great astonishment, found that every individual on the island (forty in number) spoke very good English. They prove to be the descendants of the deluded crew of the *Bounty*, which, from Otaheite, proceeded to the abovementioned island, where the ship was burnt.

“ Christian appeared to have been the leader and sole cause of the mutiny of that ship. A venerable old man, named John Adams,* is the only surviving Englishman of those who last quitted Otaheite in her, and whose exemplary conduct, and fatherly care of the whole of the little colony, could not but command admiration. The pious manner in which all those born on the island have been reared, the correct sense of religion which has been instilled into their young minds by this old man, has given him the pre-eminence over the whole of them, to whom they look up as the father of the whole and one family.

“ A son of Christian's was the first born on the island, now about twenty-five years of age, (named Thursday October Christian;) the elder Christian fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of an Otaheitan man, within three or four years after their arrival on the island. They were accompanied thither by six Otaheitan men, and twelve women: the former were all swept away by desperate contentions between them and the Englishmen, and five

* There was no such name in the *Bounty's* crew, he must have assumed it in lieu of his real name, Aklandei Smith.

of the latter have died at different periods, leaving at present only one man and seven women of the original settlers.

“ The island must undoubtedly be that called Pitcairn’s, although erroneously laid down in the charts. We had the meridian sun, close to it, which gave us 25° 4’ south latitude, and 130° 25’ west longitude, by chronometers of the Briton and Tagus.

“ It is abundant in yams, plantains, hogs, goats, and fowls, but affords no shelter for a ship or vessel of any description; neither could a ship water there without great difficulty.

“ I cannot, however, refrain from offering my opinion that it is well worthy the attention of our laudable religious societies, particularly that for propagating the Christian religion, the whole of the inhabitants speaking the Otaheitan tongue as well as English.

“ During the whole of the time they have been on the island, only one ship has ever communicated with them, which took place about six years since by an American ship called the Topaz, of Boston, Mayhew Folger, master.

“ The island is completely iron bound, with rocky shores, and landing in boats at all times difficult, although safe to approach within a short distance in a ship.

(Signed) T. STAINES.

“ We have been favoured with some further particulars on this singular society, which, we doubt not, will interest our readers as much as they have ourselves. As the real position of the island was ascertained to be so far distant from that in which it is usually laid down in the charts, and as the captains of the Briton and Tagus seem to have still considered it as uninhabited, they were not a little surprised, on approaching its shores, to be-

hold plantations regularly laid out, and huts or houses more neatly constructed than those on the Marquesas Islands. When about two miles from the shore, some natives were observed bringing down their canoes on their shoulders, dashing through a heavy surf, and paddling off to the ships; but their astonishment was unbounded on hearing one of them, on approaching the ship, call out in the English language, ‘ Won’t you heave us a rope, now ?’

“ The first man who got on board the Briton soon proved who they were. His name, he said, was Thursday October Christian, the first born on the island. He was then about five and twenty years of age, and is described as a fine young man, about six feet high; his hair deep black; his countenance open and interesting; of a brownish cast, but free from that mixture of a reddish tint which prevails on the Pacific islands; his only dress was a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat ornamented with the black feathers of the domestic fowl. ‘ With a great share of good humour,’ says Captain Pipon, ‘ we were glad to trace in his benevolent countenance all the features of an honest English face.’—‘ I must confess,’ he continues, ‘ I could not survey this interesting person without feelings of tenderness and compassion.’ His companion was named George Young, a fine youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age.

“ If the astonishment of the Captains was great on hearing their first salutation in English, their surprise and interest were not a little increased on Sir Thomas Staines taking the youths below and setting before them something to eat, when one of them rose up, and placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, distinctly repeated, and in a pleasing tone and manner, ‘ For what we are going to receive, the Lord make us truly thankful.’

“ They expressed great surprise on seeing a cow on

board the Briton, and were in doubt whether she was a great goat, or a horned sow.

“ The two captains of His Majesty’s ships accompanied these young men on shore. With some difficulty and a good wetting, and with the assistance of their conductors, they accomplished a landing through the surf, and were soon after met by John Adams, a man between fifty and sixty years of age, who conducted them to his house. His wife accompanied him, a very old lady, blind with age. He was at first alarmed lest the visit was to apprehend him; but on being told that they were perfectly ignorant of his existence, he was relieved from his anxiety. Being once assured that this visit was of a peaceable nature, it is impossible to describe the joy these poor people manifested on seeing those whom they were pleased to consider as their countrymen. Yams, cocoa nuts and other fruits, with fine fresh eggs, were laid before them; and the old man would have killed and dressed a hog for his visitors, but time would not allow them to partake of his intended feast.

“ This interesting new colony, it seemed, now consisted of about forty-six persons, mostly grown up young people, besides a number of infants. The young men all born on the island, were very athletic and of the finest forms, their countenances open and pleasing, indicating much benevolence and goodness of heart: but the young women were objects of particular admiration, tall, robust, and beautifully formed, their faces beaming with smiles and unruffled good humour, but wearing a degree of modesty and bashfulness that would do honour to the most virtuous nation on earth; their teeth, like ivory, were regular and beautiful, without a single exception; and all of them, both male and female, had the most marked English features. The clothing of the young females consisted of a piece of linen, reaching from the waist to the knees, and generally a sort of mantle thrown

loosely over the shoulders, and hanging as low as the ancles; but this covering appeared to be intended chiefly as a protection against the sun and the weather, as it was frequently laid aside—and then the upper part of the body was entirely exposed; and it is not possible to conceive more beautiful forms than they exhibited. They sometimes wreath caps or bonnets for the head in the most tasty manner, to protect the face from the rays of the sun; and though, as Captain Pipon observes, they have only had the instruction of their Otaheitan mothers, ‘our dress-makers in London would be delighted with the simplicity, and yet elegant taste, of these untaught females.’

“ Their native modesty, assisted by a proper sense of religion and morality instilled into their youthful minds by John Adams, has hitherto preserved these interesting people perfectly chaste and free from all kinds of debauchery. Adams assured the visitors, that since Christian’s death, there had not been a single instance of any young woman proving unchaste; nor any attempt at seduction on the part of the men. They all labour while young in the cultivation of the ground; and when possessed of a sufficient quantity of cleared land and of stock to maintain a family, they are allowed to marry, but always with the consent of Adams, who unites them by a sort of marriage ceremony of his own. .

“ The greatest harmony prevailed in this little society; their only quarrels, and these rarely happened, being, according to their own expressions, *quarrels of the mouth*: they are honest in their dealings, which consist of bartering different articles for mutual accommodation.

“ Their habitations are extremely neat. The little village of Pitcairn forms a pretty square, the houses at the upper end of which are occupied by the patriarch John Adams, and his family, consisting of his old blind wife and three daughters, from fifteen to eighteen years of age, and a boy of eleven; a daughter of his wife by a former

husband, and a son-in-law. On the opposite side is the dwelling of Thursday October Christian; and in the centre is a smooth verdant lawn on which the poultry are let loose, fenced in so as to prevent the intrusion of the domestic quadrupeds. All that was done was obviously undertaken on a settled plan, unlike to any thing to be met with on the other islands. In their houses too they had a good deal of decent furniture, consisting of beds laid upon bedsteads, with neat covering; they had also tables, and large chests to contain their valuables and clothing, which is made from the bark of a certain tree, prepared chiefly by the elder Otaheitan females. Adams's house consisted of two rooms, and the windows had shutters to pull to at night. The younger part of the sex are, as before stated, employed with their brothers, under the direction of their common father Adams, in the culture of the ground, which produced cocoa nuts, bananas, the bread-fruit tree, yams, sweet potatoes, and turnips. They have also plenty of hogs and goats; the woods abound with a species of wild hog, and the coast of the island with several kinds of good fish.

“ Their agricultural implements are made by themselves from the iron supplied by the *Bounty*, which with great labour they beat out into spades, hatchets, crowes, &c. This was not all. The good old man kept a regular journal in which was entered the nature and quantity of work performed by each family, what each had received, and what was due on account. There were, it seems, besides private property, a sort of general stock out of which articles were issued on account to the several members of the community; and for mutual accommodation exchanges of one kind of provision for another were very frequent, as salt for fresh provisions, vegetables and fruit for poultry, fish, &c. also when the stores of one family were low or wholly expended, a fresh supply was raised from another, or out of the general stock, to be repaid when cir-

cumstances were more favourable; all of which was carefully noted down in John Adams's Journal.

“ But what was most gratifying of all to the visitors was the simple and unaffected manner in which they returned thanks to the Almighty for the many blessings they enjoyed. They never failed to say grace before and after meals, to pray every morning at sun-rise, and they frequently repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. ‘ It was truly pleasing,’ says Captain Pipon, ‘ to see these poor people so well disposed, to listen so attentively to moral instruction, to believe in the attributes of God, and to place their reliance on divine goodness.’ The day on which the two captains landed was Saturday the 17th of September; but by John Adams's account it was Sunday the 18th, and they were keeping the Sabbath by making it a day of rest and of prayer. This was occasioned by the *Bounty* having proceeded thither by the eastern route, and our frigates having gone to the westward; and the *Topaz* found them right according to his own reckoning, she having also approached the island from the eastward. Every ship from Europe proceeding to Pitcairn's Island round the Cape of Good Hope will find them a day later—as those who approach them round Cape Horn, a day in advance, as was the case with Captain Folger and the Captains Sir T. Staines and Pipon.

“ The visit of the *Topaz* is of course, as a notable circumstance marked down in John Adams's Journal. The first ship that appeared off the island was on the 27th December, 1795; but as she did not approach the land, they could not make out to what nation she belonged. A second appeared some time after, but did not attempt to communicate with them. A third came sufficiently near to see the natives and their habitations, but did not attempt to send a boat on shore; which is the less surprising, considering the uniform ruggedness of the coast, the total want of shelter, and the almost constant and violent break-

ing of the sea against the cliffs. The good old man was anxious to know what was going on in the old world, and they had the means of gratifying his curiosity by supplying him with some magazines and modern publications. His library consisted of the books that belonged to Admiral Bligh, but the visitors had not time to inspect them.

“ They inquired particularly after Fletcher Christian. This ill-fated young man, it seems, was never happy after the rash and inconsiderate step which he had taken; he became sullen and morose, and practised the very same kind of conduct towards his companions in guilt which he and they so loudly complained against in their late commander. Disappointed in his expectations at Otaheite, and the Friendly Islands, and most probably dreading a discovery, this deluded youth committed himself and his remaining confederates to the mere chance of being cast upon some desert island, and chance threw them on that of Pitcairn. Finding no anchorage near it he ran the ship upon the rocks, cleared her of the live stock and other articles which they had been supplied with at Otaheite, when he set her on fire, that no trace of inhabitants might be visible, and all hope of escape cut off from himself and his wretched followers. He soon, however, disgusted both his own countrymen and the Otaheitans, by his oppressive and tyrannical conduct; they divided into parties, and disputes, and affrays and murders were the consequence. His Otaheitan wife died within a twelvemonth from their landing, after which he carried off one that belonged to an Otaheitan man, who watched for an opportunity of taking his revenge, and shot him dead while digging in his own field. Thus terminated the miserable existence of this deluded young man, who was neither deficient in talent nor energy, nor in connexions, and who might have risen in the service, and become an ornament to his profession.

“John Adams declared, as it was natural enough he should do, his abhorrence of the crime in which he was implicated, and said that he was sick at the time in his hammock; this, we understand, is not true, though he was not particularly active in the mutiny; he expressed the utmost willingness to surrender himself and be taken to England; indeed he rather seemed to have an inclination to revisit his native country, but the young men and women flocked round him, and with tears and entreaties begged that their father and protector might not be taken from them, for without him they must all perish. It would have been an act of the greatest inhumanity to remove him from the island; and it is hardly necessary to add that Sir Thomas Staines lent a willing ear to their entreaties, thinking, no doubt, as we feel strongly disposed to think, that if he were even among the most guilty, his care and success in instilling religious and moral principles into the minds of this young and interesting society, have, in a great degree, redeemed his former crimes.

“This island is about six miles long by three broad, covered with wood, and the soil of course very rich: situated under the parallel of 25° south latitude, and in the midst of such a wide expanse of ocean, the climate must be fine, and admirably adapted for the reception of all the vegetable productions of every part of the habitable globe. Small therefore, as Pitcairn’s Island may appear, there can be little doubt that it is capable of supporting many inhabitants; and the present stock being of so good a description, we trust they will not be neglected. In the course of time the patriarch must go hence; and we think it would be exceedingly desirable that the British nation should provide for such an event by sending out, not an ignorant and idle evangelical missionary, but some zealous and intelligent instructor, together with a few persons capable of teaching the useful trades or professions. On Pitcairn’s Island there are better materials to work upon

than missionaries have yet been so fortunate as to meet with, and the best results may reasonably be expected. Something we are bound to do for these blameless and interesting people. The articles recommended by Captain Pipon appear to be highly proper; cooking utensils, implements of agriculture, maize or the Indian corn, the orange tree from Valparaiso, a most grateful fruit in a warm climate, and not known in the Pacific Islands; and that root of plenty, the potatoe; bibles, prayer-books, and a proper selection of other books, with paper, and other implements of writing. The visitors supplied them with some tools, kettles, and other articles, such as the high surf would permit them to land, but to no great extent; many things are still wanting for their ease and comfort. The descendants of these people, by keeping up the Otaheitan language, which the present race speak fluently, might be the means of civilizing the multitudes of fine people scattered over the innumerable islands of the Great Pacific. We have only to add, that Pitcairn's Island seems to be so fortified by nature as to oppose an invincible barrier to an invading enemy; there is no spot apparently where a boat can land with safety, and, perhaps, not more than one where it can land at all; an everlasting swell of the ocean rolls in on every side, and breaks into foam against its rocky and iron bound shores."

Our readers will observe that this account differs in some respects, particularly regarding the death of Christian, from the first account which was derived from the log-book of the *Topaz*.

We shall conclude this narrative with a statement of the fate of the different mutineers of the *Bounty*. On the arrival of the *Pandora* at Matavai Bay, we have already mentioned that four of the mutineers voluntarily surrendered themselves; their names were Peter Heywood and George Stewart, midshipmen. Joseph Coleman, armourer, and Richard Skinner, seamen. Ten others—the whole

number alive on the island, were taken, viz. James Morrison, boatswain's mate; Charles Norman, carpenter's-mate; Thomas Macintosh one of the carpenter's crew; and Thomas Ellison, Henry Hilbrant, Thomas Burkitt, John Milward, John Sumner, William Muspratt, and Michael Byrn, seamen. Four of these perished in the wreck of the Pandora; namely George Stewart, Richard Skinner, Henry Hilbrant, and John Sumner, of those conveyed to England and tried by a court martial; six were adjudged to suffer death, namely Heywood, Morrison, Ellison, Burkitt, Millward, and Muspratt, to the first two his majesty's mercy was extended, at the recommendation of the court, and the last was respited and afterwards pardoned. Four were acquitted by the court martial, namely, Norman, Coleman, Macintosh, and Byrn. The fate of Churchill and Thomson has been already noticed. Thus of the twenty-five mutineers, the fate of sixteen is ascertained; the remaining eight went with Christian to Pitcairn's Island.

CHAP. IV.

Naval History of Great Britain from the Commencement of the first French Revolutionary War to the Peace of Amiens.

WE are now about to enter on the narrative of the naval operations of a war unprecedented, in whatever respect we consider it, in the annals of mankind; a war, out of which Britain extricated herself and the nations of Europe, in the most glorious and decisive manner. Before, however, we commence the narrative, it may be proper to premise some observations in the first place, on the causes and circumstances which gave rise to the French Revolution; and, in the second place, on the causes and circumstances which involved Britain in hostilities with Revolutionary France.

We are perfectly aware that we are entering on delicate and difficult ground, when we propose to treat of the causes and circumstances of the revolution of France. That event was so extraordinary in its first aspect and nature, and so tremendous in its consequences, that the mind is overwhelmed in contemplating it; besides it is at all times and in all cases extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, satisfactorily and clearly to trace the causes of general and complete revolutionary movements in states: but in addition to these sources of difficulty and obscurity, with respect to the revolution of France, we must reflect that the passions and prejudices of men, led them to view it in such various lights, and to ascribe it to such various, and indeed opposite causes, that we need not be surprised if the true causes are still in a great degree obscure or unknown. For though the affairs of France and of Europe, it may be hoped, are now again settled into order and tranquillity, yet we are still too near the events of the revolution to view it with impartiality,

calmness, and clearness. There are, however, certain causes and circumstances, respecting the operation of which in producing it, all agree; and these we shall mention and consider.

To the people of Britain, who have been long proud of their liberty, it might seem that the want of liberty, under which the French nation suffered at the beginning of the revolution, would satisfactorily account for that event; since, if we had been in their condition, we should have undoubtedly roused ourselves to shake off the yoke of slavery. But it is a mistaken, though a very common notion, to imagine all people sensible of the value of those blessings which they do not possess: the French certainly were far behind us, at the period of the revolution, with respect to civil and political liberty; but it by no means thence necessarily follows, that they felt the want of what they had not; it is one of the most degrading and melancholy effects of slavery, that it renders those who are slaves, insensible to the wretched state in which they exist. We know for a fact, that in the reign of Louis XIV. the French people of all classes and conditions, regarded the pleasure and the interest of their grand monarch as of paramount consequence to their own liberty and happiness; or, more strictly and properly speaking, they placed their own happiness solely in promoting his glory and views. It by no means necessarily follows, therefore, that when we have stated that the French nation, before the revolution, were, compared with us, deprived of the rights and privileges of men, we have sufficiently accounted for that event; how far a feeling of their own degraded state, and a wish to raise themselves, by obtaining civil and political liberty, conduced directly or indirectly to the revolution, will be afterwards considered; certainly this feeling and wish were not the only, or the principal causes of it. These causes we shall now endeavour to trace.

In the first place, it is an undoubted and a notorious fact, that for nearly half a century before the revolution, France had been deluged with writings intended and calculated to shake the foundations of religious and political faith; in those publications, all that was established in the government and religion of the country, was attacked by sophistry, by argument, by wit, and by ridicule. These writings were not solely of that description, which addressed themselves to the intelligent and well informed; they were calculated to make an impression on all classes and descriptions; and though their direct and immediate effects on the great body of the people might not be very powerful, yet even they must have felt their operation indirectly, through the classes immediately above them; the feelings, habits, and prejudices in favour of the king and royal family, which had long distinguished the French nation, gradually began to give way, and when those were even partially removed, they began to open their eyes to all the oppressions under which they had so long patiently suffered. It must also be observed, that these publications to which we have alluded, not being intended to bring about a gradual and peaceable change in affairs, nor to fix the thoughts and hopes of the people on a rational reform of abuses, were the more calculated to excite their passions, and indeed to be intelligible to the great body of the nation. That such a change in the feelings and prejudices of the French, in regard to their monarch, was taking place, even before the American revolution, we have the direct and unequivocal testimony of travellers, who express their surprise at it, and foretel that it will be followed by something extraordinary. It is impossible to conjecture what were the precise objects of those who circulated such writings; they must have been profoundly ignorant of human nature, if they imagined that the change they meditated, would benefit either the people or themselves, or be permanent: it is more charitable to

suppose that they acted and wrote without any clear and definite ideas, either of what they wished, or of what they were about to bring about.

The second cause of the French revolution undoubtedly was the American revolution. The French government blind to their own real interests, agreed to support the American colonies in their revolt against the mother country; it is not easy to find out what led them to act in this manner; it may be that those who were anxious to produce a revolution in France, used their influence with the French government to induce them to assist the Americans, being sensible that they should thus promote the object they had in view, while the government considered this an excellent opportunity to crush and humble Britain. Had the wish of the Americans to separate themselves from the mother country proceeded from any other cause and feelings than those which produced it, France might safely have lent her assistance for that purpose. But the Americans were desirous of a republic; they separated from Britain on principles diametrically opposite to the principles and practice of the French government: the pamphlets which were circulated in their defence, all their public and official declarations and deeds, were of such a nature and tendency as would have alarmed the French government, and kept them aloof, had it not been that they were blinded to their own danger, by the hope of injuring Britain. In a fatal moment they agreed to assist America; troops were sent across the Atlantic for that purpose; they necessarily associated with American citizens and soldiers,—they heard the grounds of the dispute between America and Britain,—they saw a people taking up arms, because they were taxed without being represented; not because they had experienced from the mother country any practical oppression, but merely on theoretical grounds. They heard discussed the kind of government which the Americans

proposed for themselves; a government without a monarch, without any privileged orders, where all men would be equal in their rights, where the highest and most honorable offices would be open to all. The French officers and soldiers who went to America, must have been more or less than men, if they could have been placed in these circumstances, and come out of them as they went in: many of them were young men, sanguine, of ardent imaginations and feelings. They gradually imbibed the sentiments of the Americans; and from zealous adherents of the great monarch became zealous republicans. Besides, many of the officers who commanded them, had even before they quitted France, imbibed republican notions; and they of course were rendered more firm in their adherence to them, by what they saw and heard in America.

When the American war terminated, the French officers and soldiers, thus imbued with republican sentiments and feelings returned to their native country; they talked of what they had seen; they contrasted the condition of America with that of France: in the former country every person, however poor, felt that he was of consequence in the state; nobody durst insult or trample upon him, or even overlook him; he was a citizen as well as the richest man in America, and therefore as far as public affairs were concerned, equal to the richest; whereas in France the case was directly the reverse: the nobility and the other privileged orders were every thing; the great bulk of the people were nothing; they had no rights, no privileges; all they enjoyed,—all the evils they were exempt from, were merely on suffrance. The law made a decided distinction between them and the higher classes; instead of throwing over them its protection, on account of their poverty, it dealt with them more harshly. In short in America, the government was of the people, and for the people, whereas in France, it was of the nobility and for the nobility. Those things which a

few years before had not been regarded, perhaps not known to exist, now struck most forcibly and deeply on the minds and feelings of those French, who returned from America, and what they felt they communicated to their friends and neighbours, so that the consequences of the American revolution soon began to be visible in France.

Had the French, however, who returned from America insisted only upon the civil and political privileges which the Americans enjoyed, it is probable that the impression which they would have made, would not have been very general; for the mass of the French nation, long habituated to political degradation, could not have understood the nature or advantages of political liberty; but the soldiers from America could appeal more forcibly and directly to the great bulk of their countrymen. They could tell them, that in America there was no poverty or wretchedness; that the fruits of his labour were secured to the peasant; that he was not obliged to give up his time to the caprice or the interest of the privileged orders; but, on the contrary, was happy and felt himself perfectly secure in his happiness, in the midst of his family. These statements would be intelligible to those who would only hear, with a vacant and listless stare, dissertations on civil and political liberty,—they spoke to feelings and wishes implanted in all breasts.

Here then we may perceive one cause which operated most powerfully on the great bulk of the nation; they were awakened to a clear view, and an exquisite sense of all the miseries under which they had laboured so long, with almost utter insensibility to them; and when thus roused, it is not surprising if a desire of revenge co-operated with a wish to liberate themselves from oppression. Hence arose the dreadful excesses which stained and degraded even the commencement of the French revolution; with the great bulk of the nation, there was a complete

revulsion of feeling; formerly they regarded their monarch with a species of veneration, they accounted it an honour and happiness to die for him; if he was ill or unhappy they suffered much more than if they themselves or their nearest relatives were ill or unhappy: they did not grumble at the little he allowed them to possess, but regarding every thing as his of divine right, they were grateful for what he has bestowed upon them; and even grateful for what he did not take from them. The same feeling, though not to the same extent, they bore towards their nobility, those they regarded as formed by nature of better materials, as destined to be their masters; themselves they considered as existing merely on sufferance, as having no claims, but enjoying the few blessings they did merely through the good will of their superiors. It is not to be wondered at therefore, when their eyes were opened and they found that they had been imposed upon themselves, when they ascertained that they had a right to much more than they had accepted gratefully as a boon: that the sudden and extreme revulsion of their feelings, uncounteracted by education, should produce the dreadful consequences of the French revolution. They passed from one extreme to another; they had little notion of obtaining civil or political rights; they did not look forward only to freedom from oppression, but they anticipated vengeance: by the revolution power was put into the hands of an ignorant mob, who had long been kept under, and they were resolved to exercise that power, without the slightest regard to justice or humanity.

In all countries there are too many whose interest and hopes centre in sudden and dreadful changes; and in France, at the commencement of the revolution, this class was very numerous and very active; they were men of desperate fortunes and desperate principles, who must be benefitted as well as gratified by any change, and exactly in proportion as the change was destructive of

public order and happiness; such men, restrained by no principles, bold, active, and daring, must always possess great influence over the great mass of a nation; and perhaps the French people are better calculated to be acted upon by such persons than any other people in Europe; for the French are of very quick and impetuous feelings, by which they are easily and rapidly hurried away from their best established principles and habits. Of the class of persons whom we have been describing Paris is remarkably full, and indeed Paris, as the capital of France, has always possessed more influence over the kingdom than perhaps any other capital of Europe possesses over its respective kingdom. The impulse that Paris gives is quickly spread over the whole nation. In it, at the commencement of the revolution, were concentrated a vast number of very clever and very unprincipled men, whose object was to effect a complete overthrow of the government, and these men of course used every means to stir up the great body of the nation.

The next cause of the revolution must be sought for in the character and measures of the French royal family and government: with respect to the royal family, none of the members of it were at all qualified to prevent the change which was approaching; there were only two courses which they ought to have pursued, and neither of these did they take. They should either have displayed much more firmness of purpose and action than they actually did, or they should have anticipated the wishes, and thus have obtained the support of those who were desirous of a moderate, gradual, and temperate reform in the government. But so far from acting in either of these manners, they were not even sensible of the dreadful catastrophe which was hanging over them. We are by no means disposed to give full or implicit credit to the tales of profligacy which were spread abroad respecting many of the members of the royal family of France; it was

part of the plan of those who were anxious to produce a convulsion to represent the royal family, the nobility, and the clergy, as almost without exception most abandoned and profligate; but the truth is, that in the reign of Louis XVI. there was less profligacy and despotism than France had witnessed in the reigns of Louis XIV. and XV. Even the French government was beginning to be sensible that their firmest footing, and most real and permanent power rested in the good will and happiness of the people, and they were gradually introducing beneficial changes both in their principles and their practice. But though the royal family by no means deserved the character which was given of them, yet their conduct was not irreproachable: the king certainly permitted himself to act, at the commencement of the revolution, with less sincerity than he ought to have displayed; he probably justified himself for this on the ground that the people were depriving him of his rights, and that as they had acted towards him with unjust violence he was justified in meeting their violence with duplicity. A more candid construction may indeed be put upon his behaviour: Louis XVI. was by no means a man of firmness or consistency, and what has been ascribed to duplicity may probably have arisen from his failings of this nature. The other branches of the royal family were much less calculated from their character and conduct to prevent a revolution, or to conduct themselves safely through it than even the king.

Nor was Louis more fortunate with respect to his ministers: they were so little sensible of the danger which was about to overwhelm the whole of them, that they did not cease from mutual reproaches and intrigues; thus exposing a divided and jealous body against the revolutionists, who, however they might differ afterwards, were at the commencement of the revolution actuated only by one common spirit and feeling.

Still, however, it is probable that all those causes of revolution might have proved inefficient had not circumstances contributed to their full and effective co-operation : for it is evident that in an extensive country like France the elements of convulsion may be numerous and violent, and yet utterly inefficient, from being spread over a wide surface ; something therefore must connect the different parts ; a train must be laid before an explosion can take place. We have already mentioned that Paris may be regarded as the centre of motion of France, and in Paris at the commencement of the revolution, there were numerous discontented spirits most eager for a revolution, but even these would hardly have dared to have begun their operations, had not the connection of the capital with all parts of the kingdom, however remote, been at this time rendered more close and sensitive by the circumstance we are now about to mention.

Although the natural riches of France are considerably greater than those of Britain, yet the real wealth of the latter country has long been infinitely superior to that of the former : this has arisen principally from the greater industry and credit in Britain, and these again undoubtedly have sprung from the greater liberty which we enjoy. In consequence of France being as a nation comparatively poor, she came out of the American war with her finances in a much worse state than those of Britain were ; nor did they recover from their distressed state as ours did.

Under these circumstances it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to extraordinary measures, for the purpose if possible of extricating France from her embarrassing and distressing difficulties. In the better days of the monarchy the States General used to be assembled : that is, deputies from the noblesse, the clergy, and the people at large used to be convoked, and to deliberate on the state of the nation. Neither the king nor his ministers were willing to have recourse to this measure ; but

after trying every other possible means of raising money and carrying on the affairs of the nation, they at length were compelled to assemble the States General. So that as this assembly consisted of deputies from the nobility and the clergy there was not much danger that it would be hostile to the privileges and interests of the monarchy, or that it would endanger the constitution; though even among the deputies of the noblesse and the clergy there were some men eager for violent and great changes; men of intrigue, total want of principle, splendid abilities, and desperate fortunes. As might be supposed however the number of deputies from the third estate, as it was called, who were anxious to root out the fundamental principles of the monarchy, were very numerous: the views of all were different; some, though but a few, and those not the most active, vigilant, or able, were merely anxious to reform grievous abuses, and to perform what they were expressly convened for—the restoration of the finances and the extrication of France from her difficulties. Others wished to go farther, they were anxious to alter entirely the character and power of the monarchy, but still to retain that form of constitution; in short to bring the French constitution as nearly as possible to a resemblance to the British constitution: but these men, though comparatively moderate in their views, and mild and sober in the measures they recommended, were by no means well skilled in human nature;—unlike wise and experienced workmen, they neglected to examine into the nature and capabilities of the materials of which they were going to make use, and the tools with which they were to work: they had formed to themselves an ideal and abstract image, according to the model of which they were desirous to frame the constitution of France.

All these men, however, were comparatively moderate in their views and objects; there were, unfortunately for France and the rest of Europe, others very numerous and

very active, whose ideas went far beyond; even these might be divided into two classes: one class contemplated a republic, such perhaps as might have existed in ages of greater simplicity of manners, and among a people of a very different character from the French, but which was utterly incompatible with the condition of Europe at the end of the eighteenth century;—these men wished to obtain their object principally by fair and honourable means, though even they in their hatred to kings and royalty, were not disposed to do justice to any branch of the royal family. Innocent however these were, comparatively speaking, to the other class of republicans, whose ideas and plans were the most extravagant and outrageous to common sense as well as justice and humanity, that ever entered the brains of the most distempered lunatic. One great principle they seem to have had—whatever was established was to be destroyed; not merely human institutions, but all the feelings, sentiments, and habits that seemed interwoven with the human mind and heart, were violently and utterly to be torn out, and replaced by their opposites. And not only was their object shocking to humanity and incompatible with justice, but this object, according to them, was to be obtained by any means however unjust or outrageous. A few perhaps of these men were sincere; that is, by some fatal but extraordinary blindness of intellect and hardness of heart, they conceived that mankind would be benefitted by the changes they contemplated, and that the benefits of this change would be so very extraordinarily great, that they would fully sanction, nay, that they would demand the most iniquitous means for their attainment, if either they could not be otherwise, or so speedily and certainly be attained.

But though some of these were, as we have said, sincere, the greater number of them had no other object in view than the gratification of the most diabolical passions—passions which the history of all ages teaches us have

displayed themselves occasionally in all countries—but that never perhaps before, in any age or country, were assisted by cool and systematic plans, and as it were so completely transformed into habits. These men seem to have taken a most malignant pleasure in cruelty and devastation, and extended their diabolical views beyond France into every other country of Europe.

We need not then be surprised that such a revolution as that of France took place, when we consider that not only were the materials for it ready, but that these materials were under the direction of such men as we have described, all assembled in the capital, and thus afforded an excellent opportunity of co-operating in their great plan.

Such appears to us to have been the principal causes and circumstances that brought about the French revolution; there were undoubtedly other causes, which may afterwards be developed, and those which we have mentioned may have operated in some respect differently from what we have just stated; but there is good reason to believe that the writings of the wits and the philosophers, as they stiled themselves—the American revolution and the return of the soldiers and officers from assisting in it—the abuses of the government—the disarrangement of the finances—and the collecting of the restless and dissatisfied spirits in Paris were the principle causes, direct and indirect, immediate and remote of the French revolution.

Our next preliminary inquiry respects the origin and causes of the war which broke out between Revolutionary France and Great Britain: the blame of this war of course was given to both sides, and it is perhaps not easy to get at the truth, as we are yet too near the commencement of it. What we shall offer on this subject shall be, however, as impartial as we can possibly make it.

It may well be supposed that the continental nations of Europe did not regard with a pleasant eye the changes

which were taking place in France; even the desire of the French King to convoke the States General and to reform the most glaring or oppressive abuses, met with no favour from the continental sovereigns. But their indignation and displeasure were very much encreased when they beheld the French King stripped of his rights and reduced to the condition of the first magistrate of the nation, over which he had been shortly before the absolute sovereign. They resolved therefore, if possible, to crush the revolutionists; and in this resolution they were confirmed by the emigrants from France, who represented the people of that kingdom as by no means unanimous in their attachment to the revolution, but, on the contrary, as still retaining their loyalty. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the continental sovereigns united against Revolutionary France.

Britain, however, it was supposed by the French revolutionists would not join the coalition against them; but they did not act as if they depended on the peaceable disposition of the British government; on the contrary, they endeavoured to intimidate that government into peace and forbearance by raising up a strong party in their own favour in Britain. What were called French principles gained ground in this country; not merely a cool and rational wish to reform by gradual and mild measures the abuses of the British constitution, but a mad and restless desire of complete change. The British ministry were naturally apprehensive that these restless reformers might produce great mischiefs, and they consequently regarded with no friendly eye the proceedings of the revolutionists in France.

Still, however, there might have been peace between the two countries had it not been for two acts of France, one of which seems to have been the real and immediate cause, and the other the pretext for the commencement of hostilities on the part of Britain. The French govern-

ment, if government it could then be called—mad with their absurd schemes of innovation, and fully persuaded that all means for their accomplishment were not only justifiable, but imperative upon them, proclaimed without reserve and in the most public manner, their fixed determination to assist every people who wished to reform, or even throw off their respective government. Nor was this an idle determination: emissaries were sent into other countries to preach up liberty and equality, and wherever the French made war they declared they made it against the palace, whilst they brought peace and protection to the cottage.

The British government, though from the sound and cool sense of the British people, and the excellence of the British constitution they had less reason to apprehend a convulsion in Briton, than the continental governments had in their respective countries: yet were greatly alarmed, or perhaps they expressed greater alarm than they actually felt. They were naturally anxious at the same time to prevent the admission of French emissaries with Britain, and to call off the thoughts of the restless and discontented subjects of Britain to other subjects; of course they were by no means indisposed to seize on any fair excuse for going to war with France.

This pretext France was not long in giving. Perhaps, according to the principles of international law, especially that part of it which respects the commencement and fortification of hostilities, the British government were not justified in declaring war against France, merely because the French government had solemnly and publicly declared that they would assist any oppressed people; though perhaps, without much consistency this line of conduct may be regarded as in fact tantamount to a declaration of hostilities. In this light the British government undoubtedly viewed it; but as there was no precedent for

commencing hostilities on such a ground, they waited till French aggression supplied this ground.

As Austria from the connection of the emperor with the Queen of France, was most immediately and deeply interested in the affairs of France, she was among the first to oppose by force of arms the revolution; the contest was carried on in the Netherlands, and the French armies having been successful, and having gained possession of the Austrian Netherlands which they had annexed to France, opened the river Scheldt, for the purpose of benefitting Antwerp. The opening of this river of course would prove highly detrimental to the commerce of Amsterdam, and on that account it had been shut by a solemn treaty, of which treaty, Britain was the guarantee. According to it, whenever Holland called upon Britain to prevent the opening of the Scheldt, Britain was obliged to come forward with all her means for that purpose; on this occasion however, the Scheldt was opened, and Holland was silent, at least no official call for assistance was ever brought forward. The British government, however, thought this too good an opportunity to go to war with France to be neglected.

One of the first measures of the British government which the French regarded as hostile, was the passing of an Alien Bill in the latter end of the year 1792; it was entitled an act for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, and resident therein in certain cases. The reasons on which this bill was founded, the British ministry did not explain, as they alleged that the information which they had received of plots against the government, was of too delicate a nature to be laid open. Soon after the commencement of the French Revolution, a difference of opinion arose among the opposition members of parliament. The Duke of Portland, Earl Spencer, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Windham, as well as several others of inferior note, separated themselves from Mr.

Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, &c. ; the former, of course, defended the Alien Bill, while the latter opposed it.

Soon after this bill was passed, another bill was introduced into parliament, to enable his majesty to restrain the exportation of naval stores, particularly salt-petre, arms, and ammunition; and in the course of the month of December, 1794, an order of council was issued for preventing the exportation of corn to France; and some ships which had already taken in their cargoes, were compelled to unlade.

The next important business which employed the attention of the House of Commons, was a message from His Majesty presented on the 28th of January, 1793, which in fact, announced the commencement of hostilities against France.

On the 11th of March, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Pitt explained the nature of the ways and means which he meant to propose; he stated that he intended to bring the unfunded debt every year to a distinct account; and in conformity with this principle he proposed the payment of the navy debt, in order to reduce its establishment. He then proceeded to state the several items of the supply; we shall of course confine ourselves to that part which regards the navy, which was as follows:

Twenty-five thousand seamen, including marines	£1,300,000	0	0
Twenty thousand seamen additional.....	1,040,000	0	0
Ordinary of the navy	669,205	5	10
Extraordinary of the navy.....	387,710	0	0
Excess of navy debt beyond the estimate.....	575,000	0	0

Making up a total for the navy of.....£3,971,915 5 10

As soon as the British government had come to the resolution of engaging in hostilities with France, they di-

rected the entire energy and resources of the empire to that object; but unfortunately for the success of their cause, as well as for the consistency of their measures, they did not act on a uniform plan. Some of their hostile operations looked as if their sole object was to strip France of her colonial possessions for the idle purpose of enriching and aggrandizing Britain, while other hostile operations that they carried on, looked as if their object were exclusively what they represented it to be, the repression of the intermeddling and unjust spirit by which the French government and people were actuated. In another respect also, the measures of the British ministry were at variance with the pleas on which they justified going to war, and the object which they solemnly declared they had alone in view; for though they declared they did not wish to intermeddle with the internal affairs of France, yet in some instances they proclaimed themselves the allies of Louis, by taking possession of places in his name. These observations will be clearly and explicitly illustrated in the following narrative.

In almost every war betwixt Great Britain and France, the West India islands have been among the first and principal scenes of contest: at the beginning of this war, the British ministry directed their efforts against the French colonies in this quarter of the world with considerable hope of success: these hopes rested on various grounds. In the first place, the French West India islands in general were not in a good state of defence: the French had not long anticipated war, and even after they did, they were too much occupied with their revolution, and the defence of their territories in Europe to provide adequate or speedy means of protection for their distant possessions. In the second place, the republican and royalist parties in the West India islands were more nearly poised than they were in France, consequently the islands were much weakened against external foes, or

rather, as the royalists naturally inclined to Britain, the islands seemed likely to fall into her power. Lastly, soon after the commencement of the revolution, the French government sent out emissaries or commissioners, who not only widened the differences already existing between the royalists and republicans, but also stirred up the black population. From a consideration of all these circumstances, the British government confidently anticipated the speedy and easy reduction of the French West India Islands.

About the beginning of April in 1793, a British squadron under the command of Sir John Laforey, sailed against Tobago; and having easily succeeded in gaining possession of this island, it was resolved to make an attempt against Martinique: in this island the disputes between the royalists and the republicans were very violent; and the former naturally wishing for the assistance of the British, as naturally represented their force as greater, and the force of their opponent as less than it really was. Led on by this misrepresentation, Admiral Gardner attempted a descent upon the island; but it proved fatal only to the royalists, as he found on his arrival off the island, the republican party too strong, and was under the painful and disagreeable necessity of re-embarking his troops. Nor was this the worst consequence of the attempt; for the admiral having been obliged to reembark with great haste, could not take with him all those royalists who had invited him, and espoused his party: consequently many of them were left to the fury and vengeance of the republicans.

As in some parts of France there still existed a strong party in favour of Louis, the British ministry formed the plan of assisting this party. Their efforts were first directed to Toulon. Admiral Hood was at this time cruising in the Mediterranean, and he was ordered to assist the Toulonnese, if they were disposed to receive his assistance,

and to declare for Louis. According on the 23d of August he addressed a preliminary declaration to the inhabitants of the city.

In this declaration he told them, that if a candid and explicit declaration of monarchy was made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty were hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts previously placed at his disposal so as to allow of the British ships passing in and out with perfect safety; then, if these things were complied with and done, the Admiral assured the inhabitants of Provence, that they should have all the assistance and support which the fleet under his command would give; that no private property of any individual, whatever his previous principles or conduct might have been, should be injured, but on the contrary protected; as the British government by whom he was sent, empowered and instructed, had no other object in view but that of restoring peace, order and tranquillity to a great nation upon just, liberal, and honourable terms. On these terms he assured them he should form the treaty, which he trusted they would accept. He moreover solemnly and explicitly assured them, that whenever peace took place, which he hoped and trusted would be soon; the port, with all the ships in the harbour, and forts of Toulon should be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeably to the schedule that might be delivered.

On the same day Lord Hood addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants in the towns and provinces of the south of France. In this proclamation he called to their mind that during fours years they had been involved in all the horrors of a revolution: from this revolution they had been promised, and perhaps had themselves anticipated, the most salutary and happy consequences; but they must now be aware by dreadful experience, how unfounded and false these promises and anticipations had been: he

recalled to their minds how often and how dreadfully they had been deceived by their factious leaders, who robbed them while they held forth the idea of liberty: who, while every where preaching up respect to persons and property were constantly employed in acting in direct opposition to what they preached: they have amused you with the sovereignty of the people which they have constantly usurped; they have declared against the abuses of royalty, in order to establish their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne still reeking with the blood of your legitimate sovereign. Lord Hood then proceeds to paint in glowing colours the pressure of want; the privation of all specie: commerce and industry annihilated:—agriculture checked. This dreadful situation had deeply and sensibly affected the allied powers; they saw no other remedy but the re-establishment of the French monarch; it was for this and the acts of aggression committed by the executive power of France, that Britain had armed in conjunction with the other powers. Lord Hood then informed them, that after mature reflection on these topics, he had come to offer them the force with which he was entrusted by his sovereign in order to spare the further effusion of blood, to crush the factious, and to restore tranquillity to France and to the rest of Europe. He concluded this proclamation, by calling on the inhabitants of the South of France to decide peremptorily; and informed them that if they did, their wants would be immediately supplied. In the name of Britain, he had already given an unequivocal testimony of his sincerity to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles; by granting to the commissioners sent on board his fleet, a passport for procuring a quantity of grain.

To this proclamation there was sent in reply, a declaration of the general committee of the sections of Toulon; in this declaration they state that considering the dreadful situation of France, torn by faction which threaten its total destruction; considering that the southern provinces,

though anxious to free themselves from the tyranny of these factions, are unable to do it without assistance; and considering that it is preferable to have recourse to the sovereignty of a loyal people; the general committee declared to Admiral Hood that the inhabitants of Toulon, desirous of obtaining the constitution of 1789, proclaimed Louis XVII., the son of Louis XVI.; that the white flag shall be hoisted the moment that the English squadron anchors in the roads of Toulon; that the ships of war shall be disarmed; that the citadel and the forts shall be garrisoned by an equal number of English and French troops, commanded however by an English officer; that the inhabitants of Toulon look with confidence to the English for assistance against the army of Italy, at that time marching against the city; that they trust, those who hold military and civil employments will be continued in them by Admiral Hood. That subsistence of every kind shall be supplied to the inhabitants, and that when peace is restored, the ships &c. now delivered shall be given up again.

On the 28th of August Admiral Hood took possession of Toulon; at which time he issued another proclamation, in which he declared, that as the inhabitants of that place had made a solemn declaration in favour of monarchy, and had proclaimed Louis XVII. son of Louis XVI., he repeated what he had already declared to the people of the South of France, that he took possession of Toulon, and held it in trust only for Louis XVII, till peace should be re-established in France.

Toulon, however, was not long destined to remain in possession of the allied powers: the French army in the south of France first directed its attacks against Marseilles, and as soon as it was reduced, the siege of Toulon was commenced. As the republicans rapidly gained important advantages, General O'Hara, about the beginning of November, was sent from Gibraltar with reinforcements, having been appointed by his Britannic majesty's commis-

sioner, governor and commander-in-chief. On the 30th of this month the garrison made a sortie, in order to destroy some batteries: in this they were successful; but unfortunately, being elated by their success, they rushed forward, when they unexpectedly encountered a considerable force, which was proceeding to cover the retreat of the fugitives. At this moment General O'Hara arrived at the spot, and while he was using his utmost endeavours to bring off his troops, he received a wound in his arm, and was made prisoner.

Soon after this diastrous event it was deemed absolutely necessary to evacuate Toulon. On the morning of the 19th of December, the attack began on the part of the republicans: it was chiefly directed against an English redoubt; the attack began at five in the morning, and by six o'clock the redoubt was carried. The allies dismayed by the circumstance, evacuated the other forts, and began to take measures for removing their ships out of the reach of the shot and shells, which the republicans constantly poured upon them. More than four hundred oxen, sheep, and hogs, with large quantities of stores and provisions of all sorts, and upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon fell into the possession of the French.

But the most dreadful scene was yet to come: the royalists in Toulon knew that they must expect no mercy from the republicans; but that, on the contrary, every mode of revenge and punishment would be exhausted upon them as soon as their opponents gained possession of the city. Lord Hood was also fully sensible of this, but unfortunately he had not the means or the opportunity of bringing off all the royalists in the manner and with the speed he wished: it must be confessed also, that there seems to have been a want of plan and foresight on this melancholy occasion; and probably the royalists in their extreme anxiety to get away, created the confusion which was fatal to many of them. The town was bombarded

from noon till ten o'clock of the evening of the 19th, when the allies and part of the inhabitants, having first set fire to the town and shipping, precipitated their flight: two shaloupes, crowded with the fugitives, were sunk by the batteries; a great part of the ships and property fell into the hands of the republicans. The royalists as soon as they observed the preparations for the evacuation of the town, crowded to the shores, and in all the violence of grief and fear, clamourously demanded that protection which had been promised them on the faith of Britain. Great efforts were made by the British sailors to rescue these unfortunate people, but thousands were unavoidably left to the vengeance of their own countrymen. Many of them plunged into the sea, and made a vain effort to swim on board the ships. Others were seen on the beach in the act of shooting themselves: during all this, the flames were spreading in every direction, and the ships that were set on fire, were expected every instant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. In the mean time, the scenes on board the British ships were scarcely less dreadful and appalling. In them were crowded in utter confusion and inexpressible agony and apprehensions, aged men and infants as well as women; besides the sick from all the hospitals, and the mangled soldiers from the posts just deserted, with their wounds fresh, bleeding, and undressed. These scenes struck the eye on all sides, while horrible screams of distraction, pain, and apprehension, mixed with the lamentations of those who had lost their fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, children, and friends, met the ear in every direction.

Such is a very faint and inadequate description of the circumstances that occurred during the evacuation of Toulon; and to encrease the distress on board the ships, they were without sufficient provision for this mixed and

helpless multitude; and a great part of the provision which they actually had, was almost unfit for use.

Of thirty-one ships of the line which Lord Hood found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind; nine were burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn: Lord Hood had previously sent four away to Brest and Rochfort, with five thousand republican seamen, whom he was afraid to trust. Great Britain therefore obtained only by the capture of Toulon, three ships of the line and five frigates: these being all that Lord Hood was able to carry away.

We come now to narrate the single actions of the year 1793. The first which we have to record, has certainly not been equalled during either of the revolutionary wars, for determined and well supported bravery on both sides.

This action took place between His Majesty's ship *La Nymphé*, commanded by Captain Edward Pellew, and the National French frigate, *La Cleopatra*, commanded by Monsieur Jean Mullen: the latter mounted forty guns, had on board three hundred and twenty, and had been out three days from St. Malon.

At day-light on the 18th of June, the British frigate fell in with her opponent in the British Channel: she was brought to close action at half-past six; and in the short space of fifty-five minutes, she was a prize to *La Nymphé*: the two ships having fallen on board each other, the British boarded her from the quarter deck, and struck her colours; but finding it impossible to clear the ships, then hanging head and stern, they were brought to anchor after *La Nymphé* had received on board one hundred and fifty prisoners. Captain Pellew in his official account of this engagement, has the generous candour explicitly to state, that the enemy fought him like brave men, neither ship firing a shot till *La Nymphé* had hailed her opponent. The Captain of the

French frigate was killed, and three lieutenants were wounded: she lost also upwards of sixty of her men. On board the British frigate there were twenty-three men killed and twenty-seven wounded.

A very desperate action took place on the coast of America, off Sandy Hook, on the 1st of August, between the Boston frigate, of thirty-two guns, and the Ambuscade a French frigate, of thirty-eight guns: the circumstances of the action were highly honourable to the memory of Captain Courtenay, who fell in it, and are as follow :

On the 31st of July the Boston arrived off Sandy Hook, and hoisted French colours, which decoyed the Ambuscade, then lying in that harbour, the captain of which sent off his first lieutenant, supposing the Boston to be one of her consorts; the boat was surprised, and the crew made prisoners. On this the French frigate made sail, and the Boston prepared for action.

The two ships soon met within pistol shot; the engagement lasted for upwards of two hours, during which the Boston had her masts and rigging much shattered. Captain Courtenay and the first lieutenant of the marines were both killed by the same shot. The Ambuscade had a tender with her which supplied her with fresh hands three different times. The Boston had eleven men killed and twenty wounded, besides the two officers; and finding the frigate an overmatch she steered away, and arrived at St. John's, in the Island of Newfoundland, much shattered in her hull and rigging.

While His Majesty's ship Crescent, commanded by Captain James Saumarez, was cruising on the 29th of October, off Cape Barfleur, she fell in with a French frigate, which after a close action of two hours and ten minutes struck her colours. She proved to be La Reunion, mounting thirty-six guns, and carrying three hundred and twenty men. The British ship was very fortunate in this engagement as she had not a single man either killed

or wounded, whereas on board of her opponent there were twenty killed and wounded.

As it is the object of this work to record not only the naval engagements and exploits of Britain, but also whatever displays her advancement in nautical knowledge and science, we shall make no apology for closing our narrative of the year 1793 with extracting a very valuable paper which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the year, and which we have no doubt will be instructive and interesting not only to our professional readers, but to our readers in general. As during the two French revolutionary wars many important discoveries and inventions were made by British acuteness, science, and industry, which materially contributed either to her naval supremacy, to the advancement of her naval knowledge and experience, or to the safety and preservation of her seamen, we shall occasionally introduce an account of them at the end of each year, and we shall in general prefer laying an account of them before our readers in the words of the discoverers or inventors themselves.

The paper to which we have alluded, and which we are now about to extract is entitled "Observations on a Current that often prevails to the westward of Scilly, endangering the safety of Ships that approach the British Channel; by James Rennell, Esq. F. R. S."

"It is a circumstance well known to seamen, that ships, in coming from the Atlantic, and steering a course for the British Channel, in a parallel somewhat to the south of the Scilly Islands, do notwithstanding often find themselves to the north of those islands: or, in other words, in the mouth of the St. George's, or of the Bristol Channel. This extraordinary error has passed for the effects either of bad steerage, bad observations of latitude, or the indraught of the Bristol Channel: but none of these account for it satisfactorily; because admitting that at times there may be an indraught. it cannot be supposed

to extend to Scilly; and the case has happened in weather the most favourable for navigating, and for taking observations. The consequences of this deviation from the intended track have very often been fatal; particularly in the loss of the Nancy packet, in our own times, and that of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and others of his fleet, at the beginning of the present century. Numbers of cases equally melancholy but of less celebrity have occurred; and many others, in which the danger has been imminent but not fatal, have scarcely reached the public ear. All of these have been referred to accident; and therefore no attempt seems to have been made to investigate the cause of them.

“ I am however of opinion that they may be imputed to a specific cause: namely, a current: and I shall therefore endeavour to investigate both that and its effects, that seamen may be apprized of the times when they are particularly to expect it, in any considerable degree of strength; for then only it is likely to occasion mischief; the current that prevails at ordinary times being probably too weak to produce an error in the reckoning, equal to the difference of parallel between the south part of Scilly and the tract that a commander, prudent in his measures, but unsuspecting of a current, would chuse to sail in.

It seems to be generally allowed that there is always a current setting round the Capes of Finisterre and Ortegal into the Bay of Biscay. This I have the authority of Captain Mendoza Rios, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an officer in the royal navy of Spain, for asserting. Besides such an intimation was amongst the earliest notices that I received concerning matters of navigation, when on board of a ship that sailed close along the north coast of Spain, in 1757. The current then is admitted to set to the eastward along the coast of Spain, and continues its course, as I am assured, along the coast of France to the north and north-west; and indeed any

body of water once set in motion along a coast cannot suddenly stop; nor does it probably lose that motion until by degrees it mixes with the ocean; after being projected into it, either from the side of some promontory that extends very far beyond the general direction of the coast, or after being conducted into it through a strait.

“ The original cause of this current I apprehend to be the prevalence of the westerly winds in the Atlantic, which impelling the waters along the north coast of Spain, occasions a current in the first instance. The stronger the wind the more water will be driven into the Bay of Biscay, in a given time; and the longer the continuance of the wind, the farther will the vein of current extend.

“ It seems to be clearly proved that currents of water after running along a coast that suddenly changes its direction, (as happens on the French coast, at the promontory south of Brest) do not change their course with that of the shore, but preserve for a considerable time the direction which they received from the coast they last ran by. In some instances after being projected into the sea they never again approach the shore, but preserve to a very great distance nearly the direction in which they were projected, as well as a considerable degree of their original velocity and temperature. The gulf stream of Florida is a wonderful instance of this kind, which originating in a body of pent-up waters, in the Gulf of Mexico, is discharged with such velocity through the Straits of Bahama, that its motion is traceable through the Atlantic to the bank of Newfoundland, and may possibly extend much farther. This being therefore the case we can have no difficulty in conceiving that the current of the Bay of Biscay continues its course, which may be about north-west by west from the coast of France to the westward of Scilly and Ireland.

“ At ordinary times its strength may not be great

enough to preserve its line of direction across the mouth of the British Channel; or, if it does preserve its direction, it may not have velocity enough to throw a ship so far out of her course as to put her in danger. But that a current prevails generally there can be little doubt, and its degree of strength will be regulated by the state of the winds. After a long interval of moderate westerly gales it may be hardly perceptible; for a very few miles of nothing, in the twenty-four hours, will be referred to bad steerage or some other kind of error; but after hard and continued gales from the western quarter the current will be felt in a considerable degree of strength; and not only in the parallel of Scilly, but in that of the south-west coast of Ireland likewise.

“ Our observation of what passes in the most common waters is sufficient to shew how easily a current may be induced, by the action of the wind on the water contiguous to a bank, when the wind blows along it. In a canal of about four miles in length the water was kept up four inches higher at one end than at the other, by the mere action of the wind along the canal. This was an experiment made, and reported to me, by my much lamented acquaintance, the late Mr. Smeaton. We know also the effects of a strong south-west, or north-west wind on our own coasts: namely, that of raising very high tides in the British Channel, or in the Thames, and on the eastern coasts, as those winds respectively blow: because the water that is accumulated cannot escape quick enough by the Strait of Dover, to allow of the level being preserved. Also that the Baltic is kept up two feet at least by a strong north-west wind of any continuance: and that the Caspian Sea is higher by several feet, at either end, as a strong northerly or southerly wind prevails. Therefore as water pent up in a situation from which it cannot escape, acquires a higher level, so in a place where it can escape, the same operation produces a

current, and this current will extend to a greater or less distance, according to the force with which it is set in motion; or in other words according to the height at which it is kept up by the wind.

“ It may possibly be asked why a similar current does not prevail in the British Channel from the same westerly winds? To this I answer, that the increased height and velocity of the tides, during the prevalence of such winds, prove that a part at least of the same effect which happens in the Bay of Biscay, is produced in the channel; and I have little doubt that there is in fact a current also; but that as it is blended with the common tide, the effect on the senses is lost; for it may appear only in the form of a stronger flood tide, or a weaker ebb than at other times. Whereas the bay, a wider space and of a different form, allows a freer scope to the tides than the British Channel does: it being high water nearly at the same time all over the bay, but varying in the channel at least five hours. And it may be concluded from analogy that the form of the channel does not allow of the same effect being produced by the wind on its included waters, as may be produced on those of the bay: these meeting with an opposition in the coast of France, the others having a partial exit at the Strait of Dover; we may also conclude that if no such phenomenon as a tide existed, a current, though less strong than in the bay, would be perceived in the British Channel.

“ Of the Bay of Biscay it may be observed that by reason of its form, and exposure to the reigning winds, which are often violent, and which pass over a vast expanse of water, there is no part of the ocean familiarly known to us whose circumstances are in any degree similar to it. It ought not therefore to surprise us if we find that it differs, in any particular, from other seas. Seamen have remarked its uncommon degree of agitation in stormy weather; but this has not, as far as I know,

been properly accounted for. May it not be owing generally to the same cause as that which produces the current? and at times to the very current itself? With respect to the first—the waves of a deep bay or gulf, when the wind forces the water into it, will meet with a resistance in the land at the head of it, which must occasion a reverberation that will render the surface of a great part of the gulf more unquiet than where there is an opening at the end, to allow the undulatory motion a freer scope. What is said here is exemplified on a small scale, by Mr. Smeaton's very ingenious manner of quieting Ramsgate harbour. (See his Tract on that harbour, page 45.) And with respect to the second cause—the effect of a current running to windward, in producing a short, hollow, and therefore dangerous wave, is pretty well known. Accordingly at seasons when the current runs strong, and the wind blows fresh from the north-west quarter, this cause must also contribute to the agitation of the water in the north part of the bay.

“ It is quite uncertain at what interval of time, from the commencement of strong westerly gales, in the Atlantic and Bay of Biscay, the current may operate on the tracts of ships near Scilly; for we are not possessed of the data requisite for determining it. If we were to conceive a current originating on the coasts of Spain, and afterwards disturbing the courses of ships on the west of Scilly and Ireland; this would require too much time to agree with one of the instances which I mean to adduce: although it is probable that this may be nearly the effect at ordinary times, and when the westerly winds blow moderately. But as in one striking instance, it appears that the current operated in a very remarkable manner on the ship's course, on the fourth day after the commencement of the gale, in the quarter where the ship was; the cause should rather be looked for in the sudden and great accumulation of water in the Bay of Biscay;

otherwise there is no accounting for the sudden appearance of the current. And the very act of accumulation, causing an indraught, there will consequently be a current round the Capes of Finisterre and Ortegal, towards the bay. Be the exact cause however what it may, it no doubt originates in the bay, by the action of strong westerly winds; the prevalence of such winds will therefore be the signal for the appearance of a current, between Ushant and the south-west coast of Ireland; for though the cause can only be guessed at, the effect is too well ascertained to remain in doubt. .

“ I shall now adduce the facts on which the idea of the existence of a current is founded.

“ In crossing the eastern part of the Atlantic, in the *Hector East India* ship, in 1778, we encountered, between the parallels of 42 and 49, very strong westerly gales; but particularly between the 16th and 24th of January, when at intervals it blew with uncommon violence. It varied two or more points both to the north and south-west, but blew longest from the northern points; and it extended, as I afterwards learnt, from the coast of Nova Scotia to that of Spain.

“ We arrived within sixty or seventy leagues of the meridian of Scilly on the 30th of January, keeping between the parallels of 49 and 50; and about this time we began to feel a current, which set the ship to the north of her intended parallel by near half a degree, in the interval between two observations of latitude; that is, in two days. And the wind ever afterwards inclining to the south, would not permit us to regain the parallel; for although the northern set was trifling, from the 31st until we arrived very near Scilly, yet the wind being both scant and light, we could never overcome the tendency of the current. Add to this that the direction of the current being much more westerly than northerly, we crossed it on so very oblique a course that we continued in it a long

time, and were driven, as it appears, near thirty leagues to the west by it; for we had soundings in seventy-three fathoms, in the latitude of Scilly, and afterwards ran one hundred and fifty miles by the log directly east, before we came the length of the islands. In effect, in running one hundred and twenty miles we shallowed the water only nine fathoms.

“ We not only were sensible of the current by the observations of latitude, but by rippings on the surface of the water, and by the direction of the lead line. The consequence of all this was that we were driven to the north of Scilly; and were barely able to lay a course through the passage between those islands and the land’s end.

“ Having no time-keeper on board we were unable to ascertain the several points in this part of our tract, and therefore can only approximate our longitude, and that but very coarsely. But according to what we learnt from our soundings, and from a vessel which had only just entered the current, it may be concluded that the current at times extends to sixty leagues west of Scilly, and also runs close on the west of those islands. However the breadth of the stream may probably be little more than thirty leagues; for we crossed, as has been said, very obliquely, and perhaps in the widest part.

“ The journals of the *Atlas East India* ship, Captain Cooper, in 1787, furnishes much clearer proofs, both of the existence of the current, and of the rate of its motion: for having time-keepers on board, Captain Cooper was frequently enabled to note the difference between the true and the supposed longitude; and it may be said, that this journal, by the means it affords of ascertaining the current, is highly valuable; as containing some very important facts, and which might have been entirely lost to the public, had not Captain Cooper marked them, in the most pointed manner.

“ I shall proceed to state, in abstract, the most important of the facts recorded in the journal.

“ The *Atlas* sailed with a fair wind, and took her departure from the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of January, 1787; and on the 27th had advanced fifty-five leagues to the westward of Ushant; when a violent gale of wind began at south, and about eleven hours afterwards, changed suddenly to the westward. The gale continued through the four following days: on the 28th, it was generally west by south, and west-south-west; on the 29th south-west by west, or more southerly; and on the 30th and 31st, south-south-west, to south-west by south.

“ During this long interval, the ship was generally lying to; and with her head to the north-west. On the 1st of February, the wind abated, but still blew from the south-westward; and the ship was kept to the north-west. The stormy weather returned again the following day, and continued, with little intermission, until the 11th; blowing from all the intermediate points, between south and west-north west; but chiefly, and most violently, from the west-south-west, and south-west. At intervals, on the 8th and 9th in particular, the journal remarks, that “ it blew a mere hurricane.” On the 11th the weather growing more moderate, and the wind favourable, the ship proceeded on her course, southward; being then two degrees and a quarter of longitude to the west of Cape Finisterre, by the reckoning; but by the time-keepers, more than four degrees and a half.

“ After the above abstract of the proceedings of the ship, I shall subjoin the following particulars; which are the most in point to the purpose of the present discussion.

“ On the 27th, at noon, soon after the gale commenced, the longitude, by reckoning, agreed within fourteen minutes of that shewn by the time-keepers; the latter being the most westerly. This difference alone might well have arisen from an error in the log, or even in the position of

the needle point on the Isle of Wight, from whence the departure was taken; but it may also be owing to the westerly current, whilst the ship remained in it, on the 27th; if we admit that such a current prevails at all times, though in different degrees of strength. Here it is proper to remark that in delineating Captain Cooper's track on the chart, I have scrupulously adhered to the result of each day's work of the reckoning, as I find it in his journal; contenting myself with inserting my own observations on the track, in this paper only; where they cannot mislead.

“ The longitudes pointed out by the time-keepers on the 28th, 29th, and 30th, shew that the increasing though trifling differences between the true longitude and that by the dead reckoning, had amounted to twenty-four minutes only, on the 30th. At this time the ship was about twenty-four leagues to the west-south-west of Scilly; and, at five or six leagues to the south-south-east of this position, (that is, at twenty-five leagues south-west by west from Scilly) they had soundings at seventy fathom. This last particular is mentioned, to prove that the longitude shewn by the time-keepers ($8^{\circ} 28'$ west from London) was nearly the longitude in which the ship really was, on the 30th of January. That of St. Agnes (Scilly) is taken at $6^{\circ} 46'$

“ The Atlas was now entered into the stream of the same current which occasioned so much delay to the Hector; but the course of the Atlas, being opposite to that of the Hector, it facilitated her progress; and also carried her clear of the south-west coast of Ireland.

“ On the 31st, the time-keepers shewed that the ship had been set very considerably to the westward of the reckoning; and by the 2d of February, at three in the afternoon, it appeared that she had been set two whole degrees of longitude to the west of the reckoning, since

the 30th at noon ; that is, in the course of fifty-one hours. (Here it may be proper to remark, that I have, throughout, reckoned according to sea time ; that is, the day commences at noon.)

“ On the 3rd of February, at noon, the time-keepers shewed a further set of twenty-three minutes of longitude more than the reckoning gave, in the interval since the last observation, which was forty-five hours ; so that, since the 30th of January, four days only, the ship had been carried by the current, no less than two degrees and twenty-three minutes ; and since the 27th, when the gale began, $2^{\circ} 32'$ of longitude ; amounting, in these parallels, to ninety-nine marine miles. But here, the current appears to have totally left them ; and it is very probable, that it even ceased before the time of observation, on the 3d : for the succeeding observations of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, although the strong westerly gales continued, come so near the longitude by the reckoning (deduced from the observation of the 3rd) that the differences, which are sometimes to the east, and at other times to the west, may be with more propriety ascribed to errors of the log, than to a current ; as may be seen by the two tracts on the chart. We may therefore conclude, that the current did not cease at the very point of time when the observation of the 3d was taken, but probably some time before.

“ It appears then, that the Atlas experienced a westerly current, from a point about twenty-four leagues to the west-south-west of Scilly (if not earlier) to four degrees of longitude west of the meridian of Cape Clear, in the parallel of 51° ; where its effects were no longer perceptible. And, as no current was felt in the track southward, on the 11th ; nor in any part of the track to the north-west, between the 3d and 10th ; although it was felt nearly in the same line of direction, between the 1st and

3rd ; it may be inferred that the stream goes off to the north-west, between the aforesaid track, and the south-west of Ireland. It is much to be regretted that no observations appear on the 12th and 13th ; which would have been decisive of its course.

“ I come now to two particulars of the case, which, I confess, perplex me exceedingly. The first is, that the current was felt, apparently in its full strength, on the fourth day after the commencement of the gale ; which began at south, then changed suddenly to the west and west-south-west, and afterwards fixed in the south-west quarter. This gale was felt between the forty-eighth and fiftieth degrees of latitude, and, no doubt, extended its effects very far to the south and west ; but what the state of the winds had been in those quarters, previous to the 27th of January, we are ignorant. The winds in the British Channel had been easterly, for three days preceding the gale : the fourth day preceding, there had been strong gales at south-west ; and the five days preceding that, there had been chiefly light winds at west. According to this state of facts, we can only suppose that the current originated from a vast body of water pent up in the Bay of Biscay, by violent gales of wind ; first from the southward, eleven hours ; then from a point or two to the south of west ; and lastly, at south-west. We are not to consider the water of this current, as having made the circuit of the Bay of Biscay ; but as the collective body of pent up waters, in the Bay, running off along the south-west coast of Brittany, and thence to the north-westward ; preserving nearly the direction it had acquired, by running along that coast. And it may be conceived, that the frequent recurrence of westerly winds, keep up a constant current in the Bay, and to some distance beyond it ; although during the longest intermissions of these winds, the current may become so slow, as to be scarce perceptible.

“ The second particular which perplexes me, is, that no northern set is indicated by Captain Cooper’s journal: that is to say, by the mode in which each day’s log is wrought: and which, in the formation of the chart, as is said before, I have strictly adhered to. It indeed appears to me very wonderful, that no northing should appear, when it seems to be the very same kind of current which carried the *Hector* so far to the northward. It is certain, that the state of the weather was such, as to preclude those nice attentions to the reckoning, which might enable us to detect any small differences between the latitude by account, and that by observation; although the western set was too considerable to escape notice, and may even have been more than the statement sets forth. I cannot therefore, by any means, admit, that there was no northing in the current through which the *Atlas* passed; first, because they had not observations of latitude, regularly; and lastly, because on the 31st of January, when lying to, thirty-six miles are allowed for twenty hours drift, to the north-west; which appears to me excessive. On that day they had no observation of latitude, and on the following day, the observation shewed two miles northing; which however proves nothing. Again, on the succeeding day, (the 2d) in a most important point of the track, there was no observation of latitude.

“ In the *Hector*, precisely in the same track, and at the same season of the year, the current had, as has been observed, a considerable degree of northing in its course. On two days it was about twelve miles each; on another day thirteen, and on two others, nine and eight; and this, in weather very favourable for keeping a reckoning, and with observations of latitude, on every day save one; not to mention the strong circumstances of a visible set, to the northward, indicated, as well by the lead line, as by the rippling on the surface of the water. It is in the nature of currents to expand their streams or columns of water after

being projected into the ocean ; and therefore, according to this law, the middle part of the stream should preserve its original course, in a greater degree than the borders of it ; so that the middle part may run to the north-west by west, whilst the eastern border may run more northerly and the western border more westerly. It is certain, that in the Hector, we felt the northerly current much stronger, close on the west of Scilly, than further out ; and it appeared by the distance we ran, after sounding in seventy-three fathoms, that the current must have set much more westerly than northerly, the whole time.

“ The following remarks obviously occur, on the effect of this current :

“ 1st. Whatever may be the breadth of the stream, (which is at present unknown) if a ship crosses it very obliquely, that is, in an east by south, or more southerly direction (as may easily happen, on finding herself too far to the northward, at the first place of observation, after she gets into the current), she will, of course, continue much longer in it, and will be more affected by it, than if she steered more directly across it. She will be in a similar situation if she crosses it with light winds ; and both of these circumstances should be attended to. And if it be true, as I suspect it is, that the eastern border of the current has a more northerly direction than the middle of it, this also should be guarded against. I conceive also, that the stream is broader in the parallel of Scilly, than farther south. And here we may remark, that those who, from a parallel south of Scilly have been carried clear of it to the north when approaching it in the night, may esteem themselves fortunate that the current was so strong ; for had it been weaker, they might have been carried on the rocks.

“ 2nd. A good observation of latitude, at noon, would be thought a sufficient warrant for running eastward during a long night : yet as it may be possible to remain in

the current long enough to be carried from a parallel that may be deemed a very safe one, to that of the rocks of Scilly, in the course of such a night; it would appear prudent, after experiencing a continuance of strong westerly gales in the Atlantic, and approaching the Channel with light southerly winds, either to make Ushant, or at all events to keep in the parallel of $48^{\circ}, 45'$, at the highest. If they keep in $49^{\circ}, 30'$, they will experience the whole effect of the current, in a position where they can least remedy the evil: but if in $48^{\circ}, 45'$, they are assailed by the north-west current, they are still in a position from whence a southerly wind will carry them into the Channel. But all ships that cross the Atlantic, and are bound to the eastward of the Lizard, had better make Ushant, under the above circumstances, in times of peace. Or, at all events, why should they run in a parallel in which they are likely to lose ground?

“ 3rd. Ships, bound to the westward, from the mouth of the Channel, with the wind in the south-west quarter, so that it may appear indifferent which tack they go on, should prefer the larboard tack, as they will then have the benefit of the current.

“ 4th. I understand that the light-house of Scilly is either removed, or to be removed, to the south-west part of the islands; or of the high rocks. This is certainly a wise measure; as the light should be calculated more particularly for ships that have a long, than a short departure; like those from any part of the European coasts, to the northward, or eastward. The light-house ought also to be built very lofty. I am sorry to remark, that, as far as my observation has gone, this light has never appeared clear and bright, as a light to direct ships ought to do.

“ 5th. It would be worth the attention of government (in my humble opinion) to send a vessel with time-keepers on board, in order to examine and note the soundings be-

tween the parallels of Scilly and Ushant at least ; from the meridian of the Lizard Point, as far west as the moderate depths extend ; I mean such as can be ascertained with exactness, in the ordinary method of sounding. I have reason to suppose that our chart of soundings is very bad ; and indeed, how can it be otherwise, considering the imperfect state of the art of marine surveying, at the time when it was made ? A set of time-keepers will effect more, in the course of a summer, in the hands of a skilful practitioner, than all the science of Dr. Halley, during a long life ; for who could place a single cast of soundings in the open sea, without the aid of a time-keeper ? The current in question must have disturbed every operation of this kind. It should be the task of the person so employed, to note all the varieties of bottom as well as the depths ; the time of high and low water ; setting of the tides, and currents, &c. Such a survey, skilfully conducted, might enable mariners to supply the want of observations of latitude, and of longitude ; and of course, to defy the current as far as relates to its power of misleading them.

“ 6th. It is certain that the current in question may be somewhat disturbed by, or rather will appear to be blended with, the tides, at the entrance of the British and St. George’s Channels ; but it is obvious that the current will have the same effect in setting a ship out of her course, as if no tide existed ; because, whatever effect one tide may have, the next will nearly do away. But there are two particulars well worth ascertaining ; and these are, first, the point at which the two tides of St. George’s, and of the British Channel, separate, on the west of Scilly. And secondly, what degree of northing one of the streams has more than the other. Because a ship, in approaching Scilly, from the west, on a flood tide, and keeping in a parallel which may be to the north of the point of separation of the two tides, (and consequently in the tide-stream of St. George’s Channel) may be thrown too far

to the north; although had she been far enough to the west to receive the effect of the next ebb, this temporary and alternate derangement of the course would have had no ill effect, or even have been noticed. But admitting that a tide, with any degree of northing in it, does take place a little to the west of Scilly, this will furnish an additional reason for keeping in a southern parallel."

The debates during the year 1794, respecting the navy, and the conduct of the maritime part of the war, were peculiarly animated and interesting; this arose from several circumstances; in the first place, it seemed evident to the opposition, even at this very early stage of the war, that the French nation, roused and goaded on as they were, by what they considered the unjust interference of foreign nations, were not likely to be conquered or reduced to the necessity of restoring their legitimate government in nearly so short a time or with nearly so much facility as the British ministry expected and prophesied; hence the opposition concluded that the war would be very long, very expensive and oppressive to the British people; and most probably, when it did terminate, of no avail. In the second place, the opposition were averse to the war, because it necessarily brought, and kept the British nation connected closely with the continental sovereigns, who certainly were not actuated by any spirit of liberty or feeling of justice in their hostility against France. Lastly, the opposition regarded the conduct of the war on the part of the British ministry as by no means marked with that vigour and promptitude which alone, if any thing could, would bring it to a speedy and satisfactory termination.

Actuated by these motives, and it is to be apprehended, in addition to these, by that desire to oppose and thwart ministers, which must always exist and operate wherever there is a regular party in Parliament against ministers, the opposition eagerly seized every opportunity

of canvassing in the most strict and scrupulous manner, the financial state of the country,—the views and plans of ministers, and the manner in which the military and naval operations planned by them, had been conducted.

When, on the 27th of January, 1794, Lord Arden brought forward a motion for a supply of eighty-five thousand seamen, including twelve thousand one hundred and fifteen marines for the service of the year, Mr. Fox observed, that, on the motion for an address to His Majesty, Mr. Dundas had asserted that the exertions of the navy had never been better conducted, particularly respecting convoys. Mr. Fox added, that he had been surprised at the assertion at the time when it was made, and he had since made diligent and full enquiry on the subject, the result of which was, that he was satisfied the assertion of Mr. Dundas was incorrect. The Baltic fleet had all been in danger of being captured; and sixteen or seventeen had actually been taken into the ports of Norway. The Quebec fleet had sailed under the protection of one ship only, and that he understood was unfit for sea: of this fleet, part was destined to Britain, which indeed had been saved, not on account of the strength of its convoy, but because it did not chance to fall in with the enemy; but that part which was bound for Spain and Portugal were partly captured. Mr. Fox next enquired, whether a whole fleet was not ready to sail from the West Indies about the 15th of May, which was detained solely for want of convoy, till the 23rd of August. But there was another circumstance still more degrading to English feelings: six frigates of the enemy had been masters of the channel for a considerable time, and had, according to the information which he received, taken twenty-six sail of very valuable prizes. A fleet destined for the West Indies had been detained by the rumour of a French fleet being out, and this at a time when the ministers de-

clared every thing was protected. Mr. Fox concluded his speech, with maintaining, that admitting all that had been said respecting the conduct of the naval service this war, that it was as well managed as during any former war; was it any thing wonderful or praiseworthy, that Great Britain in the plenitude of her power should be equal in her navy to what she had been in former occasions? there could be no matter for wonder, congratulation, or thanks to ministers, if, after having deprived France of her navy we should afterwards be able to protect ourselves at sea, and do what was done in the year 1778, when we had to contend against the navies of France, Spain, and Holland, united. He had, however, made some enquiries, and the result was, that he doubted whether more of our ships were taken in the year 1778 than we had lost since the commencement of the present war. Mr. Fox then read a statement taken from Lloyd's list, of the vessels captured from the 1st of February, 1793, to the 1st of February, 1794, from which it appeared that there was a balance of ninety-four ships in favour of the French against the combined powers.

This speech brought up Mr. Pitt, who said he would confine himself to a very simple consideration: viz. whether there had been any material neglect in the conduct of our naval affairs; for it would not be expected, even if our navy were twice as numerous as it actually was, that it could entirely, and at all times secure our ships from capture. If any of the Quebec fleet were lost, it must have been after they had separated from the convoy: the delay respecting the Mediterranean fleet arose from a desire to enquire into the force and station of the enemy. He admitted that six French frigates had, during a short time, cruized unmolested in the British Channel; yet admitting this, he thought our success on the whole, exceeded our most sanguine expectations. We had protected and safely

brought home our East and West India trades, and made great exertions in the Mediterranean, where we had a large fleet;—we had given a decisive blow to the French maritime power at Toulon, and had blocked up the whole of the Mediterranean till this was effected. Admiral Gardner next rose, and gave an account of several convoys which had protected ships of great value, and mentioned that the whole of the victualling fleet from Ireland, except one ship, had arrived safely. After some remarks in reply from Mr. Fox and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and some observations from Mr. Sheridan respecting the alleged defenceless state of Halifax, the resolution for the eighty-five thousand seamen was agreed to.

The total supplies for the navy granted by Parliament this year were as follow :

JANUARY 31.

For 85,000 seamen, including 12,115 marines £4,420,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 4.

Ordinary of the navy	558,021 11 3
Extra navy.....	547,310 0 0
Total.....	<u>£5,525,331 11 3</u>

Mr. Sheridan, as we have just observed, briefly noticed the defenceless state of Halifax and Nova Scotia during the campaign of 1793. On the 21st of February he introduced this subject in a more regular and full manner. He contended that whoever was master of the sea must be master of the West Indies; but we could not be so if we had not Halifax for a place of refuge for our ships during the hurricane season. He then recapitulated the nature of the defence of this place in the year 1754, when it was the great rendezvous of our fleets and armies. After the peace in the year 1763, six regiments of foot, five

frigates and a fifty gun ship were stationed there, and this force was increased in the American war. In the year 1783 there were six regiments, a fifty gun ship and five frigates. Whereas in 1793, when Admiral Gardner's fleet was taken by surprise, only one sloop of war was stationed in that quarter; while the land forces consisted only of two regiments and one company of artillery, containing about ninety men. The property at Halifax was worth between two and three millions, and yet this was protected only by three hundred and fifty men. With respect to the naval defence in July, 1793, Admiral Gardner sailed with a convoy for the West Indies. On the 24th of June the French fleet sailed from St. Domingo for America. Thus Halifax was left unprotected. The French fleet arrived on the coast of America in August, and sailed avowedly for Halifax in October. Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to give a list of the French squadron; noticed the capture and interruptions of the Halifax traders on the coast, and proved from the Halifax newspapers the notoriety of the danger to which it was exposed. The valuable stores and ammunition were only saved by a mutiny in the enemy's fleet, which obliged the commander to abandon his object and return to Europe. Mr. Sheridan after dwelling on other topics, concluded by moving for copies of the letters from General Ogilvie, of the returns of the effective force of Governor Wentworth's corps, and other official documents.

Mr. Dundas rose in reply: he was sorry to be obliged to withhold the letters of Governor Wentworth; he denied the weak state of Halifax, on the authority of letters from General Ogilvie, and from other respectable quarters. Considering that there was not the least ground for the accusations against ministers brought forward by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dundas considered the production of the papers totally unnecessary.

On the 3rd of April a most important topic was brought

forward in the House of Lords. On this day Lord Hawkesbury called the attention of the house to the naval trade and commerce of the kingdom, and the different laws and regulations by which it was governed. In consequence of their judicious and politic nature, as well as their beneficial effects and tendency, his lordship maintained that our trade was not only extended, but that we also provided such a number of sailors in time of war as we should be totally unable to collect by any other means. Even in this judicious plan, however, there were some defects which he was most extremely anxious to remove and remedy: his mode of remedy, however, he did not think it prudent or safe to apply till peace was re-established; but on the arrival of this happy event, when sixty or seventy thousand men must necessarily be discharged from His Majesty's navy, he intended to make such a provision as might render their services available immediately on the breaking out of a new war.

The chief clause of the bill which he meant to introduce, would be to compel all British merchant ships not to employ above one fourth of foreign sailors. There were indeed laws on this point, but latterly they had been much infringed, and were not indeed sufficiently definite and strict. Another clause would regard the coasting trade: this, in time of peace, he wished to be confined to British mariners, so that not only would fuller and greater employment be given to them at a time when they most needed it, but foreigners would be precluded from obtaining an accurate acquaintance with our coasts. Another clause of great importance related to the outgoing ships with the freedom of the British ports: by this we should be enabled to know the number and admeasurement of the ships belonging to this country, and every circumstance relating to them; but the law at present was defective, in being liable to evasion; as in the instance of a ship that was sold at the Savannah, and had

traded to different countries under the privileges of a British vessel without these forms; but being at length observed, was stopped in the West Indies, and the judges had decided that as it was sold out of England it could not make the proper entry in the register. When the matter was brought before the Privy Council, Lord Camden gave it as his opinion, that the intention of the law in that case was, that every ship having freedom of the British ports, if sold abroad, should return to England to be re-registered. This his lordship meant to establish, in order to prevent such vessels as no longer belonged to this country from continuing to enjoy the privileges of our free ports.

His lordship next gave an account of the actual state of the shipping of Great Britain; by which it appeared that there were sixteen thousand and seventy-nine ships, measuring more than one million of tons, and employing above one hundred and eighteen thousand sailors belonging to Great Britain; of which twelve thousand ships employed one hundred and seven thousand mariners belonging to England alone. Liverpool in the American war fitted out privateers of which the tonnage and sailors exceeded those sent out by Queen Elizabeth against the Spanish armada.

He next gave the following account of the tonnage of English shipping at various periods :

	Tons of English Shipping.
The Restoration1663-9	95,266
The Revolution1668	190,553
The peace of Ryswick1697	144,264
The last years of William III.1700-1-2	273,693
The wars of Queen Anne.....1709-12	285,156
The first of George I.1712-14-15....	421,431
The first of George II.....1726-27-28....	432,352
The years of peace1736-37-38....	476,941
The war of1739-40-41....	384,191
The years of peace.....1749-50-51....	609,798
The war of1755-56-57....	451,254

		Tons of English Shipping.
The first of George III. war.....	1760	471,241
Ditto.....	1761	508,220
The years of peace.....	1764-65-66	639,872
The years of peace.....	1772-73-74	795,943
The American war.....	1775-6-7	760,793
The French war.....	1778	657,283
The Spanish war.....	1779	590,911
The Dutch war.....	1781	547,953
The years of peace.....	1784-5-6	926,780
Ditto.....	1790-1-2	1,329,979

Lord Hawkesbury concluded his speech by moving for the first reading of the bill, which passed the House.

We have already mentioned that in consequence of a decided difference of opinion between Mr. Fox and several of his old friends, on the subject of the French revolution, and the war in which Britain was engaged, brought on by that event, the ministry were greatly strengthened both in the House of Lords and House of Commons. It was natural to suppose that at least the most important of these persons who had thus gone over to the ministerial side, would be put into official situations: accordingly, towards the end of the year, the Earl of Chatham, who had hitherto been the first lord of the Admiralty, resigned his situation, and the Earl Spencer was appointed in his stead.

Having thus given an account of the principal events and circumstances relating to what may be called the civil history of the navy, during the year 1794, we shall now proceed to narrate the principal naval actions and expeditions.

As the French government were fully sensible of their total inability to cope with Britain in a regular naval engagement, they confined themselves during the first year of the war almost entirely to the sending out of cruizers and squadrons, or single ships. These were so successful, that in the month of May, 1794, ninety-nine

ships were taken by the French; whereas only one, a frigate of thirty-eight guns, was captured by the English; ten of the above were outward bound and four homeward bound West India ships; and one, the Lisbon packet, with a large sum of money on board.

At length the French government were under the absolute, and to them most disagreeable necessity, of giving up this plan of acting; their country was suffering grievously under a deficiency of grain, even a famine was dreaded; and it was not to be expected that a new government, avowedly deriving their power and authority from the body of the people, would be able long to uphold itself, if the nation became irritated and discontented by the pressure of famine. In the state of Europe, almost without exception hostile to France, they could look for supplies of grain from no other quarter except America; and as Britain was so formidable at sea, and moreover knew that supplies were coming to France across the Atlantic, it was not to be supposed that their arrival would be unattended with very great risque. The French government, however, had only their choice of difficulties and dangers: if they did not send a fleet to sea equal or nearly equal to cope with the British, they were sure to lose their convoy of provisions, and in the state of France the most dreadful, and probably fatal, convulsions would ensue if these provisions were not obtained. On the other hand, if they sent their fleet to sea it must encounter the English fleet; indeed it must be sent out for that express purpose, otherwise it would be of no use; for the British fleet undoubtedly would cruize in the tract of the provision-convoy, and to protect that convoy the French fleet must sail. There could be no doubt, however, that the utter destruction even of the whole fleet would, under the circumstances of France, be a much less serious evil than the loss of the provision-convoy. The fleet might, in the course of time, be replaced, but if the provisions were taken, France would

either be actually starved, or the people under that apprehension would rise against the government.

It was therefore resolved to send the French fleet to sea; and when this resolution was taken, the next step was to render it as formidable as possible, and to ensure by every means the courage of the sailors: for the latter purpose, Jean Bon St. Andre, one of the representatives of the people, was sent on board the admiral's ship *La Montaigne*. The fleet amounted to twenty-six sail of the line, and was under the command of Rear-Admiral Villaret; it sailed from Brest about the middle of May.

As the British Admiral, Lord Howe, was not uninformed of the expected convoy, he proceeded to sea early in the same month, with twenty-six sail of the line, in the hope of intercepting it. On the 19th, as his lordship was cruising off Brest, he received information that the enemy's fleet had put to sea a very few days before. On the same evening he received dispatches from Rear-Admiral Montague, who was also cruising in the channel, which induced him to form a junction of the two fleets if possible; had this been done, Lord Howe would have had a very great superiority over the French fleet; but before this junction could be effected, his lordship learnt that the French were but a few leagues to the westward, and he was consequently obliged to alter his course in order to go in quest of them.

Early in the morning of the 28th of May the advanced English frigates discovered the French fleet far on the weather bow of the English admiral's ship. At first they did not appear to have seen the English, for they came down for some time in very loose order, but when they came nearer they hauled to the wind. They were, however, very slow in completely forming in regular order of battle, occupying indeed several hours in this operation. This circumstance was of great consequence to Lord Howe, as it afforded time for the detached part of the

British fleet, commanded by Rear-Admiral Pasley, to be placed advantageously for effecting an impression on their rear; and in the mean time the whole of the English fleet was making a nearer approach.

In the French official report of the engagement given by Jean Bon St. Andre, he observes, that while the two fleets continued manœuvring, one of the ships, *La Revolutionnaire*, from motives not understood by the rest of the fleet, slackened its sails on the approach of the English; and that Admiral Pasley taking advantage of this circumstance, led on his division, and attacked this vessel. In the conflict the British rear-admiral had his top-mast disabled; assistance was therefore immediately ordered, and Lord Hugh Seymour, in the *Leviathan*, pushed up also to attack the *Revolutionnaire*, and was supported by Captain Parker, of the *Audacious*. The captain of the *Revolutionnaire* was killed, and the vessel greatly damaged. Such is the account of this part of the engagement given by the representative of the people: the English official accounts add that the *Revolutionnaire* struck to the *Audacious*. Night, however, put an end to the conflict; and in the morning a French ship fell in with the *Revolutionnaire*, and towed her into Rochefort.

During the whole of the night of the 28th the two fleets continued in sight of each other; and on the morning of the following day, Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet to tack, with an intention, if possible, of making some further impression on the rear of the enemy. As soon as the French admiral perceived this manœuvre, he also made the signal for his fleet to wear from van to rear, and continued edging down in a line for the purpose of bringing the van of the British fleet to action. Lord Howe upon this, made the signal for passing through the enemy's line, and a severe action commenced. The *Cæsar*, which was the leading ship of the British van, did not, however, keep to the wind, and this circumstance ap-

pearing likely to prevent the movement of passing the French line, from taking its full and proper effect; the Queen Charlotte, Admiral Howe's ship, was immediately tacked, and being followed and supported by the Bellerophon and the Leviathan, passed through between the fifth and sixth ships of the line of the enemy. Lord Howe having accomplished this part of his plan, put about again, in preparation for renewing the attack—but the rest of the British fleet, being at this time passing to leeward, and being without the sternmost ships of the British line, the latter wore again to the eastward in succession, for the purpose of succouring their disabled ships in the rear. As soon as they had accomplished this object, they wore round again, and stood away in order of battle, in the larboard tack, followed by the British fleet, in the same order. The fleets then remained separated a few miles; but as there was a very thick fog, they were seldom seen by each other. This fog lasted for the greater part of the two following days.

The great object of the British admiral, in all the manœuvres, which he had practised hitherto, had been to obtain the weather-gauge of the enemy, in order that he might not only compel them to fight, but to fight on terms, and in a situation comparatively favorable to himself, and disadvantageous to themselves; and also, that, in case of defeat, he might reap more plentiful fruits from his victory: having succeeded in this object of gaining the weather-gauge, on the 1st of June, an opportunity presented itself of bringing the French fleet to close and general action. This opportunity so long sought for, and so judiciously and skilfully obtained, of course Lord Howe determined to embrace and improve as quickly, and to as great an extent as possible. He accordingly threw out the signal for his ships to bear up together, and come to close action, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. We have already mentioned that the French

fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, and the British of the same force; but on the part of the former, the Revolutionnaire had been towed into Rochefort; and on the part of the latter, the Audacious had parted company after her engagement with the Revolutionnaire.

The battle immediately commenced, and was carried on in a very courageous manner on both sides; all the advantages of discipline, skill, and experience however were decidedly on the side of the British; so that, though the revolutionary spirit of the French officers and seamen incited them to fight with more obstinacy than they generally displayed in their naval engagements, yet, as it could not imbue them with discipline, skill and experience equal to that of the British, they soon became sensible that the victory could not remain in their possession. Several of the ships on both sides were dismasted, and the carnage was dreadful. In the French official account of the battle, it was stated, that the officers and crew of *Le Vengeance* of 74 guns, displayed a true republican spirit;—that after the lower decks were under water, and destruction inevitable, they continued to fire the upper tier; and that at the moment the ship went to the bottom, the air resounded with the cry of “Vive la republique, vive la liberte et la France.” There is good reason, however, notwithstanding the positiveness of the assertion that such things happened, and we may add, the probability that they would happen among Frenchmen, at that period of the revolution, to believe that the circumstance is either totally unfounded or greatly exaggerated. The French government, and the people in general, during the whole of the revolution, acted upon the principle, that the end justified the means; and as they considered the establishment of the revolution as a highly desirable end, they did not hesitate to employ falsehood, exaggeration, and even injustice and cruelty to establish it.

In less than an hour after the engagement had become close and general, the French admiral who had been engaged by Lord Howe's ship made all sail, and crowded off: he was followed by nearly all the ships in his van, that were in a condition to carry sail; ten or twelve of those that were dismasted, or much crippled, were left behind. Had the British fleet not been very much disabled, all these must have been captured; but in consequence of their state, several of them escaped; and two or three, even under a sprit sail singly, or a smaller sail, hoisted on the stump of the foremast, could not be detained. Six, however were secured and captured; viz. *La Juste* of eighty guns; *La Sans Pareille* of eighty guns; *L'Amerique* of seventy-four guns; *L'Achille* of seventy-four guns; *L'Impeteux* of seventy-four guns; and the *Northumberland* of seventy-four guns; these added to *Le Vengeur* and *Le Jacobin*, which was also sunk, made the whole loss of the French amount to eight ships of the line. The return of killed on board of the English fleet was two hundred and seventy-two, and of wounded seven hundred and eighty-seven: the loss of the French is not accurately known, but from several circumstances, it must have been much greater than that of the English. On board of *La Montagne*, the captain was killed, and nearly three hundred men were either killed or wounded. In the ships that were taken, six hundred and ninety men were killed, and five hundred and eighty wounded: besides, it is supposed that three hundred and twenty perished in *Le Vengeur*.

This victory decisively proved that the revolution had not rendered the French a match for the British by sea; and so far as the defeat and partial capture of the principal fleet which they possessed went, it was a great advantage and source of glory to the English, and a great loss as well as dishonour to the enemy, but they still had wherewith to console themselves; for it will be remem-

bered that the French government sent their fleet to sea, entirely to protect the provision convoy which they expected. And yet it is surprising how this convoy reached as it did, a port in safety; for while Lord Howe was engaged in searching for the enemy's fleet, Admiral Montague was employed in cruizing in that direction, in which it was supposed the provision convoy would come. It did, however, escape him, and one hundred and sixty sail of vessels, valued at five millions sterling, and conveying an immense quantity of provisions and naval stores, arrived from America safe in port a few days after the engagement.

On the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday immediately following the publication of the Extraordinary Gazette which announced Lord Howe's victory, there were illuminations in all parts of the metropolis; a subscription was almost immediately raised at Lloyd's Coffee House for the widows and children of the seamen who fell in the engagement; and the proprietors of Drury Lane Theatre gave a clear benefit, which produced upwards of one thousand three hundred pounds in aid of the subscription.

On the 20th of June, public orders to the following effect were given out to the fleet at Spithead, dated on board the Queen Charlotte. The commander in chief is directed by the King to make known in the fleet, that His Majesty has deigned to express the highest satisfaction in the account reported by the admiral, of the bravery and gallant behaviour of the officers and men, serving in the fleet, in the actions with the enemy on the 28th and 29th of May, and 1st of June: he is charged in the manner judged most proper, to acquaint all the officers and men (more especially the Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood; the Rear Admirals Bowyer, Caldwell, Gardner, and Pasley; and Sir Roger Curtis, first captain to the commander-in-chief;) with the just

sense His Majesty entertains of the zeal and courage they have so eminently exerted in his service on these occasions.

The commander-in-chief has also been required by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the honourable the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, to convey the thanks of their respective houses to the flag officers already named as above; and to the captains and other officers of the fleet, for the bravery and gallant conduct, with their approval and acknowledgment of the services of the seamen, marines, and soldiers serving in the said fleet in the several actions with the enemy as aforesaid.

The commander-in-chief, with the highest sense of pleasure, communicates in this manner such approval and acknowledgment as above stated to the said officers and ships' companies; and desires, in consequence, that the captains of the different ships will signify the same to their respective officers and crews accordingly.

He is, moreover, to make known at this time, that, in a court of common council, holden in the chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 18th of June; on consideration, (as it is expressed,) of the very gallant conduct of the seamen, &c. who served on board of the fleet in the said actions, and in token of the gratitude of the said court of common council, the Chamberlain of the City of London is directed to pay into the hands of the master of Lloyd's coffee house, the sum of five hundred pounds for the relief of the wounded warrant officers, petty officers, seamen, &c. and also the widows and children of those who so gloriously fell on the day before mentioned, in the service of their king and country

The public orders then conclude with noticing the private subscriptions at Lloyd's, and with stating that the captains of the several ships have been desired to send to the

master of that coffee house, the names of the killed and wounded seamen, marines and soldiers, with adequate descriptions of the persons entitled to such relief, with all convenient dispatch.

In order to shew all due honour to the fleet, which had achieved such a victory, on Thursday the 26th of June, their majesties and three of the princesses arrived at Portsmouth; the three younger princesses having come down the day before. The royal party then proceeded in barges, in the usual procession, and receiving the customary honours, to visit Lord Howe's ship, the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead. Here His Majesty held a naval levee, and presented Lord Howe with a diamond hilted sword, the value of which was three thousand guineas, and a gold chain, to which a medal was afterwards suspended, to be worn round the neck. After these ceremonies were gone through, the royal party dined with Lord Howe on board his ship. His lordship was also raised to the rank of an earl for his glorious services in the battle.

Although great valour had been displayed in this battle by the British officers and men, yet some of the former necessarily had less opportunity of displaying their courage than others, and against Captain Anthony James Pye Molloy, of the *Cæsar*, the charge was brought, that he had not exerted himself to the utmost of his power in the engagements that took place on the 29th of May and 1st of June, 1794. On this charge he was tried on the 28th of April, 1795, on board the *Glory* at Portsmouth. The general charge of misconduct was divided into two parts; first, that Captain Molloy of His Majesty's ship *Cæsar*, did not, on the 29th of May, 1794, cross the enemy's line, in obedience to the signal of the admiral; and secondly, that on the 1st of June, he did not use his utmost endeavours to close with and defeat the enemy: after due enquiry and deliberation, the sen-

tence of the court martial was, that the said charges have been made good against Captain Molloy; but having found that on the said 29th of May and 1st of June, as well as on many former occasions, Captain Molloy's courage had always been unimpeachable, the court were of opinion that Captain Molloy, then commanding the *Cæsar*, should be dismissed from His Majesty's said ship the *Cæsar*; and ordered that he be accordingly forthwith dismissed.*

* We have judged it proper to subjoin, in a note, the particulars of the action between the *Audacious* and the *Revolutionnaire*, to which we have alluded in the text, as they were given from the Admiralty office in an extract of a letter from the captain of the former vessel.

“ Admiralty Office, June 7.

“ The following is an extract of a letter from William Parker, Esq. captain of His Majesty's ship *Audacious*, to Mr. Stephen's, dated in Plymouth Sound, on the 3rd inst.

“ I have the honour to acquaint you, for their lordship's information, that, on the 23th ult. in the morning about eight o'clock, his Majesty's fleet, under the command of the Earl Howe, then in the latitude 47° 33' north, longitude 14° 10' west. got sight of that of the enemy.

“ The wind blew strong from the southward, and the enemy's fleet directly to windward.

“ Every thing was done by His Majesty's fleet, per signals from the Earl Howe (preserving them in order) to get up with the enemy, who appeared to be formed in order of battle. But, as I apprehend, his lordship considered their conduct began rather to indicate an intention of avoiding a general action, at fifty-five minutes after one o'clock he directed a general chase.

“ It was just becoming dark, when His Majesty's ship under my command arrived up with the rear ship of the enemy's line. Immediately commenced a very close action, which continued near two hours without intermission; never exceeding the distance of half a cable's length, but generally closer, and several times in the utmost difficulty to prevent falling on board, which, as his last effort to appearance, at about ten o'clock he attempted to effect. At this time his mizen-mast was gone by the board, his lower yards and main top-sail-yard shot away; his fore-top-sail being full, (though flying out from the top-sail-yard, the sheets being shot away) he fell athwart our bows, but we separated without being entangled any time. He then directed his course before the wind, and, to ap-

In the occurrences of last year, we noticed the mournful events which took place at the evacuation of Toulon.

pearance, passed through or close astern of the ships in the rear of our line.

“ When the enemy separated from athwart our bows, the company of His Majesty’s ship under my command gave three cheers, from the idea, taken from the people quartered forward, that his colours were struck. This I cannot myself take upon me to say, though I think it likely, from his situation obliging him to pass through or near our line: but certain it is he was completely beaten; his fire slackened toward the latter part of the action, and the last broadside (the ships’ sides almost touching each other) he sustained without returning more than the fire of two or three guns.

“ His Majesty’s ship under my command, at the time we separated lay with her top-sails aback (every brace, bowling, most of her standing, and all her running rigging shot away) in an unmanageable state. It was some time before I could get her to wear, to run to leeward from the French line, under cover of our own ships; which, by what I could judge by their lights, were all pretty well up, and tolerably formed.

“ This being effected, I turned all hands to the repairing our damages, to get into readiness (if possible) to resume our station at day-light. The rear of the French line had been engaged at a distance by rear admiral Pasley’s division, and some other ships that did not fetch so far to windward, a considerable time before I arrived up with them; and this very ship was engaged by one of His Majesty’s ships, at some distance to leeward, the time I did.

“ The night being very dark, I could form but little judgment of the situation of our fleet with respect to the French, in point of distance, other than, not hearing any firing after our own ceased, I concluded they were scarcely far enough to windward.

“ Soon after day-light the next morning, to our utmost chagrin and astonishment, we discovered nine sail of the enemy’s ships about three miles to the windward.

“ The Audacious then, with her standing rigging but very indifferently scuppered, her fore-sail and top-sails unbent, main-top-sail in the top in the act of bending, we put before the wind, with the main and fore-top-mast stay-sails only, ill set, from the stays being shot away; but, it being hazy, with rain, and soon becoming thick, we, for a time, were covered from their view, and before, as I apprehend, they had formed a judgment of what we were.

“ The greatest exertion was used by every officer and man in the ship to get the other fore-sail and main-top-sail bent. The fore-top-mast being so badly wounded, the fore-top-sail was of but little mo-

After leaving this place, Lord Hood spent some time in cruising off Hieres; early in the month of February,

ment; however, the people brought the damaged sail to the yard agam, though it could not be hoisted; but before we got the fore-sail and main-top-sail set the haze cleared off, and we soon discovered ourselves to be chased by two of the enemy's ships. At this period we saw the ship we had engaged, without any mast standing, and passed her at about a mile and a half distance. The ships coming up with us very fast, our situation became very alarming; until we got the main-top-gallant-sail, main-top-mast, and top-gallant studding sails set, when it was judged we nearly preserved our distance. However from the fore-mast being in a tolerable state of security, at half-past nine we were about setting a lower studding sail, when three sail, that had been discovered to the eastward some time before, (*viz.* two ships and a brig), coming pretty near us, hoisted French colours.

“ The state of our masts did not admit of making alteration in our course; they observing our shattered state and two ships in chase of us, stood athwart of us boldly within fire, and shot were exchanged; the one a large frigate and the other two corvettes; but as we had so much sail out, they fell astern for a considerable time; at length the frigate came within shot of us again, and harassed us by a distant cannonade upon the quarter upward of an hour, but without doing us any material injury, we only firing some of our after guns upon each deck at her. She was observed to make a signal to the ships astern, and soon after, *viz.* about half-past twelve, with the two corvettes, hauled her wind, and by its becoming hazy the whole were soon out of sight.

“ Having been chased twenty-four leagues directly to leeward, and the crippled state of the bowsprit being such as I judged impossible to stand if the ship was hauled to the wind, I considered the endeavouring to find the fleet again might put His Majesty's ship, in her defective state, to too much risque, and therefore judged it most advantageous for the service to proceed to port without loss of time to refit; which I hope may meet with their lordship's approbation.

“ I must beg you will be pleased to represent to their lordships that the conduct of the lieutenants of His Majesty's ship under my command, during the action, merits all the praise I can bestow upon them; as also that of Lieutenant Crofton, of the 69th regiment, whose alertness and activity with his men at small arms in supporting the seamen armed to defend the boarding, which occurred twice during the action, gave me perfect satisfaction.

“ The conduct of my ship's company, also that of the soldiers of the 69th regiment, exceeded every possible expectation; in fact the

1794, he proceeded to the Island of Corsica: he was induced to go to this island in consequence of information, which he had received, that it was in a state of revolt against the convention: but in what mode the British ministry expected they would forward the great objects of the war, by the possession of Corsica, or what good it would do to Britain, it would be extremely difficult to conjecture. At first the success of Lord Hood was very rapid and satisfactory: the tower and garrison of Martello, surrendered on the 10th of February; on the 17th the republicans abandoned the tower of Tornelli; and in two days afterwards they evacuated Fiorenzo, one of the principal places in the island, and retreated to Bastia, the capital. The fortifications of this place, at no time very strong, were then in a very imperfect state of defence; the garrison amounted only to three thousand men, and these very inadequately provided with store and provisions; yet they made a most gallant defence against the British fleet and army, who had been reinforced by the junction of a considerable body of Corsicans under Paolic. On the 19th, however, Lord Hood having offered them honourable terms, in consideration of the

whole of the officers and men, in their different departments, behaved in a most exemplary manner.

“Tis wonderful, after such an action, that I have the happiness to say, the whole number killed and wounded are but twenty-two; three were killed on the spot, one died soon after, and the lives of two more are despaired of.

“The captain and some of the officers of a small French corvette, which we took possession of and burnt a few mornings before, by the Earl Howe’s orders, viewed the ship we had engaged while passing her in the morning, and were of opinion she is called *La Revolutionnaire*, formerly the *Bretagne*.

“In case their lordships should have any inquiries to make further, I have dispatched Lieutenant Joseph Bingham, my senior lieutenant on board, with the charge of this letter, who is a very excellent officer and an intelligent young man, and I trust capable of giving every requisite information.”

very gallant defence which they had made, and from motives of humanity, they accepted these terms; and on the 24th the garrison, having marched out of Bastia, with all the honours of war, the British took possession of it. In consequence of this success, the whole of the island submitted to the British arms, except the town of Calvi, this place resisted till the 10th of August, when it surrendered on terms of capitulation, the garrison marching out with the honors of war, and being sent to Toulon at the expense of Britain. On the entire conquest of Corsica it was annexed to Britain, and His Majesty took the title of King of Corsica.

We must now turn our attention to the naval transactions in the West Indies, during the year 1794: in these islands, Great Britain, from her superiority at sea, was almost certain of proving victorious; and at this time success here was absolutely necessary to counterbalance the defeats that the allies were experiencing on the continent of Europe. But it was abundantly evident, that the subjugation of France could not be brought about by the loss of all her West India possessions: and in the temper and feeling, in which that government and nation at that time were, it was scarcely to be expected, that defeats by sea, or the loss of their colonies in every part of the world would dispose them for peace, while their national vanity, and their hopes were kept so high by their victories by land.

In the course of the summer of 1794, nearly all the French West Indian islands were reduced by Britain. Early in this year, the British fleet under the command of Sir John Jervis, and the British army under the command of Sir Charles Grey, rendezvoused in Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes: from this place they sailed on the 3rd of February to the attack of Martinico: before the 16th of March the whole of this island, except forts Bourbon and Royal, were in the possession of the

British. General Rochambeau commanded at the former; and such was the gallant defence made by the garrison, that Sir Charles Grey remarked in his official dispatch, that "in the fort there was scarcely an inch of ground untouched by the shot and shells of the besiegers." The terms granted to this garrison were honourable; the French troops engaged not to serve against the allies during the war; a commodious vessel was to be allowed for the general and his suite, and other vessels to the soldiers of the line to return to France. General Rochambeau was anxious that the slaves whom he had liberated, should be permitted to retain their freedom; but this the British commanders refused, insisting that they should be returned to their owners. By the 23rd of March, both forts having surrendered, the whole island of Martinico was in the possession of the British.

Nearly about the same time, an expedition was sent against the French part of the island of St. Domingo; this island was rather singularly situated: part of it belonged at that time to the Spaniards, and part to the French; in the French part, the republicans and the royalists were at variance and open hostilities; and the blacks, whom the former had liberated, were by no means disposed to be quiet. The British at this time gained possession of Cape Tiberon and of several parishes in the island.

As soon as Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey had completed the reduction of Martinico, sensible of the vast importance and advantage of quick movements, they re-embarked the troops, and immediately proceeded against St. Lucia. By the 4th of April, such was their wonderful success, this island was also reduced under the power of Britain.

From St. Lucia the commander-in-chief returned to Martinico; and here on the 6th and 7th of April, the troops being taken from the king's ships on board the

transports, another expedition was planned. Four ships, viz. the *Quebec*, Captain Rogers; the *Blanche*, Captain Faulkner; the *Ceres*, Captain Inledon; and the *Rose*, Captain Scott, were sent off for the purpose of attacking the small islands called the Saints; these were all carried early the next morning, without resistance, difficulty, or loss.

The admiral himself, on board the *Boyne*, in company with the *Veteran*, anchored off *Point-a-Petre*, in *Guadaloupe*, on the morning of the 10th of April, and some more ships arrived in the course of the day. The British general, however, without waiting for all the troops, landed at one o'clock in the morning of the 11th. The landing was covered by the *Winchelsea*, Captain Lord Garlies, who placed his ship so close to the batteries on shore that the soldiers could not stand to their guns, and the batteries were soon silenced: all the other operations being equally successful, on the 20th the capital, *Basse Terre*, surrendered by capitulation; and this included the whole island of *Guadaloupe*, with all its dependencies. The terms were the same as those granted to General *Rochambeau* at *Martinico*.

As the allied powers were extremely anxious to subdue France, and as they regarded the war in which they were engaged against her as very different from common wars, they considered themselves justified in using every means to drive those states which had not yet declared war against France from their neutrality; and there can be no doubt that with this object in view, they acted towards some of them not with the strictest regard to justice. Besides, Britain was determined not to permit that France, after the destruction of a great part of her navy, and her consequent inability to protect or carry on her commerce, should take advantage of the navy and ships of neutral powers; hence there were frequent captures by Britain of

neutral ships, on the ground that they were employed in carrying French property.

The consequence of this was, that in the month of March this year, a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Denmark; the principal object was the maintenance of perfect neutrality during the contest; disclaiming, at the same time, any advantage which was not clearly founded on their respective treaties with the belligerent powers, and on the universal law of nations. For the purposes of the treaty each of these powers engaged to fit out eight ships of the line, with frigates, &c. It was also agreed that they should communicate this convention to the belligerent powers, together with an assurance of their desire to preserve perfect harmony; stating at the same time, in direct and strong terms, that should the navigation of Sweden or Denmark be molested, those countries would in the first instance endeavour by conciliatory and peaceable measures to obtain satisfaction and indemnity; but if unsuccessful in these endeavours, they were determined, after the expiration of four months, to proceed to reprisals.

Along with this treaty, the King of Denmark issued an edict, by which he gave strict orders that no vessel belonging to Danish subjects should be allowed to clear out for a foreign port without such passports as had been stipulated between Denmark and the belligerent powers; and that the master of any vessel carrying such goods as (if consigned to the harbours of the belligerents) would be contraband, should be bound to make a special declaration of the quantity and value, and bring back a certificate from some authorized person at the destined port; on failure of which he should be fined very severely,

An indemnity was also claimed from Great Britain for the captured Danish and Swedish vessels; and it was

required that in future a stop should be put to the capturing of such Danish ships as were not laden with such goods as were deemed contraband by the several treaties. With this demand the British ministry found themselves obliged to comply.

On the 28th of September a French squadron, consisting of a fifty gun ship and four smaller vessels, appeared off the town of Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa, with British colours flying; they drew up before it in such a manner as to command every street and alley in it; and so soon as they had taken this position, they hoisted their own colours, and commenced a heavy cannonade. As it was absolutely impossible for the garrison of Sierra Leone, who were very few in number, and in a very weak place to resist so formidable a force, they immediately struck their flag; but notwithstanding this two of their frigates continued their fire for nearly two hours afterwards, raking every street with grape shot. The enemy then landed, and began to plunder such houses as remained standing, and were preparing to set fire to the whole town, when several of the free American blacks returned into and solicited the preservation of their dwellings. The French commander granted their request, observing, that his vengeance should be confined to the British settlers; and then ordered the church, the company's warehouses, and the houses of every English person to be set on fire. After this was done, one of the frigates proceeded up the river to the Island of Banca, which they attacked for two days, without success, the garrison of the fort making a resolute defence. On the third day a second frigate arrived, when the inhabitants having withdrawn the whole of their property from the town, the garrison of the fort retired, leaving their flags standing, which for an hour imposed upon the enemy, and allowed time for the retreat of our men.

The French continued at Sierra Leone till the 29th of

October, during which time they obtained wood and water, but never proceeded into the country, nor injured the plantations. They took with them or destroyed eleven vessels belonging to the company; ten of them from London; and proceeded down the coast, with an intention to serve in like manner all the British, Dutch, and Portuguese settlements: the Isle of Bourbon was the place of their final destination. On their departure the settlers who had retired into the woods, and lived there under tents, returned to the town.

We now come to the narrative of the single actions of the year 1794: the first we shall mention was fought by the *Antelope* packet, and in the course of this and the following revolutionary war there were several other actions fought by British packets, which displayed equal gallantry with the one which we are now about to relate.

The *Antelope* packet sailed from Jamaica with the mails and passengers for England: when off the coast of Cuba, not far from Cumberland Harbour, she fell in with two schooners of some force, upon which the master of the *Antelope* judged it prudent to bear up for Jamaica. The enemy immediately gave chase, and the *Atalante*, one of the schooners, sailing better than her consort, continued the chase all day, and till about four p. m. At this time the wind falling calm, the schooner put out her oars, and by means of them got up with the packet, and having exchanged several shots, sheered off again. During the night she frequently bore down, and shot was fired on both sides.

At five o'clock next morning the calm still continuing, the schooner rowed up, and grappled the packet on the starboard side, pouring in a broadside, and at the same time making an attempt to board, which, however, was gallantry repulsed with great slaughter. By this broadside, however, the commander of the packet, W. Curtis, the ship's steward, and a passenger were killed; and the

first mate was shot through the body. The command now devolved on the boatswain (for the second mate had died of a fever after sailing from Jamaica); he, with the few men left, assisted by the passengers, repulsed repeated attempts to board during a considerable time that the vessels were alongside. At last the French having been so dreadfully and unexpectedly beaten, attempted to cut their grapplings for the purpose of sheering off; this was observed by the boatswain, who ran aloft himself and lashed the privateer's square-sail-yard to the fore-shrouds of the *Antelope*; after this he ordered a volley of small arms to be fired, which did great execution; indeed the schooner's crew were now so reduced that they called for quarter; this was immediately granted, notwithstanding they had hoisted the bloody flag during the whole of the action. The prize was taken possession of, and carried into *Annotta Bay* about eleven o'clock the next morning.

When the packet sailed from Jamaica she had twenty-seven men on board, but she had lost four by the fever before the action, and had then two unfit for duty, so that she had only twenty-one men, besides the passengers, during the engagement.

The *Atalante* was fitted out at *Charleston*, and had been out a month, during which time she had made only one capture, a brig from *Bermuda*. The captain of the *Atalante* represents the conduct of a Mr. *Nodin*, formerly a midshipman, as displaying wonderful courage: he stood by the helm and worked the ship, armed with a musket and pike, which he alternately made use of. When he perceived the men climbing the quarters he quitted the helm, and with the pike dispatched all within his reach, returning at proper intervals to right the vessel. With this instrument and the musket he killed several men, and continued his astonishing exertions for more than an hour and a quarter.

When the enemy called for quarter upwards of twenty

men lay dead on the decks, and several more had fallen into the water. On boarding her they found a very large quantity of ladies' and gentlemen's wearing apparel which had been pillaged from the vessels they had captured.

The gallantry displayed by the *Antelope* in this engagement was so conspicuous that on a representation having been made to the Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica and to the House of Assembly, the sum of five hundred guineas was immediately voted to be distributed as follows :

Two hundred guineas to the widow and family of Mr. Curtis, the late master ;

One hundred guineas to the first mate, who had been shot through the body in the engagement ;

One hundred guineas to the boatswain, who had fought the packet so gallantly after the captain was killed and the first mate wounded ;

One hundred guineas to be divided among the surviving crew.

The activity and success of Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron during this year, with a small squadron under his command are so well depicted in the official dispatches of him and Sir R. Strachan, that we shall lay them before our readers in their own words.

“ *Minotaur*, Plymouth Sound,
April 26, 1794.

“ Sir,

“ Be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the *Echo* sloop arrived here yesterday morning, bringing with her a letter from Sir John Warren, of His Majesty's ship *Flora*, who was on his passage to Portsmouth, with the *Pomone* and *La Babet*, French frigates, captured by the squadron detached under his command.

“ The *Concorde* and *La Nymphe* arrived yesterday evening with *L'Engageante*, another French frigate, captured

by the *Concorde*. Inclosed are the letters from the captains, Sir John Warren and Sir Richard Strachan, to me on the occasion. The *Resolue*, another frigate that was in company, escaped by her outsailing the *Melampus* and *La Nymphe*, who chased her into Morlaix. I am, Sir, &c.

P. Stephens, Esq.

“ JOHN M^CBRIDE.”

“ Sir,

“ *Flora*, at Sea, April 25, 1794.

“ In pursuance of your orders I proceeded with the ships named in the margin,* to cruise on the coast of France; and on the 23rd instant from variable winds being in the westward of Guernsey, Rock Dover bearing east by south four or five leagues, the Severn Islands south-south-west four or five leagues, Guernsey north-east half east seven or eight leagues, I discovered, at four in the morning, four sail standing out to sea upon the larboard tack, the wind south-south-west, and as the morning began to break I saw from their manœuvres and firing of guns they were some of the enemy's ships of war. They soon afterwards appeared in a line-of-battle on the larboard tack; and as our ships, from having chased, were not collected, I made the signal to form in succession. We crossed each other on contrary tacks, and the enemy began an action at a considerable distance; their sternmost ship having passed over they again tacked; but the wind changing two points in our favour, I perceived it was impossible to weather them, and therefore made the signal for the ships to engage as they came up, so as to prevent the enemy gaining their own shore, and to oblige them to come to a close action; I am happy to say we succeeded in this object.

“ The engagement lasted nearly three hours, when two of the ships struck: I then made the signal for those who were coming up to pursue and engage the enemy, as

* *Arethusa*, *Melampus*, *La Nymphe*, *Concorde*.

from the situation of this ship, having led the line into action, she was incapable of continuing the pursuit.

“ I am much indebted to Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Arethusa*, who was my second astern, and to the other officers and ships under my command, who exerted themselves in engaging and pursuing the enemy.

“ The French squadron consisted of *L'Engageante*, thirty-six guns, eighteen pounders, three hundred men, Monsieur Desgarceaux chef d'escadre; *La Pomone*, forty-four guns, twenty-four pounders, four hundred men; *La Resolue*, thirty-six guns, eighteen pounders, three hundred and twenty men; *La Babet*, twenty-two guns, nine pounders, two hundred men; they sailed from Cancale Bay the evening before we met them.

“ I owe every obligation and acknowledgment to the officers and crew of this ship for their zeal and exertions upon this and every former occasion in the service of their king and country, and trust you will recommend them to their lordships' notice and protection.

“ Enclosed are lists of the killed and wounded, and also of the ships taken from the enemy. I have the honour to remain, &c.

“ JOHN BORLASE WARREN.”

A list of the killed and wounded on board His Majesty's ships *Flora* and *Arethusa*, on the 23d of April, 1794.

Flora—One seaman killed, three ditto wounded.

Arethusa—One master's mate killed, two seamen killed, five seamen wounded.

A list of the killed and wounded on board the conventional frigates *La Pomone* and *La Babet*, on the 23d of April, 1794.

La Pomone—Between eighty and one hundred killed and wounded.

La Babet—Between thirty and forty killed and wounded.

“ La Concorde, Plymouth Sound,
April 25, 1794.

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour to acquaint you of my arrival here with His Majesty’s ship under my command, with a French frigate which we took in the afternoon of the 23d instant. The early transactions of that day have been detailed to you by Sir John Warren; but as the *Flora* was at too great a distance to observe my proceedings in the afternoon, I beg to relate the particulars of my conduct from the time we passed the *Pomona* after she had surrendered. About eleven A. M. we were near enough to receive and return the fire of the enemy’s two frigates, which were making off. It was my intention to endeavour to disable the sternmost, and leave her to the ships of His Majesty which were following us, and push on to attack the leading ship; but in this I was disappointed, for the leading ship bore down and closed to support her second, and laying herself across our bows, soon disabled us in our sails and rigging so much that we dropped astern.

“ We soon got our sails on the ship again, and I purposed to keep the enemy’s two ships in check till ours arrived, as the only means of taking them both; but finding the day far advanced, and little probability of our being assisted as our ships rather dropped; and expecting our main-top-mast, which was shot through, to go every minute, knowing that if our mast went both the ships must escape, I determined to secure the one I was nearest. She was assisted for some time by her second, but changing sides in the smoke it prevented her from annoying us. She was defended with the greatest bravery from twelve till a quarter before two P. M., when being silenced and totally unmanageable they called they had surrendered. She proved to be *L’Engageante*, of thirty-four guns, and four carronades, with three hundred men.

“ The other frigate, *La Resolue*, after firing a few shot, stood on, and our ship much cut up in her sails and rigging was not in a condition to follow her. The mast of the *L’Engageante* in the evening, as we attempted to tow her, fell ; and expecting ours to go also, I availed myself of seeing the *Nymph* and *Melampus* returning from the chase of the *Resolue*, to make the signs for assistance. The *Nymph* joined us at night, and we steered for this port.

“ I must request you will please to inform their lordships, that the zealous, cool, and steady conduct of the officers and ship’s company was highly meritorious in the action ; and their efforts in refitting the ship, after the fatigue they had experienced, exceeded any exertion I ever saw before. As the first lieutenant, Charles Apthorp was mostly with me, I had an opportunity of observing the spirit of enterprize which pervaded his conduct, and I must acknowledge the great assistance he was of to me, from the able manner in which he performed the various duties I employed him upon, and am convinced also of the good conduct of Lieutenants Boys and Evans, who commanded, on the main deck. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ R. STRACHAN.”

Rear-admiral M’Bride, &c.

Admiralty Office, Aug. 30.

Extract of a letter from Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. captain of His Majesty’s ship Flora, to Mr. Stephens, dated Falmouth, Aug. 29, 1794.

“ I beg you will inform their lordships that I put to sea with His Majesty’s squadron under my command, on the 7th instant, and on the 14th in the evening stood to the northward, to obtain information of a French squadron of frigates that were supposed to be cruising to the westward and northward of Scilly ; but not having seen them

I stretched over toward the Penmarks; and on the 23d at four A. M. I discovered one of the enemy's frigates, made the signal for a general chase, and continued the pursuit until four P. M. when His Majesty's ship *Diamond*, in company with the *Artois*, *Santa Margarita* and *Diana*, engaged and ran her ashore near the Penmark rocks, where they left her on her beam ends, disabled and irrecoverably lost. I understand from the report from the several officers that she was the *Felicité*, of forty guns, upon a cruize, and had left Brest six days.

Having seen two corvettes to windward of Point de Ras, I gave chase in company with His Majesty's ship *Arethusa*, when the enemy stood into the Bay d'Hodierne and anchored off the Gamelle Rocks: perceiving my intention of closing with them, they got under weigh, and ran aground under cover of three batteries. The two ships continued engaging till a quarter after six P. M. when the corvette's masts went by the board, and the crews got on shore.

“ I immediately ordered our boats manned and armed, with directions to put themselves under Sir Edward Pellew's orders, and to set the enemy's ships on fire or otherwise destroy them; which service was fully performed; he having represented to me that there were from twenty to thirty killed and wounded in the *Alert*, and a greater number in the *Espion*; and it was impossible to remove the wounded to the two frigates, as many of them must have suffered in so doing: for the sake of humanity I judged it proper to let them remain, as the enemy's vessels were bilged and scuttled, the rocks appearing through their bottoms; and it being impossible to get them off, it would have occasioned much delay, being then only nine leagues from Brest; I therefore brought away fifty-two prisoners, and stood to sea.

I have great pleasure in saying that the destruction of the French vessels was obtained with very trifling loss

as will be seen in the margin,* and that every effort was made by the officers and men in the different ships, in the execution of their duty, which was performed with the utmost alacrity, and will I trust, meet with their lordships' approbation.

I beg leave to add, that the squadron on the 27th inst. recaptured the Queen of London, from Jamaica; also the Mary, a brig from New Orleans, bound to London, laden with furs, indigo, &c.

A list of French ships of war destroyed by the squadron under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B. on the 23d of August, 1794.

	Guns.	Weight.	Men.
La Felicité	40	18 pounds,	350
L'Espion	18	9 ditto.	200
Alert	18	9 ditto.	200

The last two ships were formerly in our service.

On the 11th of June, 1794, Captain Montgomery of his majesty's ship Inconstant sailed from Naples with the Romney, Leda, and Tartar, and a few merchantmen under convoy. On the 16th he received information that a French squadron under a commodore had been seen, between the islands of Tina and Miconi, convoying three merchantmen. He immediately gave directions to the Hon. Captain Paget, of the Romney, to remain with the convoy, and made sail himself with the Leda and Tartar, in the hope of coming up with the enemy; in this however he was disappointed.

In the mean time Captain Paget in his passage between the islands of Tina and Miconi, discovered a frigate under French colours and a broad pendant at anchor in shore, with three merchantmen. As Captain Paget was perfectly satisfied that the convoy under his charge

* Diamond 5, Santa Margarita 1.

was in complete safety, the Inconstant, Leda, and Tartar being in sight, he made the signal for them to join Captain Montgomery, while he hauled his wind, and came to an anchor in Miconi road, within little more than a cable's length from the French commodore. The island of Miconi is perfectly defenceless, there being neither fort, flag, nor even a Turkish inhabitant in it.

As soon as Captain Paget had brought his vessel to an anchor, he sent a message to the French commodore, desiring he would strike his colours and surrender to His Britannic Majesty, otherwise he would fire upon him: he replied, that he was well acquainted with the force of the Romney, that he was well prepared for an engagement, both with respect to men and ammunition; and that he had taken an oath never to strike his colours.

By this time he had placed his ship between the Romney and the town of Miconi; upon which Captain Paget ordered another anchor to be carried out, and the ship to be warped further a-head, in order that the guns might point clear of the town. At one P. M. the Romney was a-breast of the enemy, and the ship being secured with springs on her cables, a broadside was fired, which was instantly returned. The action was continued, without intermission of a single moment, for the space of one hour and ten minutes, when the national colours were hauled down, and the frigate and merchantmen taken possession of. She proved to be La Sybelle, of forty-six guns, and four hundred and thirty men, commanded by Commodore Rondeau; she had twenty-six eighteen pounders on her main deck, making use of a shifting gun for the spare after part. On the quarter deck she carried twelve nine pounders, and two forty-two pounders, carronades; and on the fore-castle she had four nine pounders.

Her gun-deck in length was 157 feet

Her extreme breadth from out to out was.... 41 feet

The length of her quarter deck was..... 82 feet,

La Sybelle had fifty-five killed, including the second lieutenant and captain of marines, and one hundred and three wounded, some of which soon afterwards died: on board the Romney there were eight seamen killed and thirty wounded, two of whom soon afterwards died.

The particulars of this brilliant engagement were transmitted to the Admiralty by Captain Montgomery of the Inconstant: and he bestows the following well-merited praise on Captain Paget.

“ Too much praise cannot be given to Captain Paget, for the very judicious and able manner with which he conducted himself throughout the business, and the great care he took in placing his ship in such a manner as not to injure the inhabitants; and the humanity he showed the prisoners, and to those who were wounded and had got on shore after she struck, does him the highest honour.

“ The very high discipline and good order of his ship manifested itself on every occasion by the alertness with which every point of duty was carried on, though she was much weakened by being, before the action, seventy-four working men short of her complement.

“ And it is with the greatest satisfaction I convey to their lordships the encomiums Captain Paget bestows on lieutenant Brisbane, and the rest of his officers; which I am persuaded, they highly merit.”

It has been already our duty to record one brilliant exploit of Captain Pellew, who had the honour almost to commence this war by a naval victory: this year also he displayed his characteristic enterprise, skill and courage. On the 19th of October, having received sailing orders from the Admiralty, he left Cawsand Bay with the *Arethusia*, his own ship the *Artois*, *Diamond*, and *Galatia*. He directed his course with a favorable wind for Brest, in the hope of falling in with any of the enemy's vessels that might have left or be leaving that port. At day break on the morning of the 21st. Ushant, bearing east about

eight or ten leagues, he fell in with the French national frigate, *La Revolutionnaire*; the whole squadron under his command immediately gave chase; and as they were to windward, they had an opportunity of cutting her off from the land. The *Artois*, Captain Neagle, sailing better than any of the rest of the squadron, came up with the enemy first, and supported a well conducted action for the space of forty minutes, when *La Revolutionnaire* struck her colours, in consequence of the near approach of Capt. Pellew with the remainder of the ships, especially as she perceived that the *Diamond* was taking up such a position as would have exposed her to be effectually raked. As soon as the crew of *La Revolutionnaire* perceived this last circumstance, they deserted their posts and refused to defend her any longer. She had scarcely struck her colours, when the breakers of the small islets, called the *Saints* were discovered a-head; these must have been very near, as the weather was, at this time, extremely hazy.

This frigate was a very fine vessel, new, most complete in her equipments, and of large dimensions, being one hundred and fifty-nine feet long, and forty-one feet seven inches wide. She had been built at *Havre de Grace*, and had never been at sea before. She mounted forty-four guns, twenty-eight on her main deck, and sixteen on her quarter deck and forecastle; her compliment of men was three hundred and seventy, eight of whom were killed and five wounded: among the latter was her captain, M. Thennard.

In his official account of the action, Captain Pellew speaks in the highest terms of Captain Neagle of the *Artois*: he declares that in his opinion, the further resistance of the enemy could have been of no avail, even if the *Artois* had been alone.

Hitherto our narrative of naval enterprizes and exploits, during this war, has been uniformly favorable to Great Britain, but though evidently much more mistress

of the seas, than she had been during the greatest part of the American war, yet it was not to be expected that she would escape without experiencing partial defeat and disaster: the first instance of this kind which we have to record, relates to Rear Admiral Bligh, of whom as Captain Bligh, we have already recorded the sufferings, after he was deprived of the *Bounty* by the mutineers.

On the 6th of November, while cruising in the *Alexander* in the latitude of $48^{\circ} 25'$ north, and in the longitude of $7^{\circ} 53'$ west, in company with the *Canada*, he discovered a squadron of the enemy, consisting of five ships of seventy-four guns, three large frigates and an armed brig: it was afterwards ascertained that this squadron was under the command of Rear-Admiral Neilly. At the time the enemy was first seen, the *Alexander* and *Canada* were steering to the north east; they immediately hauled their wind, with the larboard tacks on board. About five o'clock it being evident that the strange ships were giving chase, the *Alexander* and *Canada* crowded all the sail they could and steered more to the east. About day-break the *Canada* steered more to the north, and two ships of the line and two frigates pursued her, while three ships of the line and one frigate chased the *Alexander*. About half-past seven o'clock the enemy hoisted English colours; but as soon as the *Alexander* displayed her colours, they hauled down the English, and hoisted their proper colours.

About nine o'clock Admiral Bligh made the signal for the *Canada*, on whom the enemy were gaining fast, to form a-head for their mutual support; this signal was immediately answered, but she could not comply with it in consequence of the ships in chase of her hauling more to the starboard to cut her off: this obliged her to steer the course she had followed before.

At eleven o'clock, the three ships of the line came up

with the *Alexander*, and brought her to close action; for upwards of two hours Admiral Bligh and his crew sustained this very unequal combat, when the *Alexander* having now been reduced to a complete wreck, her masts and rigging nearly destroyed, her hull much shattered, and making a great deal of water, Admiral Bligh, on consulting his officers, resolved to order the colours to be struck. Such was her condition, that it was with the utmost difficulty the enemy could get her into Brest.

We shall conclude the narrative of the year 1794 with a paper on the mode of purifying corrupted water, a subject highly interesting and important to all, whose love of duty, or business leads them to embark in long sea voyages, and consequently peculiarly interesting and important to Britain. As we have already observed, whatever tends to increase nautical science itself; those sciences which are connected with nautical science, or our knowledge of any of those arts or practices, which have a tendency to render sea voyages more safe, and to preserve the lives of mariners, cannot be improperly recorded in our work, even though as in the present instance, the discovery, or invention did not originate with a native of Britain.

The following paper is by M. Lowitz, a member of the Economical Society of Petersburg.

“Water is one of those substances without which mankind cannot exist: yet every one knows that it is very apt to become putrid, and to contract, in consequence of its being so, qualities which render its use unsafe. This circumstance is particularly embarrassing in sea voyages; and it deserves no less consideration in those districts where the inhabitants are often obliged to make use of stagnant water, or of such as, from its hepatic taste and smell, is very disagreeable. It would be useless here to enumerate the various disorders occasioned by the use of such waters; but it is undoubtedly an object of great im-

portance to make known the means by which the putrefaction of water may be prevented, and by which that water wherein putrefaction has already taken place, may be rendered perfectly sweet.

“ Having employed myself, during the course of last year, in making a great number of experiments on the purifying powers of charcoal, I saw with great satisfaction that it possessed, among other properties, that of almost instantly depriving the most putrid water of its bad smell. From that circumstance, I immediately conceived an idea that it might have a very powerful effect in preventing water from becoming putrid, and the numerous trials I have since made have convinced me that I was not deceived in my opinion.

“ Pure water, properly so called, when deprived of all heterogeneous parts, is not subject to become putrid; but it is very difficult to keep it long in a pure state on account of its dissolving powers. To preserve water for a length of time in that state, it would be necessary to keep it in vessels of glass, or of earthen ware; but the brittleness of these vessels render it impossible to make use of very large ones, and we are therefore obliged to have recourse to wooden vessels, which, though they are not subject to be broken like the others, have the great disadvantage of imparting to the water a great quantity of mucilaginous and extractive particles, which hasten its putrefaction. It is well known that these particles, in a state of division, furnish an innumerable quantity of living creatures, the almost perpetual and uninterrupted destruction and regeneration of which communicate to water that degree of corruption and putrefaction of which renders its use so dangerous; it is not, therefore, from the water itself but from the continual decomposition of the substances dissolved in it, that its disposition to putrefaction arises.

“ From what has been said it evidently appears, that

the first means of preserving from putrefaction water which we are obliged to keep in wooden vessels or casks, consists in having these reservoirs perfectly clean. The smallest quantity of matter already corrupted being left in them acts as a real ferment, and very quickly disposes the fresh water, with which these vessels are filled, to become putrid in the same manner. For this reason I advise, that the casks, or other vessels, be well washed with hot water and sand, or with any other substance capable of removing the mucilaginous particles; and afterwards, that a certain quantity of powder of charcoal be employed, which will entirely deprive such casks, &c. of the musty or putrid smell they may have contracted.

“ When water is preserved by having certain substances mixt with it, these substances act, either by their antiputrescent powers, or by mechanically absorbing the putrified particles. Vitriolic acid possesses the first of these properties, and powder of charcoal fulfils the second intention, in a very striking manner.

“ To satisfy myself that charcoal, when used alone, possesses the property of preserving water from corruption, I undertook in the summer of the year 1790, a course of experiments which completely fulfilled my hopes; but, at the same time, I was convinced that the effect of the charcoal is rendered much more speedy by using along with it, some vitriolic acid.

“ The following, according to the result of my experiments, is the best proportion of charcoal powder, and vitriolic acid: viz. one ounce and a half of charcoal in powder, and twenty-four drops of concentrated vitriolic acid, (oil of vitriol) are sufficient to purify three pints and a half of corrupted water, and do not communicate to it any sensible acidity. This small quantity of vitriolic acid renders it unnecessary to use more than one third part, at most, of the charcoal powder which would be wanted if the acid were not made use of; and the less of

that powder is employed, the less is the quantity of water lost by the operation, which, in sea voyages, is an object worthy of consideration. In proportion to the quantity of acid made use of, the quantity of charcoal may be diminished or augmented; and it must be observed, that all acids produce nearly the same effect. Neutral salts also, particularly nitre and sea-salt, may be used for the purpose in question, but vitriolic acid certainly is preferable to any of these; water which is purified by means of this acid and charcoal will keep a longer time than that which is purified by charcoal alone.

“ The cleanness of the casks in which water is kept in sea voyages, is an object which should never be neglected. I have already described the best method of cleaning them, and of depriving them of any bad smell; and it would not be amiss if that operation were repeated every time they are about to be filled with fresh water. I would advise that six or eight pounds of powdered charcoal be used to each cask, (it is better to put too much than too little of this powder) and as much vitriolic acid as is sufficient to communicate to the water a degree of acidity hardly to be perceived. To hinder the charcoal from settling at the bottom of the cask, in the form of a paste, it will be proper to stir the whole together with a stick, at least twice every week; by this means the charcoal will be better dispersed through the whole mass of water, and consequently will perform its office more completely.

“ Powder of charcoal and vitriolic acid are two antiputrescent substances; the first prevents the water from acquiring that yellow colour which it usually contracts by time, and the acid particularly contributes to clarify the water, which the powder of charcoal, when employed alone, generally renders turbid. If we wish to make use of the water so preserved, we should try it first, by passing a small quantity of it through a strainer, in the form of a jelly-bag, filled with powder of charcoal; such a

strainer or bag should always be in readiness to be made use of for such trials.

“ When we mean to purify any given quantity of corrupted water, we should begin by adding to it as much powder of charcoal as is necessary to deprive it entirely of its bad smell. To ascertain whether that quantity of powdered charcoal was sufficient to effect the clarification of the said water, a small quantity of it may be passed through a linen bag, two or three inches long; if the water thus filtered, still has a turbid appearance, a fresh quantity of powdered charcoal must be added, till it is become perfectly clear: the whole of the water may then be passed through a filtering bag, the size of which should be proportioned to the quantity of water.

“ If vitriolic acid, or any other, can be procured, a small quantity of it should be added to the water, before the charcoal powder is used; the quantity of acid must be regulated according to the state of putridity in which the water is; it should be sufficient to communicate to the water a degree of acidity just perceptible to the taste. If the water is intended merely for dressing meat and vegetables for the ship's crew, instead of the acid, such a quantity of sea salt as would have been proper for seasoning the above articles, may be employed. Saline substances, like acids, hasten the effects of the charcoal powder; by making use of acids, (as was before observed) a much less quantity of powdered charcoal is necessary; and, so easy is the process to any one a little accustomed to operations of this kind, that four or five minutes only are required to render several gallons of very putrid water fit to drink.

“ To improve the taste of those spring waters which have naturally an hepatic flavour, and are therefore unpleasant to make use of, nothing more is necessary than to filter them through a bag half filled with powder of charcoal; if such waters are not very much loaded with

mucilaginous particles, the addition of an acid is not necessary. With respect to the best method of preparing the powder of charcoal, what I have said on that subject in Crell's Annals for the year 1788, pages 36, and 131, of the second volume, and in the first volume for the year 1791, pages 308, 398, and 494, may be consulted.

“ Powder of charcoal, when prepared according to the method described as above, is a very light substance, a circumstance which may perhaps appear embarrassing on account of the room it will take up in a ship, supposing the quantity of it to be in proportion to the quantity of water taken on board. The following is the result of my experiments respecting the space required for stowing the charcoal.

“ First, four ounces and a half of powdered charcoal, a quantity which is sufficient to purify three pints and a half of water, when no acid is made use of, take up as much space as sixteen ounces of water; but, if this powder is strongly compressed, it will take up only the space of nine ounces of water, consequently two casks of powdered charcoal would be required to purify eleven casks of water.

“ Secondly, one ounce and a half of powdered charcoal is sufficient to purify three pints and a half of water, provided a small quantity of vitriolic acid, or sea-salt, is at the same time made use of; one cask of powdered charcoal, therefore, if tightly packed, is sufficient for seventeen casks of water.

“ In the last experiments I made on this subject, I found that six drachms of powdered charcoal were sufficient to deprive three pints of water of its bad smell, and to render it perfectly clear, provided at the same time twenty-four drops of vitriolic acid were added; in this way therefore one cask of powdered charcoal would be sufficient to purify thirty-four casks of corrupted water.

These experiments, however, must be considered as liable to some variation; for, in order to obtain effects equal to those I have related, the charcoal powder must be prepared with the greatest care; it must also be observed, that though the above small quantity was found sufficient to deprive the water entirely of its bad smell, and to render it very clear, a larger quantity will be required to deprive it of its bad taste.

“ In order to save the charcoal powder on board a ship, as that is an article not easily procured at sea, I advise that the powder should not be thrown away after it has been once used; for, if it is afterwards well dried, and again beat to powder, it will by that means acquire new surfaces, and will serve a second time, to purify a quantity of water almost as great as that for which it was used the first time. Nay, charcoal powder which has been several times made use of, and has in consequence thereof entirely lost its purifying power, will immediately recover it by being made red-hot in a close vessel; this operation is certainly a troublesome one on board a ship, but it may, perhaps, in some circumstances, be rendered more easy. As on board all ships there is a fire every day, œconomy requires that we should save the charcoal of the wood which has been used; and, instead of letting it burn to ashes it should be extinguished by water, or by any other means, and kept to be made use of when wanted.

“ The cinders of pitcoal, provided they are perfectly burnt and reduced to powder, may serve in case of necessity, for the purification of water; but, when this kind of coal is made use of, no acid of any kind must be added to the water, as the metallic particles which pitcoal contains even after it is thoroughly burnt, might, if acids were employed, communicate dangerous qualities to the water.

“ It is proper to observe here, that charcoal takes from the water a part of the acid which has been made use of; if two drops of oil of vitriol are put into four ounces of

water, the water will become sensibly acid, but this acidity will immediately disappear, if a small quantity of powdered charcoal be added to the water."

On the 7th of January, 1795, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, Admiral Gardner moved that the number of one hundred thousand seamen, including fifteen thousand marines, should be voted to the service of the current year: during the discussion on this subject, Mr. Robinson urged the necessity of attending to the construction of our ships of war: he said that the English vessels were very inferior, in respect to sailing, to French ships. This was in part admitted by Captain Berkley, who allowed that the French ships were better built, but denied that they sailed better than the English; though the French models and science were superior to ours, yet our workmanship and practice were better than theirs. Admiral Gardner was of opinion that the superior construction of the French ships arose from the circumstance of their government offering a premium for the best models, but the English he said, latterly had improved much in the construction of their ships.

Mr. Fox blamed in very severe, though rather in vague and general terms, the conduct of the Admiralty, and indeed all the branches of the naval administration; these censures brought up Mr. Dundas, who stated that at the commencement of the war, we had only sixteen thousand seamen, whereas the number had then increased to ninety-five thousand. He was however ready to admit that our ships might be inferior in point of construction to the French; and he gave an unsatisfactory, and rather a whimsical reason for this circumstance. In Britain he contended projectors were not looked upon with much respect and confidence; of course they had not much inducement to offer their services in any branch of improvement, either public or private. His idea was happily

ridiculed by Mr. Sheridan; and after a few remarks from Mr. Pitt, Admiral Gardner again rose, and stated from January, 1704, to January, 1795, one hundred and eight convoys had been applied for and granted; and that in this service alone, one hundred and forty ships of war were employed, besides sixteen constantly on duty for the protection of the coasting trade. A college with a board was recommended for the improvement of naval architecture; a project of the French was mentioned by Mr. Lambton, who said they had sent all over France, where timber was to be found, models of the several parts and individual timbers of ships of the line, by which the workmen were instructed to cut down, and hew out in the rough the several parts, which were afterwards finished, and put together in the dock-yard. On the following day, the resolution for one hundred thousand seamen in the sea service for thirteen months, at five pound per man per month was agreed to *nem. con.*

On the 2d of February Mr. Pitt brought forward his plan for manning the navy: he proposed looking to the merchants' ships as the best qualified to support the exertions at present called for. An uncertain degree of pressing as well as embargoes, would be avoided by his plan, according to which a certain number of men would be fixed in proportion to the tonnage, to be furnished by every vessel previous to her clearing out. According to him, the shipping of England and Scotland employed one hundred thousand men; and the proportion of men was one to every fourteen tons. He proposed to take one seaman out of every seven; or, instead of one seaman two landmen. Vessels under thirty-five tons burden were to be entirely exempt, as employed in the coasting trade; but above that number up to seventy tons, every vessel was to find one landman; and every one up to one hundred and five tons, to find one seaman and one landman; and all above one hundred and forty tons, to find one

landman for every fifty tons. He calculated that the whole number which might be obtained this way, would be between eighteen and twenty thousand. The next part of his plan was to raise men from every parish: from this source he reckoned he might obtain ten thousand more: he further proposed that a certain number of men from those employed in inland navigation, should be raised: he could not calculate what number might be got from this source as he had not yet ascertained the number of barges employed in inland navigation. After repeated observations in the committee of supply this bill passed the House of Commons, with a few modifications; but it by no means answered the expectations of Pitt, and was after a fair trial abandoned.

On the 23d of February, the minister brought forward his general statement of supplies, ways and means, &c. for the navy, there was voted

One hundred thousand seamen.....	£5,200,000	0	0
Ordinary.....	£589,683	3	9
Extraordinaries..	525,840	0	0
		}	
		1,115,523	3 9
		<hr/>	
Total for the navy.....	£6,315,523	3	9
		<hr/>	

There were several circumstances which rendered France at this period of the war, very inferior to Britain by sea. In the first place, she could not easily or speedily recover from the loss she had sustained at Toulon, and by the victory which Lord Howe gained on the 4th of June, 1794. It was not merely the loss of ships; these might be replaced; but her best seamen, those who had gained experience before the revolution, were prisoners; and those she could not replace. In the second place, nearly all the exertions of the French government were directed to her armies: her plan was if possible to extend her conquests over the continent of Europe, and in order to effect this, large armies constantly kept up to their full and

proper complement, were absolutely necessary. Lastly, her naval officers and seamen did not seem to possess that enthusiasm and confidence, which distinguished her land officers and soldiers; they were apparently men of a different character; this, indeed, might arise from their knowing too well, by fatal experiences that they were by no means able to cope with Britain in her own element—Whatever however were the causes, France was by no means a match for Britain by sea: she had no fleet, at this time of sufficient force to keep the sea against the marine of Britain.

Notwithstanding this however, on one occasion France this year had at sea a fleet superior to the opposing fleet of Britain, but this instead of being the cause of triumph and victory to her, only afforded an opportunity for a British Admiral to display most wonderful presence of mind, and maritime enterprize:—we allude to the masterly retreat of Admiral Cornwallis from a superior force in the beginning of June. He had under his command five sail of the line and two frigates. As he was cruising off Belleisle on the 7th of June, he fell in with a fleet of merchantmen under convoy of three ships of the line and six frigates: he captured eight of the convoy, but the men of war escaped. On the 16th, as he was standing in towards the land, near the Penmarks, one of his frigates made a signal for an enemy's fleet, which, it was soon ascertained consisted of thirteen sail of the line, several frigates, two brigs, and a cutter. The wind at first falling calm, and afterwards coming round to the north, the enemy's ships were enabled to get to windward; and next morning by daylight, they were seen moving on both quarters of the British squadron. About nine o'clock, the advanced ships of the enemy began to fire on the Mars, which as well as the rest of the British fleet, kept up a running fire, during the whole of the day. It has been said that Admiral Cornwallis was relieved from his peril-

ous situation by causing the signal to be made for a superior British fleet being in sight, which deterred the French admiral from pushing his advantages, and enabled the British to effect their escape with little loss.

The fleet from which Admiral Cornwallis had thus effected his escape were not destined long to boast of their having an appearance of triumph: for on the 22d of the same month, Admiral Lord Bridport, with fourteen sail of the line and eight frigates perceived this fleet of the enemy, and as they indicated no intention to fight him, he made the signal for four of his best sailing vessels to chace; as there was very little wind, the pursuit continued all that day, and during the night. Early on the morning of the 23d, some of the British ships came up with the enemy; and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till three in the afternoon. The French kept as near their own shore—near Port L'Orient as possible; so that only three were captured, viz. the *Alexander*, which had been taken from the British the preceding year, the *Formidable*, and the *Tigre*. The British had pursued the enemy so near their forts, that, at the time when they struck, they were exposed to some danger from the batteries; and it was not without considerable difficulty that the prizes were secured and got out. The rest of the French squadron escaped into L'Orient. The loss of the British in this action was thirty-one killed, and one hundred and fifteen wounded; the loss of the French was not accurately ascertained.

An action of some importance took place on the 14th of March in the Mediterranean, between the British fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line and three frigates, commanded by Admiral Hotham, and a French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, and an equal number of frigates with the British.

Admiral Hotham was lying in the road of Leghorn; and while there he received intelligence on the 8th of March,

that the enemy's fleet had been seen off the isle of St. Margerite; and about the same time one of his own squadron then in the offing, made the signal for a fleet in the north-west quarter: from this source also he learnt, that this fleet was steering to the southward. He immediately ordered his squadron to be unmoored, and the following morning put to sea, shaping his course for Corsica, and dispatching the Tarleton brig with orders for the Berwick, which he expected was lying at St. Fiorenza, to join him off Cape Corse; but, in the course of the night, the brig returned, with the unwelcome and unexpected news that the Berwick had been captured two days before by the very fleet, in pursuit of which the Admiral had now sailed.

It was the 12th of the month before the two squadrons came in sight of one another; on the morning of the 13th, the British admiral threw out the signal for a general chase: the wind was blowing very fresh, and the French being anxious to escape, one of their line-of-battle ships carried away her top-masts. On this being discovered, Captain Freemantle in the Inconstant frigate attacked her, and continued to rake and harass her, till the Agamemnon came up, when the enemy was dreadfully cut up. As however, the Inconstant and the Agamemnon were a very great way a-head of the rest of the British fleet, they were obliged to quit her, as others of the enemy's squadron were coming up to her assistance.

As soon as day broke on the 14th Admiral Hotham discovered the disabled ship, with another that had her in tow, so far to leeward, and so separated from their own squadron as, in his opinion to render it extremely probable she might be cut off: he considered that the French must either abandon her, or by coming up to her protection and assistance, give him an opportunity of bringing them to battle. He immediately used every possible exertion to come up with the disabled ship; and soon had

the satisfaction to find, that though the enemy would rather have declined an engagement, yet they resolved to venture, rather than desert and lose their companion. They therefore came down with a view of supporting the disabled ship and the one which had her in tow; but the Captain and Bedford, two of Admiral Hotham's fleet, were so far advanced as well as so closely and well supported by the other ships, that the engagement ended in the enemy abandoning these two vessels, which proved to be the *Ca-ira* of eighty guns, and the *Censeur* of seventy-four.

The British admiral did not deem it prudent to renew or rather continue the battle, in consequence of the *Illustrious* and *Courageux* the van ships which engaged the *Ca-ira* and the *Censeur* having suffered so much in the conflict; each having lost their main and mizen mast. The *Illustrious* was so much disabled, that she was obliged to be taken in tow by a frigate, but was afterwards separated in a gale of wind, and driven on shore and lost near Avenza.

One of the ships thus gained from the enemy was not destined to remain long in our possession. On the 7th of October, the British Mediterranean fleet, which consisted of upwards of sixty merchant vessels, homeward bound and richly laden, under the protection of the *Censeur*, Bedford, and *Formidable*, and four frigates, were overtaken off Cape St. Vincent by a French fleet, commanded by Admiral Richery: this fleet consisted of nine sail of the line and several frigates, and had sailed from Toulon a short time before. As soon as the British commodore observed the strength of the enemy, he immediately made the signal to wear and stand from them; but the French admiral, by a masterly manœuvre, secured in a great measure the object which he had in view; for while he dispatched his frigates to prevent the escape of the merchant ships, the line-of-battle ships, by carrying a press of sail were

enabled to cut off the retreat of the *Censeur* which had previously lost her main top mast. As however the attention and manœuvres of the enemy were chiefly directed to the capture of the convoy, the *Bedford* and *Formidable*, and the frigates made their escape: about thirty of the merchantmen were captured.

This was not the only loss which our commerce sustained this year; for nearly about the same time eighteen of the homeward bound Jamaica ships were taken by two French squadrons belonging to Rochefort; a few of the captured vessels were however recovered before they reached a French port.

These are all the events purely maritime that belong to the first regular and usual division of our annals of this year; before, however, we record the single actions of 1795, some of which were very splendid, and some unfortunate but by no means disgraceful, we may just mention, that this year the Cape of Good Hope was taken by a squadron under Admiral Elphinstone, and the possessions of the Dutch in the island of Ceylon were also reduced, bitter first fruits to the people of Holland of the war with Great Britain, into which they had recently been urged by the French.

The first single action which we are called upon to record, perhaps is not equalled, certainly not exceeded in point of determined and persevering gallantry, in the naval records of this country: of such an action every particular ought to be known, and it ought to be known in the most authentic and official manner; we shall therefore lay the account of it before our readers in the very words of the Gazette.

“ Admiralty-Office, February 14.

“ Dispatches from Vice-admiral Caldwell, dated January 13, contain the following particulars of a memorable engagement between his majesty's frigate *La Blanche*, and the French frigate *La Pique* of thirty-eight guns :

“*January 4, 1795.* At day-light saw a frigate at anchor outside of the harbour of Point-à-Petre. At seven A. M. she got under way, and kept working under her topsails, backing her mizen-topsail at times to keep company with a schooner. We ran toward her until nearly within gun-shot of Fort Fleur d’Epée, then tacked, hove to, and filled occasionally. Finding the French frigate not inclined to come out from the batteries, we made sail to board a schooner coming down along Grand Terre. At eleven A. M. fired a gun, and brought her to; she proved an American from Bourdeaux, and appearing suspicious, detained the master, and took her in tow. At this time the battery of Grozier fired two guns at us, and the frigate fired several, and hoisted her colours. None of the shot reached us. Finding her still not inclined to come out, we made sail towards Marigalante, under topsails and courses.

Monday, at four P. M. we tacked and hove to, took out the American crew, and sent a petty officer and men into her. Saw the frigate still under Grand Terre. At six P. M. wore ship, and stood toward Dominique, with the schooner in tow. At half-past eight P. M. saw the frigate about two leagues astern, east of the schooner; tacked, and made sail. At a quarter past twelve A. M. passed under her lee on the starboard tack, she on the larboard tack, and exchanged broadsides. At half-past twelve A. M. tacked and came up with her fast. When within musket-shot, she wore with an intention to rake us; we wore at the same time and engaged her nearly aboard. At one A. M. put our-helm a starboard, and run across her stern and lashed her bowsprit to our capstern; kept firing our quarter-deck guns, and other guns that would bear into her, and musketry, which she returned from her tops and from her quarter-deck guns, run in amid ship fore and aft. At this time our main and mizen masts went overboard, and they attempted to board us, but were re-

pulsed. At a quarter past two A. M. she dropped astern (at this time Captain Faulknor fell). We got a hawser up and made her well fast with her bowsprit, abreast of our starboard quarter; the marines keeping a constant fire of musketry into her. Finding the carpenters could not make the ports large enough, we blew out as much of the upper transom beam as would admit the two aftermost guns on the main deck to be run out, and fired into her bows. At two A. M. all her masts were shot away. In this situation we towed her before the wind, engaging till a quarter past five, when she called out, that, 'she had struck!' The second lieutenant and ten men then swam on board, and took possession of *La Pique*, of

26 12 pounds, French.

8 9 ditto. ditto.

4 32 carronades, brass,

with a number of brass swivels on her gunwale. At the time of action we had away in prizes two master's mates, and twelve men. They had seventy-six killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and thirty lost with the masts. Their complement at the beginning of the action was upwards of four hundred men. Our loss, including Captain Faulkner, is eight killed, and twenty-one wounded. They came out on purpose to fight us.

" Captain Faulknor was shot through the heart by a Frenchman, from the bowsprit of *La Pique*. Captain Faulknor having previously himself lashed the bowsprit of *La Pique* to the capstern with his own hands.

" First Lieutenant Watkins gallantly fought the ship after Captain Faulknor fell; and Lieutenant David Milne was second lieutenant.

" Killed: Captain Robert Faulknor; Mr. William Bolton, midshipman; five seamen, and one marine.

" Wounded: Mr. Charles Herbert, midshipman; Isaac Hutchinson, quarter-master; Philip Griffith, ditto; Wil-

liam Fletcher, armourer; George Dice, serjeant of marines; twelve seamen and four marines."

Reflections on the mutability of war, and the inadequacy even of the greatest skill, the most consummate courage, and the coolest and most comprehensive talents to ensure success, are as true as they are trite and common place: they need not therefore be indulged in prefacing the particulars of the naval achievement which we are about to record. Britain in this war was so pre-eminently great and successful in her own appropriate and hereditary element, if the expression may be allowed, that she could well afford to lose a few ships: at the same time, disaster must always be peculiarly galling and mortifying to British naval officers, when they reflect that their countrymen look upon victory by sea as their undoubted right, to which they will scarcely allow even the greatest disparity of force to be any objection or impediment; this reflection, while it rouses the maritime sons of Britain to wonderful enterprize, must also dispirit them in case of defeat, even though that defeat has been brought about by circumstances, which totally and unequivocally free them from all blame. Besides those who are unfortunate naturally contrast their situation and fate with those who are fortunate, and are consequently disposed to feel their own more acutely: but to return to our narrative.

While the Thames, commanded by Captain James Cotes, was on a cruize, a strange vessel was observed, and soon afterwards another of inferior size, her companion. The weather at this time was very thick, but upon its clearing up, in the course of the forenoon, Captain Cotes perceived that the larger vessel had hauled his wind and was making sail towards the Thames: he accordingly made his ship clear and fit for action. Soon afterwards the strange vessel hoisted French national colours. The two vessels were soon close to each other,

passing on contrary tacks : the enemy fired her bow guns and then a broadside, when she wore and an action commenced : it continued for upwards of three hours, when the enemy, which it was now ascertained was a frigate, hauled off to the southward, making all the sail she could : at this time the Thames was so utterly disabled that she was in no condition to follow her.

The state of the Thames is thus described by Captain Cotes in his official dispatch.

“ All our masts and bowsprit were shot through in a number of places, all our stays entirely shot away, all the main rigging shot away, and was hanging by the ratlins, except two shrouds on one side, and three on the other ; but, on examination, the eyes of these were shot away above the top. The main-top-mast rigging was still more damaged, and the mast shot through in three places. The main topsail yard was shot away in the slings by a double-headed shot, and the yard-arms came down before the main yard, the lifts, braces &c. being all shot away ; the slings, both iron and rope, beside the geers of the main-yard, were shot away ; the yard hung by the trusses, about a third mast down ; the main sail was cut to pieces, particularly the leech ropes. The fore mast had received nearly the same damage as the main mast, with this difference, that the slings of the fore-yard were not all cut away, so that the yard remained aloft ; the fore-top-mast-rigging, except one shroud on one side, and two on the other, was all shot away, with all the stays, back-stays, lifts, braces, tyes, haulyards, &c. the bowsprit shot through in several places, all the bob-stays and bowsprit shrouds were cut by shot and langrage ; the jib-stay and haulyards were cut away the first broadside: The mizen-mast was so wounded and the rigging so cut to pieces, that I was obliged to lower the gaff after the action, to prevent the masts going over the side ; the fore part of the top was entirely shot away. I cannot pretend to enumerate the shot that was received

in the hull; most part of the gangways were shot away, the main deck before the main-mast was torn up from the waterway to the hatchways, the bits were shot away and unshipped, six shot between wind and water on the starboard, and three on the larboard side; in short, when the enemy made sail, the ship was perfectly unmanageable, two guns on the main deck, and one on the quarter-deck were dismantled, almost all the tackle and breechings were carried away; in this situation I was obliged to put before the wind, to prevent the masts going over the side, as it began to freshen from the W. S. W."

It is evident from this particular account of the state of the Thames, that she was in no condition to fight another battle even with a vessel of inferior force; and that it must have been the object and the wish of her captain to get into port for the purpose of refitting as soon as possible,—but this was not to be his fate.

While all hiscrew were busily employed in temporarily repairing the damages which the Thames had sustained, three vessels bearing the English flag were seen at a distance; it was too soon made out that they were large frigates, and that in all probability these were enemies, notwithstanding the colours which they displayed. The Thames was now in a dreadful situation; she could not possibly fly, she could not even alter her position, as she could not haul upon a wind, all her after sail being shot away, and the runners being carried forward, were crossed for the purpose of serving both as stays and shrouds. Besides the enemy's frigates, in order to prevent the escape of the Thames, had separated, and were standing in such a manner as to render her escape, even if she had not been so much damaged, absolutely impossible.

As there was still a possibility that these vessels might not be enemies, though from all appearance Captain Cotes had little doubts on the subject, he called his officers together, and asked them, whether, if they should prove

enemies it would answer any purpose engaging in the situation they were in: their opinion was unanimous, that it would be absurd and mad in the extreme to fight three large vessels with a ship so disabled as the Thames was; that it would be the sacrifice of the lives of the men, to accomplish no possible good object; they were also of opinion, what indeed could hardly be called matter of opinion, it was so plain and certain,—that the Thames was cut off from all possibility of escape.

About this time, the headmost of the three frigates, still displaying English colours, passed the Thames at a considerable distance; this appears to have been done for the purpose of accurately ascertaining in what state she was. As soon as the enemy had accomplished this object, she wore and came under the stern of the Thames, giving her a broadside. Captain Cotes upon this, ordered his vessel to be brought to, and informed the enemy, that as his ship had been already engaged, and was dreadfully disabled, and totally incapable of further resistance, he yielded to their superior force. The captain of the frigate desired that the Thames would send her boat; to this request Captain Cotes replied that it was impossible, as they were all unfit to be put into the water; and even if they were, they could not be hoisted out for want of the proper tackle: upon this the captain of the enemy's frigate sent his own boat. Captain Cotes took the opportunity afforded him by the delay of throwing overboard all papers and letters of consequence.

The vessel to which he surrendered was the Carmagnole; the Thames was taken in tow by her and anchored in Brest-road the following day.

The Hon. Captain Cochrane, who commanded the Thetis received orders from Rear-Admiral Murray to cruize off the Cheseapeak, for the purpose of intercepting three French store ships which were lying in Hampton roads

and ready for sea in the month of May. On the 2d of that month, he proceeded in the *Thetis* with His Majesty's ship *Hussar*, and on the 17th at day-break, Cape Henry bearing distant E. by S. distant twenty leagues, they discovered five sail of ships standing to the N. W. with their larboard tacks on board. It was soon ascertained that they were vessels of considerable force : two of them appeared to carry from twenty-eight to thirty guns on their main decks, and one of these had lower deck-ports ; the three others seemed to carry from twenty to twenty-four guns each.

Immediately on discovering the *Thetis* and the *Hussar*, the enemy formed a line of battle a-head, and lay to, for the purpose of receiving them. Captain Cochrane was not intimidated by their superior number or force ; but having made the signal for the *Hussar* to engage the second ship of the enemy's van, he determined in the *Thetis* to attack the centre ship, which appeared the largest, and the two others that were in the rear.

As soon as they had got within half musket shot, the enemy hoisted their colours, the second ship from the van carrying a broad pendant, and the firing commenced on the part of the enemy, which was soon afterwards returned by the *Thetis* and the *Hussar*. In the short space of half an hour, Captain Cochrane and his companion had closed with the enemy, and the *Hussar* had compelled the commodore and his second a-head to quit the line, and make sail to the S. E. As soon as this was accomplished the *Thetis* and *Hussar* directed their whole force against the centre ships and those in the rear ; these sustained the combat rather more than half an hour, after they were deserted by their comrades ; but at this time they struck their colours ; the two in the rear however, notwithstanding, attempted to effect their escape, but one of them was soon brought to by the *Hussar*.

On taking possession of the largest ship she proved to be *La Prevoyante*, pierced for twenty-six guns on the main deck, with four other ports and ten ports below; she had only twenty-four guns mounted; some of which were shifted over during the action: within an hour after she struck, her main and fore-masts went over the side. The ship which was taken possession of by the *Hussar* was called *La Raison*, carrying eighteen guns but pierced for twenty-four. This vessel with the other three had escaped from Guadaloupe, and were bound to a port in America, there to take in a cargo of provisions and naval stores for France.

Captain Cochrane on inquiry and examination found that it would not be prudent to follow the enemy that had escaped, as both the *Thetis* and the *Hussar* had suffered considerable damage.

In the month of June a most gallant and spirited action took place between the *Dido*, Captain Towry, in company with the *Lowestoffe*, Captain Middleton, on their way to reconnoitre off the Hieres islands, and two French frigates *La Minerva*, and *L'Artemise*.

At daylight on the 24th, they discovered and chased these French frigates; after some manœuvring, the enemy stood towards the British ships: and at a quarter before nine, A. M. the *Dido*, commenced a close action with the headmost of the enemy's ships: at an early period of the engagement they were both much disabled, and fell twice on board each other. The enemy lost her bowsprit, fore-mast, and main top-mast; and the mizen-mast of the *Dido* was shot away; under these circumstances Captain Towry was no longer able to keep her to. At this time the *Lowestoffe* opened a well directed fire; the enemy's second frigate then passing, and exchanging broadsides, His Majesty's ships were kept on the same tack till she went about, when fearing that she might

stand to the assistance of the dismasted ship, the *Lowestoffe* was sent in chace; but, in consequence of the superior sailing of the French frigate, she escaped, leaving her comrade to her fate. As soon as the *Lowestoffe* returned from her unsuccessful chace, she raked the other frigate in a most judicious and successful manner, so that about noon she compelled her to surrender.

By this time the *Dido* was nearly cleared of the wreck of her mizen mast, and having bent her top-sails, found, in securing the prize, which proved to be *La Minerve*, a new ship of forty-two guns, eighteen pounders on the main deck, and three hundred and thirty men, a remarkably fast sailer: her companion that escaped was *L'Artemere* of thirty guns.

As Captain Towry received information that the French fleet was at sea; and as his vessels required refitting, he deemed it prudent to run for port Mahon, where he arrived safely with his consort and his prize.

Besides the captures of His Majesty's ships by the enemy this year, which we have already narrated, we have to record the destruction of the *Boyne* by fire.

At eleven o'clock on Friday morning the 4th of May, a fire broke out on board of this vessel, which was then lying at Spithead; it continued with irresistible violence till five o'clock, when the magazine blew up. It was discovered in the after part of the ship, and is supposed to have been caused either by a live cartridge from the muskets of the soldiers, who had been exercising on the windward side of the ship, having lodged in some part below; or from the funnel of the admiral's cabin, having been on fire and communicated to the deck.

Before the fire was discovered, the flames had burnt through the poop: it fortunately happened, however, that the greatest part of the powder had been sent on

shore three days before, and as soon as the alarm of fire was given, the water cocks were turned upon the great magazine. The fore and aft hanging magazines contained very little powder;—the former exploded, but without doing any damage.

At the time when the fire broke out, there was a fresh breeze at south west, and it being tide of ebb, the ships were tiding with their sterns to the wind. Within half an hour after the commencement of the fire, the tops and all the rigging were in a blaze. At twelve o'clock, when the tide turned, the position of the ships was changed, but it was then too late to make any attempt to save the *Boyne*, or even for boats to get near her: long before this, however, most of the crew had been saved; since, on mustering the men taken into the different ships, it appeared that there were only fourteen missing, of whom eleven are supposed to have perished; all the officers and warrant officers were saved.

All her guns were loaded, and as they became heated, they went off, the shot falling among the shipping; some of them even reached the shore. On board of the *Queen Charlotte* two men were killed and one wounded by the shot from the guns: it was upwards of two hours from the first discharge, till they all went off, so that it was extremely fortunate that they did not do more mischief.

About two o'clock, the cables of the *Boyne* being burnt, she went adrift, the fire blazing through every port hole; it may well be imagined that such a sight, though at noon day, was awfully grand; and could all idea of danger, and all reflection on the lives that were exposed have been put out of the question, the feelings of the spectators must have approached the sublime.

The ships which lay to leeward of her, having got under weigh, to get clear of her, ran down to *St. Helens*, while she drifted slowly to the eastward, her mizen-masts

and top-masts having fallen down before she began to drift.

About five o'clock the wreck of the *Boyne* was drifted by the tide opposite South Sea Castle, when the magazine blew up with a very great explosion.

This noble ship, thus destroyed, was only five years old, and was completely manned and victualled; besides the seamen who perished on board of her, a considerable number of women and children must also have lost their lives, as they were on board of her at the time of the accident, but their numbers are not known. The men jumped overboard, and were mostly taken up by boats belonging to the fleet, which had all been manned on the first alarm, and ordered to render her assistance.

At this period of the war there seemed less chance than ever of obtaining the object, which either Britain or the continental powers proposed to have in view in carrying it on. The French were every where successful by land; Holland had been overrun, the government of it destroyed, and it had united with France. Spain seemed intimidated by the victories of France, and it was easy to perceive, that no great length of time would elapse before this country, from being the foe, would become the ally of France.

Britain in the mean time was the very soul of the confederacy against France; had she relaxed—had she not supplied them with money, the war must have been at an end, for they were totally unable, of themselves to carry it on any longer. The British ministry were in some measure induced to persevere, in consequence of the representations that the emigrants made to them of the state of France; led away by these representations, the fatal expedition to Quiberon was planned, and executed.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all their external

successes, the French nation were internal victims of the most violent disquiet, the most horrible tyranny, and almost daily changes and convulsions; it seemed natural to suppose that the nation would be weakened by these convulsions, but this was not the case; however they differed among themselves, they were all or nearly all united against their enemies.

Nor was the British ministry free from alarm; Ireland was in a very disquiet and convulsed state, and this state the French contrived to render worse by their manœuvres, intrigues, and emissaries.

Still, notwithstanding it seemed evident, that all parties needed peace, there were no advances made towards that desirable object; and it had now become too apparent that nearly all Europe was engaged in a contest more bloody and obstinate, and likely to be of longer duration than any she had witnessed or suffered from, for a great number of years.

During the contest, America found it difficult to keep at peace; as the French navy and merchant ships were inadequate to protect or carry her commerce, American vessels were often employed for this purpose; some of these were captured by the British, and this of course gave rise to complaints and remonstrances. At length on the 19th of November, this year, a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation was entered into between Great Britain and America, of which the following articles refer more particularly to the object of this work.

“7. Whereas complaints have been made by divers merchants and others, citizens of the United States, that during the course of the war in which His Majesty is now engaged, they have sustained considerable losses and damage, by reason of irregular or illegal captures or condemnations of their vessels or other property, under colour or authority of commissions from his majesty; and

that, from various circumstances belonging to the said cases, adequate compensation for the losses and damages thus sustained cannot now be actually obtained, had and received, by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; it is agreed, that in all such cases, where adequate compensation cannot, for whatever reason, be now actually obtained, had, and received, by said merchants and others, in the ordinary course of justice, full and complete compensation for the same will be made by the British government to the said complainants. But it is distinctly understood, that this provision is not to extend to such losses or damages as has been occasioned by the manifest delay or negligence, or wilful omission, of the claimants.

“ That for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorised to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article, and after taking the same oath or affirmation (*mutatis mutandis*;) the same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorised to extend the same in particular cases. They shall receive testimony, books, papers, and evidence in the same latitude, and exercise the like discretion and powers respecting that subject; and shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commissioners, or any such three of them as aforesaid, shall, in cases, be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimant; and his Britannic majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimant in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times, as shall be awarded by the said commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

“ And whereas certain merchants and others, his majesty’s subjects, complain, that in the course of the war they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of the vessels and merchandize taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the states, and brought into the port of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the said states; it is agreed, that in all such cases where restitution shall not have been made, agreeable to the tenor of the letter from Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, September 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty, the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are, referred to the commissioners, to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorised and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants or claimants, in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified; and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said awards may be directed. And it is further agreed, that not only the now existing cases of both descriptions, but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered within the provisions, intent, and meaning of this article.

“ 17. It is agreed that in all cases where vessels shall be captured or detained on just suspicion of having on board enemy’s property, or of carrying to the enemy any of the articles which are contraband of war; the said vessel shall be brought to the nearest or most convenient port; and if any property of an enemy should be found on board such vessel, that part only which belongs to the enemy shall be made prize, and the vessel shall be at

liberty to proceed with the remainder without any impediment. And it is agreed that all proper measures shall be taken to prevent delay in deciding the cases of ships or cargoes so brought in for adjudication ; and in the payment or recovery of any indemnification adjudged or agreed to be paid to the masters or owners of such ships.

“ 18. In order to regulate what is in future to be deemed contraband of war, it is agreed that under the said denomination shall be comprised all arms and implements serving for the purposes of war by land or sea, such as cannon, muskets, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, carcasses, saucisses, carriages for cannon, musket rests, bandoliers, gunpowder, match, saltpetre, ball, pikes, swords, head pieces, cuirasses, halberds, lances, javelins, horse furniture, holsters, belts, and generally all other implements of war ; as also timber for ship-building, tar, or rosin, copper in sheets, sails, hemp and cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the equipment of vessels, unwrought iron and fir planks only excepted ; and all the above articles are hereby declared to be just objects of confiscation whenever they are attempted to be carried to an enemy.

“ And whereas the difficulty of agreeing on the precise cases in which alone provisions and other articles not generally contraband may be regarded as such, renders it expedient to provide against the inconveniences and misunderstandings which might thence arise : it is further agreed that whenever any such articles so becoming contraband according to the existing laws of nations, shall for that reason be seized, the same shall not be confiscated, but the owners thereof shall be speedily and completely indemnified ; and the captors, or in their default the government under whose authority they act, shall pay to the masters or owners of such vessel the full value of all articles, with a reasonable mercantile profit thereon,

together with the freight and also the demurrage incident to such detention.

“ And whereas it frequently happens that vessels sail for a port or place belonging to the enemy without knowing that the same is either besieged, blockaded, or invested; it is agreed that every vessel so circumstanced may be turned away from such port or place, but shall not be detained; nor her cargo, if not contraband, be confiscated unless after notice she shall again attempt to enter; but she may be permitted to go to any other port or place she may think proper; nor shall any vessels or goods of either party that shall have entered into such port or place before the same was besieged, blockaded or invested by the other, and be found therein after the reduction or surrender of such place be liable to confiscation, but shall be restored to the owners or proprietors thereof.

“ 19. And that more abundant care be taken for the security of the respective subjects and citizens of the contracting parties, and to prevent their suffering injuries by the men-of-war or privateers of either party, all commanders of ships of war and privateers, and all others the said subjects and citizens, shall forbear to do any damage to those of the other party, or commit any outrage against them; and if they act to the contrary they shall be punished, and shall also be bound in their persons and estates to make satisfaction and reparation for all damages and the interest thereof, of whatever nature the said damages may be.

“ For this cause all commanders of privateers before they receive their commissions shall hereafter be obliged to give before a competent judge sufficient security by at least two responsible sureties, who have no interest in the said privateer, each of whom together with the said commander shall be jointly and severally bound in the sum of

fifteen hundred pounds sterling, or if such ship be provided with above one hundred and fifty seamen or soldiers, in the sum of three thousand pounds sterling to satisfy all damages and injuries which the said privateer, or officers, or men, or any of them may do or commit during their cruize contrary to the tenor of this treaty, or to the law and instructions for regulating their conduct; and further that in all cases of aggression the said commissions shall be revoked and annulled.

“ It is also agreed that whenever a judge of a court of admiralty of either of the parties shall pronounce sentence against any vessel of goods or property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other party, a formal and duly authenticated copy of all the proceedings in the cause and of the said sentence, shall if required be delivered to the commander of the said vessel without the smallest delay, he paying all legal fees and demands for the same.

“ 20. It is further agreed that both the said contracting parties shall not only refuse to receive any pirates into any of their ports, havens, or towns, or permit any of their inhabitants to receive, protect, harbour, conceal or assist them in any manner, but will bring to condign punishment all such inhabitants as shall be guilty of such acts or offences.

“ And all their ships with the goods or merchandises taken by them and brought into the port of either of the said parties, shall be seized as far as they can be discovered, and shall be restored to the owners, or the factors, or agents duly deputed and authorised in writing by them (proper evidence being first in the court of admiralty for proving the property) even in case such effects should have passed into other hands by sale, if it be proved that the buyers knew or had good reason to believe or suspect that they had been piratically taken.”

“ 23. The ships of war of each of the contracting parties shall at all times be hospitably received into the ports of the other, their officers and crews paying due respect to the laws and government of the country. The officers shall be treated with that respect which is due to the commissions which they bear; and if any insult should be offered to them by any of the inhabitants, all offenders in this respect shall be punished as disturbers of the peace and amity between the two countries. And His Majesty consents that in case an American vessel should by stress of weather, danger from enemies, or other misfortunes, be reduced to the necessity of seeking shelter in any of His Majesty's ports, into which such vessel could not in ordinary cases claim to be admitted, she shall on manifesting that necessity to the satisfaction of the government of the place be hospitably received, and permitted to refit, and to purchase at the market price such necessaries as she may stand in need of, conformably to such orders and regulations as the government of the place, having respect to the circumstances of each case, shall prescribe. She shall not be allowed to break or unload her cargo, unless the same shall be *bonâ fide* necessary to her being refitted: nor shall she be permitted to sell any part of her cargo, unless so much only as may be necessary to defray her expences, and then not without the express permission of the government of the place; nor shall she be obliged to pay any duties whatever, except only on such articles as she may be permitted to sell for the purpose aforesaid.

“ 24. It shall not be lawful for any foreign privateers (not being subjects or citizens of either of the said parties) who have commissions from any other prince or state in enmity with either nation to arm their ships in the ports of either of the said parties, nor sell what they have taken, nor in any other manner to exchange the same; nor shall they be allowed to purchase more provisions than shall be necessary for their going to the nearest port

of that prince or state from whom they obtained their commissions.

“ 25. It shall be lawful for the ships of war and privateers belonging to the said parties respectively to carry whithersoever they please the ships and goods taken from their enemies, without being obliged to pay any fee to the officers of the Admiralty, or to any judges whatever; nor shall the said prizes when they arrive at, and enter the ports of the said parties, be detained or seized, neither shall the searchers or other officers of those places visit such prizes (except for the purpose of preventing the carrying of any part of the cargo thereof on shore in any manner contrary to the established laws of revenue, navigation, or commerce) nor shall such officers take cognizance of the validity of such prizes; but they shall be at liberty to hoist sail and depart as speedily as may be, and carry their said prizes to the place mentioned in their commissions or patents, which the commanders of the said ships of war or privateers shall be obliged to show.

No shelter or refuge shall be given in their ports to such as have made a prize upon the subjects or citizens of either of the said parties; but if forced by stress of weather or the danger of the sea to enter therein, particular care shall be taken to hasten their departure, and to cause them to retire as soon as possible. Nothing in this treaty contained shall, however, be construed or operate contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereigns or states. But the two parties agree that while they continue in amity, neither of them will in future make any treaty that shall be inconsistent with this or the preceding article.

“ Neither of the said parties shall permit the ships or goods belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other to be taken within cannon shot of the coast, nor in any of the bays, ports, or rivers of their territories by ships of war, or others having commission from any prince, republic,

or state whatever. But in case it should so happen, the party whose territorial rights shall thus have been violated shall use his utmost endeavours to obtain from the offending party full and ample satisfaction for the vessel or vessels so taken, whether the same be vessels of war or merchant vessels."

As the British ministry were still resolved to persevere in the war against the republic of France, and to conduct it on the most liberal plan with respect to expense, as the most likely way, in their opinion, to bring it to a speedy and favourable termination; and in fact the most economical mode they could pursue, the usual motions were made in the House of Commons for the supplies of the year 1796. Lord Arden moved in the committee of supply, that one hundred and ten thousand seamen should be voted for the service of the year 1796, including eighteen thousand marines; and that four pounds a man per month for thirteen months should be allowed; both of these were accordingly voted; and a short time afterwards the committee granted a sum not exceeding six hundred and twenty-four thousand one hundred and fifty-two pounds, one shilling and eight-pence for the ordinary pay of the navy, and seven hundred and eight thousand four hundred pounds for building and repairing ships of war. In the month of May, 1796, the usual sum of five hundred thousand pounds was voted towards discharging the debt of the navy; so that the total supplies granted by Parliament for the service of the navy during the year 1796 stood as follow:

For 110,000 men, including 18,000 marines	£5,720,000	0	0
Ordinary of the navy	624,152	1	8
Extraordinary of the navy	708,400	0	0
Towards discharging the navy debt	500,000	0	0

Total supply for the navy....£7,552,552 1 8

The naval events of this year are neither very numerous nor very important. The British were so very superior at sea, and had in fact already succeeded in reducing so much the naval force of their opponents, that they had few ships to capture, and of course took great care not to expose them to much danger. Notwithstanding the superiority of the English, however, in almost every part of the globe, the French planned an expedition against Newfoundland, in which they succeeded so far as to burn and otherwise destroy British property to a considerable amount. The command of this expedition was entrusted to Admiral Richery, who had been for some time blocked up in Cadiz ; but Spain, in consequence of the successes and the intrigues of the French, having been forced or persuaded into a war with Britain, fitted out a fleet which relieved the French admiral from his confinement at Cadiz, where he had been shut up by the English for several months, with the valuable captures he had made of their Mediterranean fleet, in the course of the preceding summer.

The expedition to Newfoundland, though so far successful, could not from its nature and object be either of permanent or material advantage to the French, or of permanent or material injury to the English ; but it plainly shewed that notwithstanding our superiority at sea, and that our ships in fact almost swept the whole ocean, yet it was very possible for the enemy to escape out of their ports ; and as they had got to Newfoundland unobserved and unimpeded, and done mischief there, so they might get to other places where there would be a much greater opportunity for them to injure our vital interests.

As soon as Admiral Richery had effected his object at Newfoundland, he returned to Rochelle : about the same time the French were very busily employed in encreasing their naval force in the harbour of Brest.

The success which the British navy obtained at the

Cape of Good Hope about this time much more than compensated for the destruction of property by the enemy at Newfoundland: Admiral Elphinstone captured the Dutch squadron off that settlement, consisting of seven ships. We perhaps employed an improper word when we said that the squadron was captured; for Admiral Lucas, who commanded it, surrendered it to the British without so much as firing a single shot: this he was in a manner obliged to do, in consequence of the defection of the crews under his command.

This squadron had evaded the vigilance of the English by effecting a passage early in the spring, and was to have been joined by a French squadron: their object if they had formed a junction was to have been the recapture of the Cape of Good Hope. When the Dutch government expressed a wish to their new allies the French, to regain by their assistance this most valuable and important settlement, the latter promised their co-operation, provided the Dutch would advance the money necessary to fit out a squadron: this money was accordingly advanced by the Dutch, but the squadron was never prepared; and the Dutch after several months spent in fruitless solicitations and entreaties, were compelled to submit to the loss of the forces which they had sent to retake their possessions at the Cape.

Towards the close of this year the French made a most formidable effort to gain possession of Ireland. This country remained in a very disturbed and discontented state; and it was evident to all parties, that if the French could effect a landing even with a very small body of men, the insurgents, who were very numerous and daring, would immediately join them, and after such a junction it would scarcely be in the power of Britain to preserve Ireland. The French resolved that the force sent on this important but hazardous expedition should be sufficiently numerous. On the 2nd of December fifteen thousand

chosen troops were embarked at Brest, accompanied by eighteen sail of the line and a number of frigates; but of this armament, which was overtaken and dispersed at sea by a storm very soon after it had left Brest, only eight two deckers reached the coast of Ireland. These appeared off Bantry Bay, but were forced from that station by another tempest, narrowly escaping two squadrons of our navy. They returned to France with the loss of several ships of the line.

The first declaration of a pacific disposition was now made by the British ministry. On the 8th of December Mr. Pitt announced a message to Parliament from His Majesty, expressing his willingness to meet any negotiation on the part of the enemy; and in consequence the House of Commons came to a resolution that Great Britain might now safely treat with France. It was objected by his opponents that this cold and general declaration was altogether inexpressive of a real determination that ministers would open a treaty. A commission was given to Mr. Wickham, our agent at Basle, to sound Barthelemi respecting the willingness of the French government to come to terms. But France asserting that she would never consent to give up Belgium, put an immediate termination to the affair. A more direct negotiation was opened some months afterwards, and Lord Malmsbury was sent ambassador to France. His plan of pacification, however, made the cession of Belgium to the Emperor of Germany an indispensable preliminary, and on declaring that he was empowered to treat on no other terms, he was ordered by the Directory to depart in eight and forty hours. His stay in Paris did not exceed two months, and it was during this time that the Court of Madrid issued a proclamation of war against Great Britain.

Towards the end of the year 1795 the British government resolved to send out a large fleet to the West Indies.

The command of this fleet was given to Admiral Christian. Perhaps in the naval annals of no country is there to be found an instance of such great and accumulated ill fortune as attended this fleet before it got clear of the British shores. On the 8th of December he left St. Helens, with about two hundred sail of East and West India merchant ships, transports, ships of the line, frigates, &c. and from that time till the 29th of January, 1796, he was continually beating against contrary and tremendous gales of wind and heavy seas, in which nearly every ship in this very numerous fleet received more or less damage. On the 29th of January he succeeded in getting back to Portsmouth with part of his squadron; only forty-five sail of merchant ships, however, came back with him, and almost all the men-of-war were obliged to go into dock.

A very few days before the arrival of Admiral Christian himself, the *Dutton East India ship*, one of his squadron, arrived at Plymouth, and shortly after her arrival a dreadful gale of wind came on from the south-west; in consequence of this, about twelve o'clock on the 26th of January, she struck on the south-west part of Mount Batten, and immediately afterwards parted her cables: she then veered round with her head to the north-west, and stretched across the harbour under her fore-top-sail; but her rudder being beat off by striking on the Batten, she became unmanageable, and was driven ashore under the citadel, when her masts were all cut away: she soon afterwards became a mere wreck.

The circumstances attending this disaster were very alarming: when the vessel struck there were on board her, including soldiers, seamen, women, and children, about five hundred people. Such was the anxiety of the soldiers and sailors to get to land that many of them jumped overboard, and nearly lost their lives by this mad attempt, in consequence of the violence of the sea dashing

them on the rocks. On this occasion Sir Edward Pellew gained himself immortal honour ; for he got himself conveyed to the Dutton by means of a rope extended from the ship to the shore ; and by his able and judicious conduct prevented the confusion from extending, by representing in strong and forcible language the danger which would result if order were not kept, and by assuring the troops that he would be the last man who would quit the ship : by these means he restored tranquillity and confidence ; and all the men, with the exception of four or five persons, were got out of the ship, some by means of boats and others by ropes fastened to the shore.

The conduct of Admiral Cornwallis, with respect to the expedition to the West Indies to which we have just alluded, we think will be most impartially and clearly given to our readers by an abstract of the proceedings of the court martial who sat upon him, on this account, at Portsmouth, in the month of April.

This trial took place in consequence of an order from the Board of Admiralty,—of course no prosecutor appeared before the court.

The first paper of consequence that was read was a copy of the orders that were given to Vice-Admiral Cornwallis, in February, 1796, by the Board of Admiralty to proceed in His Majesty's ship the Royal Sovereign until he should arrive at Barbadoes ; and with the squadron under his command to convoy the several transports, victuallers, &c. which were then destined for the West Indies. He was ordered to proceed to this quarter in consequence of Admiral Christian's fleet having been forced back in such a damaged condition.

The next paper read was the Admiral's letter, informing the Lords of the Admiralty of his return in consequence of the damages sustained by the Royal Sovereign ; and after that, the second order of the Admiralty for Admiral Cornwallis to proceed to the West Indies, in the *Astrea*

frigate, together with his answer, giving his reasons why he could not obey that order.

There were three charges against him; the first was for returning contrary to the orders that he had received: the second, for not shifting his flag to some other ship when he found the Royal Sovereign could not proceed, and for giving his instructions and the command of the convoy to another officer; and the third charge was, for disobedience of orders in not hoisting his flag on board the *Astrea* frigate, and proceeding in haste to the West Indies. From the correspondence which passed between the Board of Admiralty and the Admiral it appeared, that, after he had proceeded to sea, the Royal Sovereign came *athwart* *hause* of, and became entangled with the *Belisarius* transport. The consequence of this accident was that the copper was torn off the rudder of the Admiral's ship, and she was besides otherwise so much damaged, as to render it unsafe and imprudent to take her to the West Indies.

In the letter to the Admiralty, conveying an account of this accident, Admiral Cornwallis added that, as he could not, on account of the infirm and precarious state of his health go out in the expedition in any other vessel but his own, which had been fitted out in a peculiar manner for his accommodation, and as he did not wish to delay the expedition, he had entrusted the command of it to another officer.

To this letter he received in reply from the Board of Admiralty, instructions to proceed in the *Astrea* frigate; on which he requested that the board would permit him to stop till his own ship was repaired. This letter of the admiral's was produced for the purpose of supporting the charge of disobedience.

After evidence was called, the chief purport of which respected the damages which the Royal Sovereign had sustained, Admiral Cornwallis gave in his defence; as it is highly characteristic of the man, who united perhaps as

many peculiarities of the old British sailor, as any officer in the British service, we shall give it pretty much in detail.

“ After expressing his concern, that such heavy charges should be made against him, who had so often distinguished himself in the service of his country, he proceeded to state, that on the 1st of February he had received his commission to go to the West Indies. This station was not imposed on him, he took it voluntarily; therefore, if his health had been so bad at that time as to make him desirous to decline the service, he might have done so. He thought, therefore, that he could quit the service at a subsequent period, when his health was so bad as to make it necessary; and particularly so, as his services in the West Indies could be only of a secondary nature, there being an admiral (Sir John Laforey) already there, who was superior to him in command; and he did not know whether that officer was to give up the command to him or not. With respect to the duty which he (Admiral Cornwallis) thought himself obliged to perform, he conceived it to be no more than that of convoying those ships which the *Vengeance* had left behind; but he thought it would be presumption in him to suppose that his personal services were necessary in the West Indies. He thought his only business was to guard the convoy. While he was proceeding to the West Indies, the *Bellisarius* transport ran against the *Royal Sovereign*, and was intangled with him for an hour. The weather was at the time so bad, and the night so dark, that he could not speak with the *Bellisarius*, nor could he hold any communication with any of the convoy, which, however, he was determined to push forward. On the 5th of March, he examined the ship, and found he could not proceed in her to the West Indies; and as he had no other ship to go in, and did not wish to delay the convoy, he delivered it over to the care of Captain Lewis. He could not go in the *Mars*, the

Minotaur, or the Quebec, for they had their private orders; and he did not even know that they were to accompany him, until Sir Charles Cotton came and delivered his orders on board the Royal Sovereign. He thought if he had gone in any of them, he should have been liable to a court-martial. The situation he was then in, was one in which he conceived he might exercise his own discretion. It was not an action, nor any thing that required his personal attendance; and if he had at the time gone on board any other ship, he must have endangered his health to such a degree, as to render such conduct an unnecessary zeal, which could not benefit the service. He was not in a state to go to a strange place, where he should have no comfort or accommodation. Besides, the court must see how difficult it would have been, and how great a delay it would cause the expedition, if he had shifted his flag. They must know what a time must be taken up in removing stores, ammunition, &c. from one ship to another. Besides, he did not think the service required such a change, not that there was such a pressing urgency as required his presence with the convoy. If, therefore, he had not done that which was best to be done, he lamented it much; but he did what in his judgment was the best: no disadvantage happened in consequence of that; and had that been the first command he ever was entrusted with, such an exercise of his judgment could not be ascribed to the abandonment of his duty. It was well known that he had, on a former occasion, exerted himself in the service of his country. He could not conceive that the board of admiralty would apply to his conduct any base or criminal purpose; but that it was at most only an error in judgment, for which every description of courts in this country had always made ample allowance, and punished nothing but wilful misconduct. He had received a letter upon his return from the first lord of the Admiralty, lamenting the disaster which had

caused him to come back, and, without making any complaint against him, desiring that he would continue the command of the Royal Sovereign; therefore he was at a loss to know at what time his conduct had assumed the criminal shape in which it came forward that day. So far he had vindicated his conduct against the two first charges. As to the third charge, which was certainly the heaviest of all, he would not, in the defence he was going to make against it, attempt to sap the foundation of discipline, by saying any thing like a justification of it; but he would say at once, that he did not disobey any order. His state of health was so bad, that when he should arrive at the West Indies, he should only be fit for an hospital, instead of an arduous command. He said in his letter to the Lords of the Admiralty such was the case, as it might be highly injurious to him to go out in a frigate, he was ready, he said, to go out in the Royal Sovereign, when she should be repaired. This letter was no more than a proposition to the board; and how, then, could it be called disobedience? If the lords of the admiralty had repeated the order, he should have gone; but they did not; and the first answer he had to the proposition which he made, was the order for that court-martial which was then enquiring into his conduct. He had submitted his reasons for not being able to go in the *Astrea*, and he received an order to remain in his ship at Spithead. He was written to by the first lord of the admiralty, as one who was declining a particular service. It was very difficult to lay down a fixed rule for persons in a high command; they were to act by the best of their judgment and discretion; and if they were to be charged with the consequences of such conduct, there was an end of all that confidence that ought to be placed in officers of high rank."

The first witness called by Admiral Cornwallis was the captain of the Royal Sovereign, who gave evidence not

only respecting the cause, the circumstances, the extent, and the consequences of the accident which had befallen the Admiral's ship, but also spoke very decidedly respecting the effect which it had on the admiral. He said, that the admiral expressed great concern and anxiety at the melancholy accident that happened to the ship, though it was not usual for him to be cast down by disasters: that he appeared by his words, his looks, and his actions, to be struck with deep and real regret; and that he thought it best for His Majesty's service to return to England: but this resolution he did not adopt till he had carefully and repeatedly examined the charts without effect, for the purpose of finding out whether there was any port into which he could put in and repair the vessel. The next point to be proved was the bad state of health of the admiral; as on this depended his justification for not obeying the instructions of the Admiralty by going out in the frigate; and this witness expressly declared that he was frequently very ill; that he would indeed, get up in a morning, apparently well; in the course of the day however, he would take cold, from some unknown cause, and in the evening be dangerously ill in bed. The facts respecting the accident that happened to the Royal Sovereign, and the bad health of the admiral were proved by other witnesses.

After some other proceedings of no very material importance, the sentence of the court was delivered; that with respect to the two first charges, misconduct was imputable to him, but the court acquitted him of any disobedience. With respect to the third, the court were of opinion that it was not proved, and therefore acquitted him of it. As soon as the sentence was communicated to the people on board of the Royal Sovereign, they all got upon deck and gave three cheers:

The naval service this year was deprived for some time of the almost unparalleled enterprize of Sir Sidney Smith. In the month of April, while lying near the mouth of the

Seine, he went in his boat to cut out a French lugger lying in the port of Havre. He succeeded in this enterprise, after some resistance; but not thinking it practicable to sail immediately with his prize, as the current was running very strong, he cast anchor: during the night, however, the ship drove from her anchor, or the cable was cut by some of the prisoners, and was carried by the current above the town. Here he was attacked by all the gun-boats and other vessels which the enemy could muster, and at last compelled to surrender.

The single actions this year were so numerous that we can mention, only very cursorily, some of them at least.

Sir Edward Pellew displayed his characteristic enterprise and valour, which were rewarded by well deserved success. In the month of April, he took *Le Vengeance* of forty-four guns, the finest and fastest sailer in the French navy, after a sharp action of one hour and forty minutes, but the action would probably have lasted much longer had not *La Concorde* appeared in sight. On board of Sir Edward Pellew's ship not a man was lost: but the French had forty-two killed and wounded. In April also *La Revolutionnaire*, Captain Cole captured *L'Unite*, French frigate, thirty-two guns, without the loss or hurt of a man. On board the French frigate, the captain and nine sailors were killed, and eleven wounded.

In the Gazette of the 18th of June five naval actions are recorded; viz. the capture of *Les Trois Couleurs* of ten guns and seventy men, and of *La Blonde* of eighteen guns and ninety-five men, off Ushant, by the *Indefatigable* frigate of forty-four guns, commanded by Sir E. Pellew; the recapture of the *Thames* frigate, by Captain Marten of the *Santa Margareta*; the capture of *Le Tribune* of forty-four guns by Captain Williams of the *Unicorn*; and the capture of the *Proserpine* frigate, of forty-eight guns by Lord Aurelius Beauclerc of the *Dryad*.

The Santa Margareta, and the Unicorn were in company when they fell in with the Thames and La Tribune. The Thames was captured by the Santa Margareta, after an action of twenty minutes; after which the Unicorn chased La Tribune, which endeavoured though unsuccessfully to gain the wind: the chace was towards the entrance of the Irish channel. The equality of sailing of the two ships, aided by the judgment of the enemy's commander, kept up a running fight for ten hours; during this period the Unicorn was much annoyed in her sails and rigging, by the shot from her opponent. Toward evening the wind dropped, when by means of a crowd of sail the Unicorn was enabled, at half-past ten, after the chace had continued for upwards of two hundred miles, to get up with La Tribune. Close action immediately commenced; it continued with great impetuosity for the space of thirty-five minutes, but a thick smoke having been raised, Captain Williams could not discover the effects it produced on the enemy. As soon as the smoke cleared away he observed that the enemy had dropped on his quarter, and was attempting by a masterly manœuvre to cross his stern and gain the wind. Captain Williams instantly ordered all the sails to be thrown a-back, which effectually prevented the object of the enemy: who now seeing there was no chance for him, called out that he had surrendered. La Tribune commanded by Commodore Moulsten had sailed from Brest only two days before in company with La Proserpine, the Thames and Le Legere, the Proserpine had separated the preceding evening in a fog.

While His Majesty's ship Dryad, commanded by Lord Aurelius Beauclerc, was cruising off Ireland, a sail was discovered standing towards her from the southward. As soon however as the strange vessel came near the Dryad, she hauled her wind and tacked; chace was immediately given and the enemy soon came up with. A close action

took place for the space of forty-five minutes, when the enemy struck: she proved to be the national frigate *La Proserpine*, the same vessel which had separated from *La Tribune*.

A French privateer called the *Morgan* had made several captives in the English channel; among other vessels which were employed to protect the trade was His Majesty's sloop *La Suffisante*, Captain Tomlinson: having retaken two English merchant ships, which had been captured by the privateer, he learnt that she carried sixteen guns besides swivels, and that she was cruising to the southward of Scilly. He therefore immediately dispatched the prizes, and stood in for the French coast, to which he supposed the enemy would return, if, as he had reason to believe, he had made any more captures. On the following morning (the 28th of June) he had the good fortune to discover the privateer and four merchant ships, her prizes, standing towards him. As he came within gun shot of her he gave her several broadsides, as the two ships passed on opposite tacks; and on Captain Tomlinson putting about to follow him he made the signal for his prizes to disperse. As soon as the English ship could get alongside of the privateer, and open a well-directed fire of musketry, the enemy struck, even before the great guns were brought to bear upon her. The next object of Captain Tomlinson was to retake the English vessels; and as the greatest dispatch was absolutely necessary for this purpose, he ordered his lieutenant to take the command of the privateer, to send the French captain and officers on board *La Suffisante* without loss of time, and then to make sail in the privateer after the prizes: all this was done with the most laudable zeal and promptitude, and in consequence the English merchant ships were recaptured.

We have mentioned that besides the vessels which were taken belonging to the squadron commanded by commo-

dore Moulsten, there was a vessel of inferior size called *La Legere*, that escaped at the time; she however was captured soon afterwards by the *Apollo*, Captain Manby.

In the *Gazette* of July 16, Sir John Jervis transmitted an official account of a very splendid action performed by Captain Macnamara of the *Southampton*. Admiral Jervis having observed, while off Toulon, a French cruiser working up Hiere's Bay, directed Captain Macnamara to cut her up, by making a dash at her through the grand pass. In obedience to these orders, he immediately pushed through the grand pass, and hauled up under the batteries, in hopes that he would be mistaken for a French frigate: in this he succeeded so far as to get within pistol shot of the enemy's ship before he was discovered. Captain Macnamara then cautioned the French captain by means of a speaking trumpet not to make a fruitless resistance, when he snapt his pistol at him, and fired his broadside. At this time, the *Southampton* was near a very heavy battery, and as no time was to be lost, her captain immediately laid his opponent on board, and Lieutenant Lydiard at the head of the boarders, with an intrepidity highly extolled by his captain, entered and carried her in about ten minutes: the French captain fought nobly in support of his ship, but he fell.

After lashing the two ships together, Captain Macnamara experienced some difficulty in getting from under the battery, which kept up a very heavy fire: indeed he was not able to return through the grand pass before half-past one o'clock the following morning. The vessel which he thus so gallantly captured was the *Utility* corvette, of twenty-four guns and one hundred and thirty-six men: several of her crew escaped ashore in the launch. There was only one man killed on board the *Southampton*.

Several of the actions which we have just recorded, display great enterprize and gallantry; but they certainly

cannot be compared with an action fought this year by Captain Trollope of the *Glatton* of fifty-four guns. He gained immortal honour by attacking a French squadron of six heavy frigates, a large brig and a cutter, which he drove into Flushing, and in a most shattered condition, after a long and obstinate engagement: the particulars of this very distinguished action are thus given by Captain Trollope himself, in his official dispatch, as it appeared in the *Gazette* of the 23rd of July.

“ I beg leave to inform you, that, in pursuance of your orders, I sailed in His Majesty’s ship *Glatton* on the 15th of July from Yarmouth Roads, in order to join Captain Savage and a squadron under his command: and on the 16th, at one P. M. we observed a squadron about four or five leagues off Helvoet. Owing to light winds and calms it was seven P. M. before we were near enough to discover the squadron to consist of six frigates, one of which, the commodore’s ship, appeared to mount near fifty guns; two others appeared about thirty-six guns, remarkably fine long frigates; and the other three smaller, and which mount about twenty-eight guns each. There were also a very fine brig and cutter with them. We soon suspected, from their signals, and their not answering our private signals, that they were enemies, and immediately cleared for action, and bore down to them. From their manœuvring it was ten at night before we got close alongside the third ship in the enemy’s line, which, from her size, we supposed to be the commodore; when, after hailing her, and finding them to be a French squadron, I ordered him to strike his colours, which he returned with a broadside, and, I believe, was well repaid by one from the *Glatton* within twenty yards; after which the action became general with the enemy’s squadron, the two headmost of which had tacked, and one of the largest had placed herself alongside, and another on our weather bow, and the sternmost had placed themselves on our lee quarter and

stern : in this manner we were engaged on both sides for a few minutes, with our yard arms nearly touching those of the enemy on each side ; but I am happy to acquaint you, that in less than twenty minutes the weight of our fire had beat them off on all sides ; but when we attempted to follow them, we, much to our regret, found it impossible. I have no doubt, from the apparent confusion the enemy were in, we should have gained a decisive victory, but unfortunately, in attempting to wear, we found every part of our running rigging totally cut to pieces, and the major part of our standing rigging ; every stay, except the mizen, either cut or badly wounded, and our masts and yards considerably damaged. In this situation, although every officer and man exerted themselves to the utmost the whole night, it was seven in the morning before the ship was in tolerable order to renew the action. The enemy who appeared in the morning in a close line, seemed to have suffered very little in their rigging, although I am certain they must have received much damage in their hulls, at which the whole of our fire was directed : As they did not choose to come near us again, although they must plainly have seen our disabled state, but made the best of their way for Flushing, we followed them as close as we could till the 17th at nine A. M. when they were within three leagues of that port, with the hopes of meeting with some assistance to enable me to destroy them ; but it coming on to blow hard at west, in the disabled state the ship was in, we were forced to haul off the shore ; but although we were not able to take any of them, I trust you will think the officers and men whom I have the honour to command in the Glatton, to whom I have reason to give every merit for their steady, gallant, and cool behaviour in the attack, have done their utmost, and also some good, in driving so very superior a force into port to refit, that might have done very considerable

damage to our trade had they got to sea. I cannot conclude this without recommending to your notice, in the strongest manner, Lieutenant Robert Williams, my first lieutenant, who gave me every assistance in his power on the upper deck; as also Lieutenant Schomberg, second lieutenant, and Lieutenant Pringle, third lieutenant, who commanded on the lower deck; and also Captain Strangeways, of the marines, who, I am very sorry to acquaint you, has received a bad wound from a musquet ball in his thigh, which is not extracted yet, who after he had received it, and had a tourniquet on, insisted on coming on deck to his quarters again, where he remained, encouraging his men, till he was faint with the loss of blood, and I was under the necessity of ordering him to be carried down again; and all the warrant officers and petty officers and ship's company behaved as English sailors always do on such occasions. And I am particularly happy in acquainting you, that I have not lost one life in so warm an action, and only one wounded besides Captain Strangeway's, viz. William Hall, the corporal of marines, who also received a musquet ball through his thigh bone; the ball passed out on the opposite side. Our small loss can only be attributed to their firing totally at our rigging to disable us, in which they too well succeeded; and His Majesty's ship Glatton being unfit to keep the sea from the damage she has received in her masts, yards, and rigging, I have thought fit for the good of His Majesty's service, to come to Yarmouth roads to refit."

In the end of September, the service lost a fine frigate by a dreadful accident: while the *Amphion* frigate of thirty-two guns, commanded by Captain Israel Pellew, was lying at Plymouth, alongside of the *Princes*, a hulk to which she was lashed, she blew up with a terrible explosion. The shock was felt like an earthquake in the space of a moment; before the ear could almost catch the sound,

or the eye take in the sight, the ship was shivered into ten thousand pieces, and nothing but wreck was to be seen. When this dreadful accident happened, there were on board of her, nearly three hundred men, women, and children; of those there were saved, the captain, one lieutenant, one purser, one midshipman, one mate, one boatswain's mate, and thirty-three seamen and marines; many of these were badly wounded. About forty-two bodies were picked up; among these were six women.

It was never accurately known how this accident happened: at the time it took place Captain Pellew, Captain Swaffield of the *Overyssel*, and a lieutenant of the *Amphion* were dining together: some bustle being heard, Captain Pellew and the lieutenant ran into the quarter gallery, and the ship instantly blew up forward. Captain Pellew was blown into the hulk, and the lieutenant into the water: Captain Swaffield was lost, and a serjeant of the North Devon Militia, with several other persons who had been on board visiting their friends were also blown up.

The last action which we shall narrate this year, was fought by Captain Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*, in the Mediterranean. On the morning of the 13th of October, he discovered a frigate to windward, standing towards the *Terpsichore*: soon afterwards it was evident that she meant to fight as she was seen making every preparation for battle. Captain Bowen was sensible that he must engage under disadvantageous circumstances; for, out of his complement of men, such had been the sickness on board his ship, that he had left thirty on shore in the hospital, and he had upwards of thirty on board, who were either actually sick, or so far indisposed as not to be able to do duty. Besides he was but at a short distance from the place, where he knew the Spanish fleet had been cruizing only two days before; and a small vessel was seen standing towards Carthagena, so that it was probable in-

telligence of his movements would soon be conveyed to the enemy.

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, Captain Bowen could not bear the idea of trying to escape from a frigate apparently not much superior to his own, especially from his knowledge of the crew which he had on board; these men he had commanded for two years and a half, through a pretty considerable variety of services, and to use his own words, he well knew the veteran stuff which he had still left in health to depend upon, for upholding the character of the British seamen, so that he felt his mind at ease, as to the termination of any action with the frigate in sight only.

At half-past nine, the enemy's vessel came within hail; and as Captain Bowen perceived that she was only waiting and manœuvring in order to place herself to the best advantage, and to point her guns with more exactness, and as he was unwilling to lose his own position, he ordered one gun to be fired: it was instantaneously returned by the whole broadside of the enemy. The action now became serious; but Captain Bowen soon perceived that the crew of the enemy's ship either could not, or would not resist the fire of the *Terpsichore*. At the end of about one hour and forty minutes, during which the English frigate had been wore, and employed about twenty minutes in chace, the enemy's vessel struck her colours. At this period she appeared almost entirely disabled; and though the *Terpsichore* had every gun ready to fire, it was with the utmost difficulty that Captain Bowen could prevail on the commander of the enemy's ship to decline receiving another broadside before he surrendered. Indeed if the Spanish sailors (for she was a Spanish frigate) behaved ill during the action, the Spanish captain behaved most nobly: and to his conduct Captain Bowen bore honourable testimony—"from every thing which I have learned, observes Captain Bowen, the personal courage, conduct, and zeal

of that officer was such, during the action, notwithstanding the event of it, as reflects on him the greatest honour, and irresistably impresses on my mind the highest admiration of his character. After, from the effect of our fire, all his booms had tumbled down, and rendered his waste guns unserviceable, all the standing rigging of his lower masts shot away, and, I believe, nearly every rope cut through, and a great number of his people killed and wounded, he still persevered, though he could but rally four of his men to defend his ship, almost longer than defence was justifiable."

Captain Bowen also mentions in the highest terms of admiration, the conduct of every officer, man and boy, belonging to his own ship, particularly of the conduct of his first and second lieutenants.

The name of the prize was the Mahonesa, carrying on the main deck twenty-six twelve pounders, eight Spanish sixes on the quarter deck, and a number of brass swivels, &c. she had on board two hundred and seventy-five men: she was of very large dimensions, measuring eleven hundred and fourteen tons and a half Spanish; and was considered by the Spanish officers the fastest sailer, one of the best constructed, and what they attached considerable importance to, the handsomest frigate in their navy.

On the 30th of November this year, Earl Spencer, as First Lord of the Admiralty, transmitted a letter to all the admirals and captains whose names were mentioned in the Gazette by Earl Howe, as having signalized themselves in the action of the 1st of June, 1794; this letter was accompanied by a medal for each. The letter stated, that His Majesty having been pleased to order a certain number of gold medals to be struck, in commemoration of the victory obtained by His Majesty's fleet, under the command of Earl Howe, in the actions of the 29th of

May, and the 1st of June, 1794, his lordship was commanded by His Majesty to transmit one of those medals; and to signify His Majesty's pleasure that it should be worn when in uniform, in the manner described by the directions which were also transmitted.

Lord Spencer also intimated that had it been possible for all the officers on whom His Majesty was pleased to confer this mark of his approbation, to attend personally in London, His Majesty would have presented the medal to each of them in person; but that being impossible, in order to avoid further delay, His Majesty had been pleased to direct them to be sent in this manner.

The admirals were to wear the medal suspended by a riband round their necks: the captains to wear it also suspended to a riband, but fastened through the third or fourth button hole on the left side; the colours of the riband were blue and white.

It was to be expected that in proportion to the continuance of the war with revolutionary France, the expenses necessary to carry it on, would progressively encrease; it was, indeed, a war of a very different nature and character from any other in which Britain had been engaged: there was more animosity in it; and soon after its commencement it carried all the appearance of being a war, which could not possibly terminate, unless with the destruction, either of the government of France, or of most of those powers who were engaged in hostilities against her. The expenses of Britain were enormous; principally from two causes; in the first place, all wars have a tendency to encrease the price of things, especially such as are necessary to carry it on; and in the second place, Britain subsidized all the powers who joined her in the coalition against France.

The expense of the navy of Britain encreased also, though perhaps not in an equal rate with the encreased

expenses of the army. The supplies granted by Parliament, for the service of the navy, during the year 1797, were voted at different periods of the session: viz.

OCTOBER 17, 1796,

That 120,000 seamen be employed, including
20,000 marines
The sum for maintaining them, including ordnance
for sea service..... £6,240,000 0 0

OCTOBER 31.

Provision to satisfy navy, victualling, and transport
bills, made out on or before the 27th of Octo-
ber, 1796, amounting to 11,993,167 19 9

DECEMBER 5.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay
to sea and marine officers..... 653,573 1 7
For building and repairing of ships and other extra
works..... 768,100 0 0

APRIL 25, 1797.

Towards defraying the expenses, and preventing the
increase of the debt of the navy 5,000,000 0 0

MAY 8.

To defray the expense, to be incurred by an in-
crease to the pay of the seamen and marines,
and by the proposed issue of full allowance of
provisions 472,000 0 0

Total supply..... 25,126,841 1 4
From this ought to be deducted the sum which went
towards making provisions for bills due before the
27th of October, 1796, as this sum properly be-
longs to the navy service of 1796, viz..... 11,993,167 19 9
Leaving as the proper supply of the navy for the
year 1797, the sum of..... £13,133,673 1 7

The last sum voted, viz. that on the 8th of May, 1797, was occasioned by an event, unprecedented in the annals of the British navy: we allude to the mutiny among the seamen. As, on every account it is desirable that as full, particular, and clear a narrative of this transaction, as possible should be given, and as it is also desirable that this account should be elucidated and confirmed by all the official documents published on this occasion, we have carefully examined all the statements respecting the mutiny, which were published about the time, not so near the event as to be exposed to the danger of narrating it in a partial and prejudiced manner, nor so distant from the event, as to lose the minuter circumstances connected with it; and having been convinced that the narrative in the Annual Register is the most worthy of credit, and drawn up in a clear and satisfactory manner, we shall lay it before our readers. In order, however, that the statements and opinions which it contains may be compared with the official documents, we have subjoined them. We do not think any apology is due to our readers for dwelling so fully and minutely on this part of our naval history: in every possible point of view, it must be instructive, interesting, and important.

“ The seamen and soldiers in the British navy and army had long complained of the smallness of their pay, and that, contrarily to the clearest justice, it continued the same as when the price of necessaries, and of all articles, was incomparably lower than at the present period. They were not alone in this complaint; it was justified by the concurrence of all men. Those who endeavoured to exculpate government, alleged, the multiplicity of business, in which those at the helm were incessantly involved, and that, with the best intentions, it was not in their power to remedy the abuses that had crept into the various departments of the state. But this exculpation was trite and obsolete in the opinion of the equitable part of

the public; and the patience with which so resolute a class of men had so long submitted to a treatment which they did not certainly deserve, was much more an object of surprise, than the determination they came to finally, to insist upon, and to enforce a redress of their grievances.

“ Other causes have been assigned for the discontents that prevailed in the navy. The principal of these was, a rigorous discipline too severely maintained, and the harsh behaviour to the men of several of their officers, especially of those for whom they entertained little respect, and whom they represented as most forward, at all times, to exercise authority in the most odious manner. Another cause, not so frequently mentioned, but not the less real, was the striking disproportion observed in the distribution of prize-money: this they considered not only as inequitable, but as a proof of the contempt in which they were held by their officers; and yet, it was evident, that, to the bravery of the seamen, was principally due the success in most engagements.

“ These latent causes of discontent, by the contagion of a general spirit of inquiry into rights, natural and conventional, were kindled, in the navy, into an open flame.

“ That part of the fleet which led the way, in expressing discontent, was the division commanded by Lord Bridport, and yet no symptoms of this nature had been perceived by the officers. Hence, it was surmised, that a spirit of dissatisfaction had been infused into the ships' companies by those who had lately entered among them: several of whom were known to be of qualifications superior to the situation to which they were driven by unprosperous circumstances, and, in some degree, allured by the greatness of the bounties given. Of these, several were discovered afterwards to have been disqualified attorneys, and cashiered excisemen, clerks dismissed from employment, and other individuals in similar cases. It

was also suggested, that, besides these, many persons had entered on board the ships, as common seamen completely qualified to breed disturbances, by acting in that station, and selected for that very purpose by the enemies of Government.

Certain it is, that the plan of operations, concerted among the disaffected, evinced great judgment and sagacity. They were conducted with spirit and ability, and plainly shewed, that the authors were persons of no contemptible capacities; as no measures could have been taken more effectually conducive to the end proposed.

“ The first notice given, of a dissatisfied spirit in the navy, was to Lord Howe. In the course of February and March, he received several letters, inclosing petitions from different ships’ companies, in the channel fleet. They were anonymous, and asked for no more than an increase of pay, to enable them to provide better for their families. These petitions appeared obviously to proceed from one person : the style and hand-writing being the same in each. The novelty of the circumstance, however, induced Lord Howe to make particular inquiry, from the commanding-officer at Portsmouth, whether any dissatisfaction prevailed in the fleet. He was answered in the negative, and the whole represented as a scandalous endeavour to give government to understand, that the navy disapproved of their conduct in that department.

“ The admiralty, to which Lord Howe transmitted these petitions, seemed to be of the same opinion, and they were laid by without farther notice; when, suddenly the transactions that took place at Portsmouth shewed that they were only the prelude to proceedings of much more serious importance. On the return of the channel fleet into port, a secret correspondence was immediately settled between all the ships that composed it, which ended in an unanimous agreement, that no ship should lift an anchor till a redress of grievances was obtained. In this

state the fleet remained till the fifteenth of April, when Lord Bridport ordered the signal to prepare for sea; but, instead of proceeding to weigh anchor, three cheers were given from the Queen Charlotte, as the signal for mutiny, and every other ship followed the example.

“ The officers of every ship exerted themselves with all the spirit and activity adequate to so extraordinary an emergency, to bring back their people to obedience; but all the motives they urged, and all the endeavours they used, were vain. The fleet being now in the complete possession of the seamen, every ship’s company appointed two delegates, and Lord Howe’s cabin was fixed upon as the place where to hold their consultations. On the seventeenth, an oath was administered to every man in the fleet, to support the cause in which they had engaged: ropes were then reaved to the yard arm, in every ship, as a signal of the punishment that would be inflicted on those that betrayed it; and several officers were sent ashore who were particularly obnoxious to their respective crews.

“ In the mean time, though the admiral was restricted from putting to sea, he retained the command of the fleet in every other respect; the strictest discipline was maintained, and the severest orders and regulations enacted, by the delegates, for that purpose, enjoining the most respectful attention to their officers, and threatening the faulty with rigorous chastisement.

“ On the eighteenth, two petitions, one to the Admiralty, and the other to the House of Commons, were drawn up, and signed by the delegates. They were both worded with the highest propriety of expression and respect. The petition to parliament stated, that the price of all articles necessary for subsistence, being advanced at least thirty per cent. since the reign of Charles II. when the seamen’s pay was settled as at present, they requested that a proportionate relief might be granted to them. It represented

at the same time, that, while their loyalty to their king and country was equal to that of the army, nevertheless, the pensions of Chelsea had been augmented to thirteen pounds a year, but those of Greenwich still remained at seven. The petition to the Admiralty contained a recital of the services done by the petitioners, and a warm declaration of their readiness to be true to their character as Englishmen and defenders of their country. It stated the low rate of their pay, and the insufficiency of their allowance of provisions, demanding an increase of both, together with the liberty of going ashore while in harbour, and the continuance of pay to wounded seamen till cured and discharged.

“ Such in the mean while, was the alarm of the public, and particularly of government, that it was judged necessary to transfer the board of Admiralty to Portsmouth, in order to be nearer at hand, to inspect the transactions on board the fleet, and to consult on the readiest and most likely means of quelling so dangerous a spirit of discontent, the consequences of which, if it were not timely suppressed, might prove ruinous to the nation in its most essential interests, by throwing open the channel, and all the neighbouring seas, to the uncontrolled dominion of the French fleets and cruizers. These would not fail, upon the first intelligence of the variance between the British fleets and the government, to avail themselves, with all speed, of so favourable an opportunity of distressing the trade and the navigation of this country.

“ The first Lord of the Admiralty, Earl Spencer, accompanied by Lord Arden and Admiral Young, repaired, accordingly, to Portsmouth, where they directly proceeded to take into consideration the petition that had been transmitted to the board. They authorized Lord Bridport to inform the ships' companies, that they would recommend it to the king, to propose to parliament an augmentation of pay to the seamen in the navy, at the rate of four shil-

lings a month to petty officers and able seamen; three shillings to ordinary seamen; and two shillings to landsmen. Seamen wounded in action were also to continue in the receipt of their pay, till cured or declared unable to serve, when they should be allowed a pension, or admitted into Greenwich Hospital.

“ To this notification the seamen replied, by requesting that the long-established distinctions in the navy, of able and ordinary seamen, should be retained; the pay of the former to be raised to one shilling a day, and that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the usual proportion; they also requested that the pay of the marines, while on board, should be the same as of ordinary seamen, and that the pensions of Greenwich Hospital should be increased to ten pounds.

“ On the twentieth of April, the lords of the Admiralty notified to Lord Bridport their compliance with the demands of the seamen, directing him to make it known through the fleet, and to require, in consequence, an immediate return of the people to their duty, on pain of forfeiting their right to smart-money, to pensions from the chest of Chatham, and to an admission into Greenwich Hospital, and of being made responsible for the consequences that might ensue from the continuance of their disobedience. They were informed, at the same time, that an unqualified pardon, for all that had passed, would be granted to every ship's company that should, within one hour of these resolutions being communicated to them, submit to their officers, and cease to hold farther intercourse with those who remained in a state of mutiny.

“ On the 21st, Admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Poole, went on board the *Royal Charlotte*, in order to confer with the delegates, who explicitly informed them, that it was the determination of the crews, to agree to nothing that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation. Admiral Gardner

was so irritated by this declaration, that he seized one of the delegates by the collar, and swore he would have them all hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet. This behaviour of the admiral so exasperated the ship's company of the Queen Charlotte, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

“ The delegates from the Royal George returned immediately to their ship, and informed their crew of what had happened ; after some consultation, they resolved to summon all the delegates on board their ship. This was forthwith done by hoisting the red, usually called, the bloody flag ; a circumstance that struck terror through the fleet, as the signal was not generally understood ; the officers in particular, were apprehensive that some fatal designs were in agitation. The ships now proceeded to load their guns, to order the watch to be kept as at sea, and to put every thing in a state of defence.

“ On the following day, the ships' crews directed two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, to acquaint them with the motives for their conduct on the preceding day, and another to Lord Bridport, in which they styled him their father and their friend, and assured him of their respect and attachment. This induced him to return to his ship the next day, twenty-third, and, to rehoist his flag, which he had struck during the confusion on the twenty-first. After a short and pathetic address to the crew, he informed them, that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon for what had passed. After some deliberation, these offers were accepted, and every man returned to his duty.

“ From the 23rd of April to the 7th of May, the fleet remained in due subordination ; but, on that day a fresh mutiny broke out. The seamen, from whatever cause it arose, had conceived a mistrust of government, and apprehending a violation of the promises made to them, re-

newed their former menaces. As soon as this alarming intelligence arrived, government dispatched with all speed a person of the highest weight and authority, to quell this unexpected tumult. This was Lord Howe, an officer long held in the first degree of respect and esteem in the British navy, and personally beloved by all that had served under him, for his humane disposition, as well as for his many great qualities. His presence and exhortations wrought the desired effect, and happily dissipated the suspicions that were beginning to prevail. The circumstance which principally operated was, that numbers of those to whom he addressed himself had been the companions and instruments of the services he had rendered to his country. The many years during which he had filled important stations, and made a conspicuous figure in the navy; the many gallant actions he had performed, and, especially, the great victory on the 1st of June, 1794, were circumstances that carried a powerful impression on the minds of his fellow-seamen, and induced them to listen with confidence to his representations. Good order was happily réstored, and they unanimously agreed in consequence of the trust they reposed in his word and assurance that government would faithfully keep its promises, to return immediately to their usual subordination. Their fellow-seamen at Plymouth were induced by this example to submit in the like manner.

“ From the first breaking out of this mutiny, the public mind had been taken up with the means that would probably terminate it with most speed and success, and the generality concurred in the propriety of a ministerial application to parliament, for a sum of money sufficient to defray the charge of augmenting the pay of the seamen belonging to the navy, which was universally considered as a measure of strict equity.

“ Conformably to the expectation of the public, the House of Commons on the 8th of May, took it into con-

sideration the estimates laid before it by ministry, for the purpose of that augmentation. Previously to the stating of them, Mr. Pitt expressed much repugnance to detail as usual, the motives on which he founded the necessity of applying to the house for an addition to the public expenditure. He declared, that, on the present occasion, he did not find himself at liberty to enter into a detail of the transactions that led him to apply. They were such that he felt himself obliged to say, that he would trust their judgment would induce them to concur in his motion, without making it the subject of a long discussion: nor was he able to enter into a statement of the events that had more recently happened; and, if he were, he should feel a reluctance in doing it, as they were wholly, or in a great degree, to be ascribed to misrepresentations. To silence these, and to appease at once all discontent, nothing, in his opinion, would be so effectual as the unanimous decision of parliament on the proposal before them. He therefore thought it his duty to entreat the house to pass their silent judgment on the present case, while they coincided with the motion it occasioned him to make. He then moved for a total of four hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds, to answer the additional pay and allowance to the seamen and marines in the navy.

“The resolutions, to this intent, being read, Mr. Fox said, that he should certainly agree to them, but that his duty required of him not to give a silent vote. He differed from the minister in his notions of confidence. Every question relating to the public expenditure ought, in his opinion, to be fully discussed. The silence of ministers had produced the fresh disturbances in the fleet at Portsmouth, by exciting a suspicion of their sincerity. What motive, he asked, could have induced them to suffer a whole fortnight to elapse before their application for the interference of parliament, from which alone they could derive effectual assistance, in this critical conjuncture.

Such a neglect, on the part of ministers, argued a degree of guilt as well as of incapacity, that would involve the house itself, were the resolutions to pass without a due censure on ministry. The house was in duty bound to inquire how far the admiralty had acceded to the petitions of the seamen, and whether they were satisfied; and the remedy proposed would effectually allay their discontents. The house had a right to complete information, and their privileges ought not, by an obsequious and unseasonable silence, to be given up to men who had proved themselves unworthy of their confidence.

“ Mr. Sheridan acknowledged himself convinced, by the circumstances of the case, of the necessity to vote with the minister, without insisting upon information; but contended, however, that the recent disturbances arose from the procrastination of ministry.

“ On the following day, May 9, the subject was renewed by Mr. Whitbread, who declared, that, it appeared to him of such consequence, that he considered it his duty formally to inquire, why ministry had not, at an earlier period applied to the house, and thereby prevented the dangers that had resulted from this neglect.

“ The answer of Mr. Pitt was, that every proper step had been taken to obviate the unhappy event that had taken place. The seamen's demands had been submitted to the king in council, with all requisite expedition; estimates of the sums that would be wanted had been duly made out for the inspection and approbation of parliament; and every thing put into an official train. It was only, therefore, the customary observance of forms that had impeded the speed which would otherwise have been employed, could the effects of such a delay have been foreseen. The sooner, for these reasons, a bill should be passed, in order to accelerate their termination.

“ Mr. Fox recapitulated the particulars of this unfortunate business, in justification of the censure which he

trusted the house would pass on the conduct of administration. He described, in strong colours, the perilous situation of some persons of the highest rank and merit, in their professional character, in consequence of the present commotions in the fleet, affirming it to be the duty of the house to express its condemnation of those who had, by the rashness of their conduct, brought them into such imminent danger.

“ The strictures of Mr. Fox were seconded by a vote of censure, moved by Mr. Whitbread, and by an animated speech in support of this motion, by Mr. Sheridan. He severely blamed the conduct of ministers, in postponing the consideration of the seamen’s demands, urged with so many circumstances that rendered them highly critical and serious, to such objects as the Imperial loan and the marriage-portion of the princess royal, which were of such inferior importance to the nation, and ought, therefore, without hesitation, to have been laid aside till a business of such magnitude had been settled. He insinuated that the dissatisfaction in the navy had been caused by encroachments on the rights of the seamen, or by attempts to abridge them of their comforts. He proposed that a joint committee of both houses should be appointed, on this occasion, with power to send for persons and papers, and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place.

“ This proposal Mr. Pitt combated, not only as an innovation in the discipline of the navy, but as unconstitutional. It superseded, at once, the functions of the executive and legislative powers. Mr. Whitbread’s motion was negatived, by two hundred and thirty-seven against sixty-three. After some farther altercation, the resolutions he had moved, relating to the increase of seamen’s pay and allowance, were read, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for passing them into an act, together with a clause for the continuance of pay to wounded seamen till they were

cured. The bill, as soon as it was framed, went through all the necessary formalities, and immediately received the royal assent by commission.

“ Subsequent endeavours were made to prove the ministry guilty of gross neglect, in suffering a business of this nature to proceed with a dilatoriness that might, and ought therefore to have been avoided: but they exculpated themselves by bringing forward evidence that their intentions were clearly to have acted with more speed, if unavoidable impediments had not prevented them.

“ The suppression of the disturbances among the seamen at Portsmouth, without recurring to violent measures, and by granting their petitions, occasioned universal satisfaction, and it was hoped that the causes of their discontent being thus effectually removed, no farther complaints would arise to spread alarm throughout the nation. But these reasonable expectations were in a short time wholly disappointed by a fresh mutiny that broke out in the fleet at the Nore, on the twenty-second of May.

“ The crews on that day took possession of their respective ships, elected delegates to preside over them, and to draw up a statement of their demands, and transmit them to the Lords of the Admiralty. These demands went much farther than those of the seamen at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and from their exorbitancy did not appear entitled to the same indulgence. On the 6th of June, in the morning, the fleet at the Nore was joined by the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis* men of war, together with the *Ranger* sloop, which ships had deserted from the fleet under Admiral Duncan. When the admiral found himself deserted by part of his fleet, he called his own ships' crew together, and addressed them in the following speech.

“ MY LADS,

“ I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen, the disaffection of the fleets : I call it disaffection, for the crews have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral ; nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort under God is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship ; for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of their duty, which they owe, not only to their king and country, but to themselves.

“ The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which I trust we shall maintain to the latest posterity ; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship’s company, and others, who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the floating and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty.

“ It has often been my pride, with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us : my pride is now humbled indeed ! my feelings are not easily to be expressed ! our cup has overflowed and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us ; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship ; and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct.

“ May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so ; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world.

“ But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience ; and let us pray that the almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking.

“ God bless you all.”

At an address so unassuming, modest, and pious, and so well calculated, from its simplicity and truth, to touch the human heart, the whole ship's crew were dissolved in tears. They declared, by every expression they could devise, their resolution to abide by the admiral in life or death. Their example was followed by all the other ships, besides those already mentioned. And the admiral, notwithstanding the defection of so considerable a part of his squadron, repaired to his station, off the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet ; and resolved still not to decline should it offer him battle.

“ The principal person at the head of this mutiny was one Richard Parker, a man of good natural parts, and some education, and of a remarkably bold and resolute character. Admiral Buckner, the commanding officer at the Nore, was directed by the lords of the admiralty to inform the seamen that their demands were totally inconsistent with the good order and regulations necessary to be observed in the navy, and could not for that reason be complied with : but that on returning to their duty, they would receive the king's pardon for their breach of obedience. To this offer Parker replied by a declaration, that the seamen had unanimously determined to keep possession of the fleet, until the lords of the admiralty had repaired to the Nore and redressed the grievances which had been laid before them.

“ In order to put an end with all possible expedition

to a mutiny that appeared so dangerous, Lord Spencer, Lord Arden, and Admiral Young hastened immediately to Sheerness and held a board, at which Parker and the other delegates attended; but their behaviour was so audacious, that the lords of the admiralty returned to town without the least success. The principal article of complaint on the part of the mutineers, was the unequal distribution of prize-money, for the omission of which they much blamed their fellow seamen at Portsmouth. On the return of the lords of the admiralty from Sheerness, a proclamation was issued offering His Majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty; intimating at the same time that Admiral Buckner was the proper person to be applied to on such an occasion. All the buoys, by the order of government, were removed from the mouth of the Thames and the neighbouring coast; from which precaution any ships that might attempt to get away would be in danger of running aground. Great preparations were also made at Sheerness against an attack from the mutinous ships, which had manifested some strong indications of an intention to bombard that place; and furnaces and hot balls were kept ready.

“ Emboldened by the strength of men and shipping in their hands, and resolved to persevere in their demands till they had extorted a compliance, the mutineers proceeded to secure a sufficiency of provisions for that purpose, by seizing two vessels laden with stores, and sent notice ashore that they intended to block up the Thames, and cut off all communication between London and the sea, in order to force government to a speedy accession to their terms. They began the execution of this menace by mooring four of their vessels across the mouth of the river, and stopping several ships that were coming from the metropolis.

“ They now altered the system of their delegation, and

to prevent too much power from being lodged in the hands of any man, the office of president was entrusted to no one longer than a day. This they did to secure themselves from the attempts to betray them, which might result from the offers held out to those in whom they were obliged to place confidence and authority, were those to possess such a trust for any time. They also compelled those ships the crews of which they suspected wavering in the cause, to take their station in the midst of the others. But notwithstanding these precautions two vessels eluded their vigilance, and made their escape.

“ These transactions, while they excited the greatest alarm in the nation, were violently reprobated by the seamen belonging to the two divisions of the fleet lying at Portsmouth and at Plymouth. Each of them addressed an admonition to their fellow-seamen at the Nore, warmly condemning their proceedings as a scandal to the name of British seamen, and exhorting them to be content with the indulgence already granted by government, and to return to their duty without insisting on more concessions than had been demanded by the rest of the navy.

“ But these warnings proved ineffectual. The reinforcement of the four ships lately arrived, and the expectation of being joined by others, induced them to persist in their demands. The committee of delegates on board the Sandwich came to a determination to commission Lord Northesk, whom they had kept in confinement in the Montague, of which he was commander, to repair to the King in the name of the fleet, and to acquaint him with the conditions on which they were willing to deliver up the ships. The petition which he was charged to lay before the King was highly respectful and loyal to him, but very severe on his ministers, and they required an entire compliance with every one of their demands, threatening on the refusal of any to put immediately to sea. Lord Northesk readily undertook to be the bearer

of their petition, but told them that from the unreasonableness of their demands, he could not flatter them with the hope of success. Confiding in him, they said, as the seaman's friend, they had entrusted him with this mission on pledging his honour to return with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours.

“ Lord Northesk departed accordingly for London, and was introduced by Lord Spencer to the King. But no answer being returned to the message, and information being brought to the fleet that the nation at large highly disapproved of their proceedings, great divisions took place among the delegates, and several of the ships deserted the others, not however without much contest and bloodshed. The mutineers despairing now of accomplishing their designs struck the red flag, which they had hoisted as the signals of mutiny, and restored a free passage to the trade of the metropolis. Every ship was now left at its own command, and they all gradually returned to obedience, though on board of some, violent struggles happened between the mutineers and the loyal parties.

“ The principal conductor of the mutiny, Richard Parker, was seized and imprisoned, and after a solemn trial that lasted three days, on board of the Neptune, he was sentenced to death. He suffered with great coolness and intrepidity, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and expressing his hope that mercy might be extended to his associates. But it was judged necessary to make public examples of the principal and most guilty, who were accordingly tried, and after full proof of their criminality, condemned and executed. Others were ordered to be whipped; but a considerable number remained under sentence of death till after the great victory obtained over the Dutch fleet, by Admiral Duncan; when His Majesty sent a general pardon to those unhappy men, who were at that period confined on board a prison-ship in the river Thames.

“ In the mean time, this dangerous mutiny had been a serious object of attention in parliament. On the first of June, a message was delivered from the King to both Houses, to give them formal notice of the event, and to request they would adopt the necessary measures for the public security, and, particularly, to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment of attempts to excite mutiny and sedition in the navy, or to seduce individuals in the sea or land service from their duty and allegiance.

“ A bill was accordingly proposed by Mr. Pitt, the purport of which was, that persons who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty, or instigate them to mutinous practices, or commit any act of mutiny, or form any mutinous assemblies, should, on conviction be deemed guilty of felony, and suffer death: the duration of the act was limited to one month after the commencement of the next session. The propriety of such a law, in the present conjuncture, appeared so evident, that it passed by an unanimous vote on the third of June.

“ Another motion was then made by Mr. Pitt, to prevent all communication with the ships that should be in a state of mutiny, and to enact, that if, after the king’s proclamation, any one should voluntarily continue in such ships, they should be declared mutinous and rebellious, their pay should cease, and they should forfeit that which was due to them.

“ The severity of that part of the bill, which restrained all intercourse with the mutinous seamen, was animadverted on by Sir John Sinclair, who recommended the union of conciliation with terror, and suggested the appointment of commissioners to grant pardon under particular circumstances.

“ The penal clause proposed for wilful and advised communication was death. This was opposed by Mr. Nichol, on the ground, that the intercourse with a person guilty of

high treason, was not, by law, even a misdemeanour, provided it were not accompanied by open acts of aiding and abetting; the guilt incurred by such communication ought not, therefore, to extend, at most, beyond a misdemeanor and the penalty not farther than in cases of this kind, and never beyond transportation at the very farthest.

“ To this modification of the severity proposed by the minister, Mr. Adair replied, that the punishment was only to attach to those who should hold communication, and intercourse, with persons declared in a state of mutiny, after the prohibition to communicate with them had been published; but Mr. Nichol observed, that the communications, liable to the penalty intended, ought to be more explicitly specified. To this observation the minister made answer, that communications by letters, or otherwise which previously to a prohibition might have been innocent; came, nevertheless, under the imputation of guilt, after they had been prohibited. His opinion was, that men guilty of such atrocious acts of rebellion as the mutineers, ought to be completely separated from that country of which they had abandoned the cause. If they valued the intercourse and communication with a parent, a wife, and other relatives and friends, they ought, before they were permitted to enjoy the sweets of those endearing connections, to reconcile themselves to their offended country, by returning to the allegiance they owe it. If we could, Mr. Pitt added, obtain new avenues to the hearts of those brave but deluded men; if we could rouse their generous feelings, and, by awakening the tender affections of nature, recall them to a sense of their duty, when they reflected on the happiness they were deprived of by departing from it, we should have made an effectual progress in bringing them to repentance and submission. These arguments prevailed, and the provisions in the bill were admitted as the minister had originally proposed, with the additions of the penalties annexed to piracy,

which were moved by the solicitor-general. Several other clauses were added, for the purposes of punishment, or of pardon, as circumstances might require; and the duration of this act was, like the preceding one, against the seduction of people in the army or navy from their duty, limited to one month after the commencement of the next parliamentary session.

“Two members opposed the passing of this bill, Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Sturt. The former objecting to it as tending to irritate the seamen and drive them to acts of desperation and revenge, that might be attended with the most fatal consequences, and preclude all reconciliation: the latter insisted that conciliatory measures would alone be effectual, in producing that cordial and speedy submission which the present circumstances require. He considered also the existing laws as fully sufficient for the case in agitation, without encumbering the penal code with odious additions. It was already, he observed, amply severe. Of thirty-six articles of war near the half (seventeen) contained penalties and punishments of various kinds.

“Whatever propriety there might be in the observations of these two gentlemen, the alarm and resentment of the majority at the manner in which the seamen of the fleet at the Nore had enforced their demands, led them to adopt the coercive measures recommended by ministers. Fortunately for these, the divisions they had found means to create among the mutineers, operated more powerfully towards their reduction than any other cause. Had they remained firmly united, government must have finally complied with most of their requisitions, especially with that which related to a more equal distribution of prize-money. This demand appeared to the generality of men founded upon the strictest equity. Had they confined their petition to this particular, it was thought at the time that they would have been seconded by the seamen of the navy. By demanding too much they deprived themselves

of that unanimous concurrence which they had expected. They not only incurred the disapprobation of their fellow-seamen, but forfeited the countenance of their fellow-subjects, who though convinced that they were entitled to better treatment in the article of prizes than they had hitherto experienced, were not inclined to abet them in this particular, while they accompanied it with requisitions, the propriety and seasonableness of which were questioned by their warmest advocates.

“ The suppression of the mutiny at the Nore was truly a critical occurrence. The number of ships of the line, and of resolute and experienced seamen that manned them, and in whose possession they were, presented the most formidable object of alarm. The combination of the ships’ companies at Portsmouth and Plymouth offered nothing dangerous in comparison of that which took place at the Nore: the demands of the former were strictly justifiable, and no inconvenience could arise from complying with them; but those of the latter aimed at innovations equally dangerous and mortifying to persons in authority, and would have occasioned essential alterations in the discipline and management of the navy.

“ A variety of opinions went forth of the real cause of both these mutinies; but the first may be, without hesitation, ascribed to the popular maxims prevailing every where of the right inherent in all men to require an equitable treatment, and if denied them to obtain it by force, if other means appeared insufficient. The inequitable treatment of the common sailors in the navy was undeniable: it was a subject of ordinary discourse, and the wishes of the impartial public were daily expressed for a redress of their grievances. Nor did the seamen in the petitions they presented, and by their conduct and demeanour towards their officers in the course of the whole transactions, commit any act of insolence and disrespect. The utmost freedom they took was to divest of

their authority those whom they considered as inimical to the interest and claims of the common men, or such as had exceeded the bounds of due moderation in the exercise of their command, and rendered themselves obnoxious by the unnecessary severity and the harshness of their behaviour. The readiness with which the whole multitude of the malcontents returned to their wonted submission the moment they became satisfied that their petitions would be granted, evinced the sincerity of their professions of loyalty, and that they harboured no other views than of securing better usage than they had met with heretofore.

“ But the insurrection at the Nore was attended with far more menacing circumstances. The demands of the mutineers seemed, in some instances, to be framed with an expectation to be refused, and the behaviour of their agents appeared calculated to excite the resentment of their superiors, and to set them at defiance. They proceeded to acts of violence totally unnecessary and unjustifiable, and which amounted, in fact, to the commission of hostilities against their fellow subjects.

“ Taking these various particulars into consideration, some persons strongly suspected, that there were, among the mutineers, individuals who acted the part of emissaries from the enemy, and strove to push them on to extremities. Certain it is, that, when the intelligence of the mutiny at Portsmouth arrived at Paris, it excited great satisfaction in the republican party. Sanguine hopes were immediately conceived, that it might prove the prelude of more serious insurrections: at all events, the desertion of the British navy was an incident that prognosticated, in the imagination of the French, all kinds of disasters to this country. Deprived of this indispensable support, at a period when it was more than ever needed, Great Britain would lose, at once, its influence in the affairs of Europe, and sink into a state of absolute insignificance.

That awe, in which it had kept surrounding nations, would vanish; none of them would any longer either dread its power or court its alliance: its very political existence, as an independent country, would become precarious, and nothing, in short, of its former strength and importance would remain.

“Such were the subjects of exultation, throughout France, on this critical occasion. They did not subside on the pacification effected by the prudent concession of government. It was still hoped in France, that causes of a similar nature to those that had produced the first mutiny, might give birth to a second. As, unfortunately for this country, they were not disappointed in their expectations, which had been loud, and expressed with much confidence, numbers were led to believe, that they had not been inactive in creating them.

“The advantage that must obviously have resulted to the French republic, by fomenting discords of so fatal a tendency to this country, were undeniable. This induced people to think, that, conformably to the system which they had pursued so unsuccessfully in other countries, they would have exerted their noted talents for intrigue in encouraging and extending the variance that had arisen here. But, however inviting the opportunity that seemed to offer, it has not been discovered, on the acutest examination, that they had any direct hand in the last mutiny any more than in the first: though, doubtless, they heartily rejoiced in both, and would, had they been able, have acted in the manner imputed to them by those who indulged their suspicions.

“For the combinations at Portsmouth and Plymouth there certainly was not only a plausible pretext, but in truth too much reason: but for that at Sheerness, which may be called the third and most formidable mutiny among the seamen, it was not impelled by necessity, or provoked by unjust aggression or neglect. It was impa-

tient of authority, factious, seditious, progressive in its demands, intent on civil discord and convulsion; it was in a word combined with the same spirit on shore which the mutineers at Portsmouth and Plymouth had raised to an unusual pitch of daring insolence. It was not the genuine spirit of the true English sailor; but that of malcontent incendiaries: finally, it was the most emphatic proof that had yet been given to our nation of the influence of French opinion and example, and the rapid progress of popular claims and combinations.

“ The suppression of this rebellion illustrated the prudence and vigour of administration more than any other of their transactions at home or abroad had ever done. On the other hand, the systematic order and moderation of the sailors, and the cheerful return to obedience, of at least the great body of seamen, their claims being granted, illustrate the mighty advantages of a free government, in which men can assume the manly air of freedom, without abandoning themselves to the licentiousness and phrenzy of slaves broken loose from bondage. From this event, it was said, by many candid persons, far removed from enthusiasm of any kind, that there might not improbably be much less danger in complying with the numerous petitions, which had been presented, in the course of 1797, for a parliamentary reform, than was generally apprehended.

“ It is not often that governments anticipate the just complaints of the people, or any class of the people, by unconstrained acts of justice. It is not, commonly, until some intolerable grievance be on the point of an explosion, that must endanger the stability of their own power, that they do much for the relief of human misery. The mutiny in the fleet would scarcely, perhaps, have sufficed to have turned the attention of our ministry to the miserable pittance to which the gradual depreciation in the value of money had reduced the pay of the soldiers, that

is, from privates to serjeants inclusive, if a disposition to claim a redress of this great evil had not become quite apparent in the whole army, particularly in the corps stationed in the near vicinity of London, and in other populous cities and towns; and if the interests and claims of the army had not been taken care of by the commander-in-chief, his royal highness the duke of York.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE MUTINY.

PETITIONS OF THE SEAMEN.

To the Right Honourable and the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

“The humble petition of the seamen and marines on board of His Majesty’s ships, in behalf of themselves:

“Humbly sheweth,

“That your petitioners relying on the candour and justice of your honourable house, make bold to lay their grievances before you, hoping that when you reflect on them you will please to give redress as far as your wisdom shall deem necessary.

“We beg leave to remind your august assembly that the act of parliament passed in the reign of King Charles II. wherein the wages of all seamen serving on board His Majesty’s fleet was settled, passed at a time when the necessaries of life and slops of every denomination were at least thirty per cent. cheaper than at the present time; which enabled seamen and marines to provide better for their families than we can do now with one half advance.

“We therefore request your honourable house will be so kind as to revise the act before mentioned, and make such amendments therein as will enable your petitioners and their families to live in the same comfortable manner as seamen and marines did at that time.

“ Your petitioners with all humility laid their grievances before the Honourable Earl Howe, and flattered ourselves with the hopes that his lordship would have been an advocate for us, as we have been repeatedly under his command, and made the British flag ride triumphantly over that of our enemies. But to our great surprise we find ourselves unprotected by him who has seen so many instances of our intrepidity, in carrying the British flag into every part of the seas with victory and success.

“ We profess ourselves as loyal to our sovereign, and zealous in the defence of our country as the army or militia can be, and esteem ourselves equally entitled to His Majesty’s munificence; therefore with jealousy we behold their pay augmented, and their out-pensions of Chelsea college increased to thirteen pounds per annum, while we remain neglected, and the out-pensioners of Greenwich have only seven pounds per annum.

“ We, your petitioners, therefore humbly implore that you will take these matters into consideration, and with your accustomed goodness and liberality comply with the prayer of this petition—and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

“ We, the Delegates of the Fleet,
hereunto sign our names for the
ships’ companies :

Royal George—Valentine Joyce, John Morris.

Queen Charlotte—Patrick Glynn, John Udleson.

Royal Sovereign—Joseph Green, John Richardson.

London—Alexander Harding, William Ruly.

Glory—Patrick Dugan, John Bethell.

Duke—Michael Adams, William Anderson.

Mars—Thomas Allen, James Blithe.

Marlborough—John Vassia, William Senator.

Ramilies—Charles Berry, George Clear.

Robust—David Wilson, John Scrivener.

L'Impetueux—John Witna, William Porter.
Defence—George Galaway, James Barrenck.
Terrible—Marker Turner, George Salked.
La Pompée—William Potts, James Melvin.
Minotaur—Dennis Lawley, George Crosland.
Defiance—John Saunders, John Husband.

“ *To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*

“ My Lords,

“ We, the seamen of His Majesty’s navy, take the liberty of addressing your lordships in an humble petition, shewing the many hardships and oppressions we have laboured under for many years, and which we hope your lordships will redress as soon as possible. We flatter ourselves that your lordships, together with the nation in general, will acknowledge our worth and good services both in the American war as well as the present; for which good service your lordships’ petitioners do unanimously agree in opinion that their worth to the nation, and laborious industry in defence of their country, deserve some better encouragement than that we meet with at present, or from any we have experienced. We, your petitioners, do not boast of our good services for any other purpose than that of putting you and the nation in mind of the respect due to us, nor do we ever intend to deviate from our former character; so far from any thing of that kind, or that an Englishman or men should turn their coats, we likewise agree in opinion, that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by that of any other power in the world; we therefore beg leave to inform your lordships of the grievances which we at present labour under.

“ We, your humble petitioners, relying that your lordships will take into early consideration the grievances of

which we complain, and do not in the least doubt but your lordships will comply with our desires, which are every way reasonable.

“ The first grievance we have to complain of is, that our wages are too low, and ought to be raised, that we might be better able to support our wives and families in a manner comfortable, and whom we are in duty bound to support as far as our wages will allow; which we trust, will be looked into by your lordships, and the honourable House of Commons in parliament assembled.

“ We, your petitioners, beg that your lordships will take into consideration the grievances of which we complain, and now lay before you.

“ First, That our provisions be raised to the weight of sixteen ounces to the pound, and of a better quality; and that our measures may be the same as those used in the commercial trade of this country.

“ Secondly, That your petitioners request your honours will be pleased to observe, there should be no flour served while we are in harbour, in any port whatever, under the command of the British flag; and also, that there might be granted a sufficient quantity of vegetables of such kind as may be the most plentiful in the ports to which we go; which we grievously complain and lay under the want of.

“ Thirdly, That your lordships will be pleased seriously to look into the state of the sick on board His Majesty's ships, that they may be better attended to, and that they may have the use of such necessaries as are allowed for them in time of sickness; and that these necessaries be not on any account embezzled.

“ Fourthly, That your lordships will be so kind as to look into this affair, which is nowise unreasonable; and that we may be looked upon as a number of men standing in defence of our country; and that we may in some wise have grant and opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore, when in any harbour, and when we have com-

pleted the duty of our ship, after our return from sea; and that no man may encroach upon his liberty, there shall be a boundary limited, and those trespassing any further, without a written order from the commanding officer, shall be punished according to the rules of the navy; which is a natural request, and congenial to the heart of man, and certainly to us, that you make the boast of being the guardians of the land.

“Fifthly, That if any man is wounded in action, his pay be continued until he is cured and discharged; and if any ship has any real grievances to complain of, we hope your lordships will readily redress them, as far as in your power, to prevent any disturbances.

“It is also unanimously agreed by the fleet, that from this day no grievances shall be received, in order to convince the nation at large that we know when to cease to ask as well as to begin, and that we ask nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted without detriment to the nation, or injury to the service.

“Given on board the Queen Charlotte,
by the Delegates of the Fleet, the
18th day of April, 1797.

[The signatures to this petition are exactly the same as those affixed to the preceding one.]

*Answer of the Commissioners for executing the Office of
Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.
to the above petition.*

“Having taken into consideration the petitions transmitted by your lordship, from the crews of His Majesty’s ships under your command; and having the strongest desire to attend to all the complaints of the seamen of His Majesty’s navy, and to grant them every just and reasonable redress; and having considered the difference of the price of the necessaries of life at this and at that period

when the pay of seamen was established, we do hereby require and direct your lordship to take the speediest method of communicating to the fleet, That we have resolved to recommend it to His Majesty, to propose to parliament to increase the wages of seamen in His Majesty's navy in the following proportions, viz.

“ To add four shillings per month to the wages of petty officers and able seamen.

“ Three shillings per month to the wages of ordinary seamen; and two shillings per month to the wages of landmen.

“ That we have resolved, that seamen wounded in action shall be continued in pay until their wounds are healed, or until, being declared unserviceable, they shall receive a pension, or be received into the Royal Hospital, Greenwich; and that having a perfect confidence in the zeal, loyalty, and courage of all the seamen in the fleet, so generally expressed in their petition, and in their earnest desire of serving their country with that spirit which always so eminently distinguished British seamen, we have come to this resolution the more readily, that the seamen may have, as early as possible, an opportunity of shewing their good dispositions, by returning to their duty, as it may be necessary that the fleet should speedily put to sea, to meet the enemy of the country.

“ Given under our hands, at Portsmouth, 18th April, 1797:

“ SPENCER,

“ ARDEN,

“ W. YOUNG.”

“ *To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport.*”

THE SEAMENS' REPLY.

“ We received your lordships answer to our petition; and in order to convince your lordships, and the nation in general, of our moderation, beg leave to offer the following

remarks to your consideration, viz.—That there never has existed but two orders of men in the navy, able and ordinary, therefore the distinction between ordinary seamen and landmen is totally new; we therefore humbly propose to your lordships, that the old regulations be adhered to; that the wages of the able seamen to be raised to one shilling per day, and that of petty officers, and the ordinary, in the usual proportion. And as a further proof of our moderation, and that we are actuated by a true spirit of benevolence towards our brethren, the marines, who are not noticed in your lordships answer, we humbly propose that their pay be augmented, while serving on board, in the same proportion as ordinary seamen. This we hope and trust will be a convincing proof to your lordships that we are not actuated by a spirit of contradiction, but that we earnestly wish to put a speedy end to the present affair. We beg leave to state to your lordships, the pensions from Greenwich College, which we earnestly wish to be raised to ten pounds per annum; and in order to maintain which we humbly propose to your lordships, that every seaman employed in the merchant service, instead of sixpence per month which he now pays, shall hereafter pay one shilling per month; which we trust will raise a fund fully adequate to the purpose; and as this in time of peace must be paid by your petitioners, we trust it will give a convincing proof of our disinterestedness and moderation. —We would also recommend that this regulation be extended to the seamen in the service of the East India Company, as we know by experience that there are but few sailors employed by them but who have been in the royal navy; and we have seen them with our own eyes, after sickness or other accident has disabled them, without any hope of relief or support, but from their former services in the navy. As to provisions: that they be augmented to sixteen ounces to the pound of bread and meat; cheese, butter, and liquor in proportion, of a better qua-

lity, and a sufficient quantity of vegetables; and that no flour be served with fresh beef. And we further beg leave to inform your lordships, that it is unanimously agreed that until the grievances before stated are redressed, and an act of indemnity passed, we are determined not to lift an anchor: and the grievances of particular ships must be redressed.

“ Given under our hands, the Delegates
of the Fleet, on board the Queen
Charlotte, at Spithead, April 19, 1797.”

*By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord
High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

“ Having taken into consideration a paper containing several representations from the seamen of His Majesty’s ships at Spithead, respecting an advance in their wages, and being desirous of granting them every request that can with any degree of reason be complied with, we have resolved to recommend it to His Majesty, that an addition of five shillings and sixpence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen belonging to His Majesty’s navy, which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling per day, clear of all deductions; an addition of four shillings and sixpence per month to the wages of every ordinary seaman; and an addition of three shillings and sixpence to the wages of the landmen; and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped, on their being embarked on board any of His Majesty’s ships. We have also resolved, that all seamen marines, and others, serving in His Majesty’s ships, shall have the full allowance of provisions, without any deduction for leakage or waste; and that until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short-allowance money shall be paid to the men in lieu of the deduction

heretofore made; and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed, or until being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. And your lordship is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the captain of each of His Majesty's ships under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ship's company under his command, and to inform them that should they be insensible to the very liberal offers now made to them, and persist in their present disobedience, they must no longer expect to enjoy those benefits to which by their former good conduct they were entitled. That in such case all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead shall be incapable of receiving any smart-money or pension from the chest at Chatham, or of being admitted at any time into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich; and that they must be answerable for the dreadful consequences which will necessarily attend their continuing to transgress the rules of the service, in open violation of the laws of their country. On the other hand, he is to inform them that we promise the most perfect forgiveness of all that has passed on this occasion to every ship's company who, within one hour after the communication to them of the above mentioned resolutions, shall return to their duty in every particular, and shall cease to hold further intercourse with any men who continue in a state of disobedience and mutiny.

“ Given under our hands at Portsmouth,
the 20th of April, 1797.

(Signed)

“ SPENCER,

“ ARDEN,

“ W. YOUNG.

“ *To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport.*”

ANSWER OF THE SEAMEN.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

“ We, the seamen and marines in and belonging to His Majesty’s fleet now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmost satisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and provisions which your lordships have been pleased to signify shall take place in future in His Majesty’s royal navy, by your order, which has been read to us this morning by the command of Admiral Lord Bridport.

“ Your lordships having thus generously taken the prayer of our several petitions into your serious consideration, you have given satisfaction to every loyal and well-disposed seaman and marine belonging to His Majesty’s fleets: and, from the assurance which your lordships have given us respecting such other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, should any real grievance or other cause of complaint arise in future, and the same be laid before your lordships in a regular manner, we are perfectly satisfied that your lordships will pay every attention to a number of brave men who ever have, and ever will be, true and faithful to their king and country.

“ But we beg leave to remind your lordships, that it is a firm resolution that, until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and pensions augmented, the grievances of private ships redressed, an act passed, and His Majesty’s gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor: and this is the total and final answer.

“ April 22, 1797.”

A Proclamation for pardoning such Seamen and Marines of the Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet stationed at Spithead, as having been guilty of an Act of Mutiny or Disobedience of Orders, or any Breach or Neglect of Duty; and who shall, upon Notification of such Proclamation on board their respective Ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty.

“GEORGE R.

“Upon the report of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty of the proceedings of the seamen and marines of the squadron of our fleet stationed at Spithead, and of the measures taken by the said lords commissioners in consequence thereof; and, in order to manifest our desire to give due encouragement to all those who shall return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby promise our most gracious pardon to all seamen and marines serving on board the said squadron, who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty: and we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines so returning to their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonment, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them:

“Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-seven, and in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

“GOD SAVE THE KING.”

Correct statement of the Demands of the Sailors.

“ Art. I.—That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth be granted to His Majesty’s subjects serving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

“ II.—That every man upon a ships coming into harbour shall have liberty (a certain number at a time, so as not to injure the ship’s duty) to go and see their friends and families, a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

“ III.—That all ships, before they go to sea, shall be paid all arrears of wages down to six months, according to the old rules.

“ IV.—That no officer that has been turned out of any of His Majesty’s ships shall be employed in the same ship again, without the consent of the ship’s company.

“ V.—That when any of His Majesty’s ships shall be paid, that may have been some time in commission, if there are any pressed men on board that may not be in the regular course of payment, they shall receive two months advance to furnish them with necessaries.

“ VI.—That an indemnification be made, any men who run, and may now be in His Majesty’s naval service, and that they shall not be liable to be taken up as deserters.

“ VII.—That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money to the crews of His Majesty’s ships and vessels of war.

“ VIII.—That the articles of war, as now enforced, require various alterations, several of which to be expunged therefrom ; and if more moderate ones were held forth to seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against His Majesty’s service, on that account too frequently imbibed by seamen, from entering voluntarily into the service.

“ The committee of delegates of the whole fleet, assembled in council on board His Majesty’s ship Sandwich

have unanimously agreed that they will not deliver up their charge until the appearance of some of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty to ratify the same.

“ Given on board His Majesty’s ship Sandwich, by the Delegates of the fleet, May 20th, 1797.

“ RICHARD PARKER, President.”

ANSWER FROM THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF
THE ADMIRALTY.

To the Seamen and Marines of His Majesty’s Ships and Vessels at the Nore, and at Sheerness.

“Sheerness, May 22, 1797.

“ In pursuance of orders communicated to me by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, I am directed to acquaint the crews of His Majesty’s ships and vessels at the Nore and at Sheerness, that after the very liberal attention of His Majesty, in encreasing the wages and provisions of the seamen and marines in His Majesty’s service for which they have in general expressed themselves not only satisfied, but highly grateful, their lordships are extremely surprised to find the seamen and marines of His Majesty’s ships at the Nore and Sheerness should be still in a state of disobedience, and bringing forward further requests. Their lordships therefore have commanded me to inform you, that since all that could reasonably be expected by the seamen and marines has been already granted them, their lordships cannot accede to any such request.—With respect to the first article of the conditions, presented by the seamen and marines at this port, their lordships direct me to inform you, as has already been explicitly declared, that all additional allowances of wages and provisions, and every other regulation announced at Portsmouth, have been established by His Majesty’s order in council,

and by act of parliament, and extended to all seamen and marines in His Majesty's service. That with respect to the second article of the said conditions, the nature of the service in time of war does not admit of the men having leave to go to their families, except under very particular circumstances, of which the captains or other superior officers alone can judge. That with respect to the third and fifth articles, the ship's company shall be paid in the manner pointed out in the several acts of parliament at present in force for the encouragement of seamen and marines employed in His Majesty's service, as they always are, unless some very urgent necessity prevents it ; but as it ever has been the practice of the service to shew attention to those who, with the true spirit of British seamen, voluntarily stand forth in defence of their country, their lordships are desirous of giving every possible encouragement of volunteers ; and it is not their intention to direct that advance should be paid to impressed men. With respect to the fourth article, all arrangements concerning the officers to be employed in the ships of the squadron must be settled by the admiral or commanding officer for the time being, conformably to the instructions of their lordships, according to the circumstances of each particular place. That with respect to the sixth article, if it should be His Majesty's pleasure to pardon all who may have deserted from his service in the navy, it must be the effect of His Majesty's royal clemency alone, and not of any requisition ; that although their lordships thought proper to go to Portsmouth, for the purpose of obtaining more perfect information of the grievances which the seamen and marines in general might have to represent, and of adopting most expeditiously such measures as might be necessary and granting such farther indulgences as might render their situation more comfortable, and enable them better to provide for the support of their families, no similar reason exists for their taking such a step on the present

occasion. That the representations made at Portsmouth have been fully considered, and the regulations made in consequence have already been extended to the whole fleet, and established by the highest authority. Their lordships therefore direct me to acquaint you that it is to me and to the officers under whom you serve, that ship's companies are to look up, to whom their petitions are always to be presented, and through whom their lordships' determinations are to be expected. It is their lordships' direction that I should also inform you that, notwithstanding all that you have done, His Majesty's most gracious pardon, and their lordships' order to all officers to bury in oblivion all that has passed, are now offered to you : which should you refuse, you will have to answer for all the melancholy consequences which must attend your persisting in the present state of disobedience and mutiny. When the seamen and marines at the Nore and at Sheerness reflect that the rest of the fleets have returned to their duty, and have proceeded to sea in search of the enemies of their country, their lordships have no doubt that they will no longer shew themselves ungrateful for all that has so liberally been granted to them, but will strive who shall be first to shew his loyalty to his king, and his love to his country, by returning to that state of obedience and discipline, without which they cannot expect any longer to enjoy the confidence and good opinion of their country.

(Signed) " CHARLES BUCKNER,

" Vice-Admiral of the White, and
Commander of His Majesty's
ships and vessels in the River
Medway, and at the Buoy of
the Nore."

To the Seamen and Marines of His Majesty's ships at the Nore and at Sheerness.

“ Sheerness, May 24, 1797.

“ Pursuant to directions from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, which I received this afternoon, I am again to call the attention of the seamen and marines on board His Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and Sheerness, to the gracious offer already made to them, and to declare that I am instructed and authorised by their lordships to repeat the offer of a pardon, which will include all offences committed by the seamen and marines during the disorders that have and do prevail, on condition of their returning to their duty. And when the seamen and marines above mentioned shall reflect that they have pledged themselves to be perfectly satisfied with and abide by the determinations of their friends at Portsmouth; who sensible of the indulgence granted to them, have returned with alacrity to their duty; and are now in pursuit of the enemies of their King and country, it is hoped that the seamen and marines at this port will no longer shew themselves ungrateful for all that has been so liberally granted, and which have so completely satisfied the companies of His Majesty's ships composing the Channel fleet; but on the contrary, that they will be forward in following so laudable an example, and cheerfully express their readiness to accept His Majesty's most gracious pardon, now offered to them a second time, and to return to their duty like British seamen. And have also their lordships' commands further to inform you that they do not see the propriety or expediency of their holding a board of Admiralty at Sheerness; and that they do not mean to encourage a repetition of demands by any further concession; also that it now rests with the seamen and marines of His Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and at Sheerness, to decide whether it may not be for their

interest to return to their duty, and thereby avail themselves of His Majesty's most gracious pardon, rather than expose themselves to those consequences which must follow from their continuance in a state of disobedience.

(Signed) "CHARLES BUCKNER.
" Vice-Admiral of the White, &c."

*To the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of
Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

" I am commanded by the delegates of the whole fleet, assembled in council on board His Majesty's ship Sandwich, to inform your lordships that they have received your letter from Admiral Buckner, which informs them that it was not your intention of coming to Sheerness. The same has been communicated to His Majesty's ships and vessels lying here; and the determination of the whole is, that they will not come to any accommodation until you appear at the Nore and redress our grievances.

(Signed) "RICHARD PARKER,
" President.

" By order of the committee of delegates of
the whole fleet.

" His Majesty's ship Sandwich,
May 25, 1797."

PROCLAMATION.

" GEORGE R.

" Whereas it has been represented unto us, that, notwithstanding the declarations made in our name and by our authority, by our lords commissioners of our Admiralty, of our gracious intentions to recommend to the consideration of parliament to augment the wages and allowances

of the seamen and marines of our fleet, which our gracious intentions and declarations have since been carried into effect by an act of parliament; and notwithstanding the communication made by our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor Richard Earl Howe, Admiral of our fleet, of our gracious intentions towards the seamen and marines of our fleet, for the pardon of the offences by them committed, and our royal proclamation thereupon, bearing date the 11th day of May instant; and notwithstanding the sentiments of duty and gratitude with which the same were received by the seamen and marines of our other squadrons, yet the crews on board certain of our ships at the Nore, have not only since the full manifestation of all these our gracious intentions and declarations, been guilty of divers acts of mutiny and disobedience of orders, but have even proceeded to other acts of the most heinous and treasonable nature, by firing upon some of our ships, in order to compel them to submit to their direction; have threatened and taken measures for stopping the commerce of the kingdom passing to and from the port of London; and have, by terror of their force, compelled two frigates to desist from executing a particular service, which, by our order, they were directed to perform. We, thinking it right to warn all our seamen and marines on board the said ships, of the heinous nature of the offences by them committed, and of the dangerous consequences thereof to the spirit and discipline of the British navy, and to the welfare of their country, as well as to their own safety, do hereby earnestly require and enjoin all our said seamen and marines immediately on the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular discharge of their duty, as has already been done by the crews of our other squadrons and fleets, stationed at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and elsewhere.

“ And whereas we are well assured that a great part

of the seamen and marines on board the said ships at the Nore, abhor and detest the criminal proceedings which are still persisted in on board the said ships, and are desirous to return to their duty.

“ Now we being desirous to extend our gracious intentions of pardon to all such seamen and marines so serving on board our said ships at the Nore, who may have returned or shall return upon the notification of this our royal declaration, to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, have authorised and do hereby authorise and empower our said lords commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, to signify to all such seamen and marines who may have been guilty of any of the treasonable acts aforesaid, or of any mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or who shall upon notification hereof on board the respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our royal intentions to grant all such seamen and marines our most gracious pardon, and to promise in our name to all such seamen and marines who have so returned, or shall so return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our most gracious pardon accordingly. And we do hereby declare that all such seamen and marines who shall have so returned, or shall so return to their duty, and to whom the lords commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, shall so promise our pardon, shall receive the same accordingly; and shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any of the acts aforesaid, or by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previously committed by them or any of them; hereby declaring at the same time that all such seamen and marines who shall not take the benefit of this our gracious pardon, shall from henceforth be considered

as liable according to the nature of their offences, to such punishment as the articles of war and the law have provided for the same.

“ Given at our court at Saint James’s,
the twenty-seventh day of May,
1797, in the thirty-seventh year of
our reign.

“ By His Majesty’s command,

“ PORTLAND.”

*Order of the Lords of the Admiralty to the Commanders of
His Majesty’s fleet.*

“ Whereas from the disposition lately shewn by the seamen belonging to several of His Majesty’s ships, it is become highly necessary that the strictest attention should be paid by all officers in His Majesty’s naval service, not only to their own conduct, but to the conduct of those who may be under their orders; the more effectually to insure a proper subordination and discipline, and to prevent as far as may be all discontent among the seamen, your lordship is hereby directed to be particularly careful to enforce, so far as the same may depend on you, and to give orders to the officers employed under your command to enforce all the regulations for the preservation of discipline and good order in His Majesty’s navy, which are at present established for that purpose. And you are more especially to give the following directions, viz.

“ That the flag officers of the squadron under your command do frequently muster the crews of the ships belonging to their respective divisions; that the captains and commanders of the ships and vessels of your squadron never be absent themselves, nor allow any officers under their orders to be absent from on board their respective ships for twenty-four hours at one time, without our per-

mission, or leave obtained from yourself for that purpose.

“ That all flag officers, captains, and other officers, do wear their respective uniforms, not only whilst they are on board the ships to which they belong, but also when they are on shore in, or near any sea-port town.

“ That the captains and commanders of His Majesty’s ships and vessels do cause the articles of war to be read on board their respective ships to the companies thereof, at least once in every month, agreeably to their instructions; that they also see that the arms and ammunition belonging to the marines be constantly kept in good order and fit for immediate service, as well in harbour as at sea; and that they are in future to be very careful to rate their ship’s companies according to the merits of the men, in order that those who may not be deserving thereof, may not receive the pay of able or ordinary seamen.

“ That particular attention be paid to the regulations relating to the cutting up of fresh beef, that choice pieces be never purposely selected for the officers from that which is cut up for the ship’s company; and that choice pieces of salt meat be never taken for the officers out of the tub or vessel from which it may be served to the ship’s company.

“ That officers do not select casks of the best wine or spirits for their own use from those intended for the ship’s company, nor exchange any wine or spirits of their own for that which has been sent on board for the use of the ship.

“ That the captains and commanders of His Majesty’s ships do strictly enjoin the surgeons belonging to their respective ships not to take out of the ships any part of the medicines or necessaries intended for the use of the sick, but strictly to apply them to the purposes for which they were sent on board.

“ That the captains and commanders of His Majesty’s

ships be particularly attentive to the conduct of the men under their command, and that they be ready on the first appearance of mutiny, to use the most vigorous means to suppress it, and to bring the ringleaders to punishment.

Given, &c. 1st of May, 1797.

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

“ Whereas His Majesty has been most graciously pleased to issue his royal proclamation, dated the 11th instant, and thereby to declare that all such seamen and marines on board any ships of the fleet who may have been guilty of any act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or shall upon notification of such His Majesty’s proclamation return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonment, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders; or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them.

“ And whereas it is our intention that on no occasion hereafter the minds of seamen and marines to whom the benefit of the said proclamation has been extended, shall be disquieted by any reproof or reproach in respect of all or any such acts of mutiny, disobedience of orders, or breach or neglect of duty as before mentioned; but that a total oblivion of such offences should as far as possible obtain in consequence thereof; we have therefore thought fit by these our orders, to signify such meaning and intention to the several flag officers, captains, commanders, and all their subordinate officers in the fleet; and they

are hereby required and directed to conform to these our orders and intentions accordingly.

“ Given under our hands, the 14th day of May, 1797.

“ SPENCER,

“ GAMBIER,

“ YOUNG.

“ *To the several flag officers, captains,
and commanders of His Majesty's
fleet.*

“ By command of their lordships,

“ MARSDEN.”

BY THE KING.—*A Proclamation for the suppression of
the mutinous and treasonable proceedings of the Crews
of certain of our ships at the Nore.*

“ GEORGE R.

“ Whereas upon the representation of our lords commissioners of our Admiralty, respecting the proceedings of the seamen and marines on board certain of our ships at the Nore, we were pleased to command our said lords commissioners of our Admiralty to signify to the said seamen and marines our gracious intentions expressed in our royal declaration, under our sign manual, bearing date at St. James's, the twenty-seventh day of May, instant: [*Here the proclamation recites verbatim that already published signed PORTLAND.*] And whereas our right trusty and right well beloved cousin and counsellor George John, Earl Spencer, our trusty and well-beloved Charles George, Lord Arden, of our kingdom of Ireland, and W. Young, Esq. rear admiral of the white, being three of the lords commissioners of our Admiralty, did cause our gracious intentions, expressed in such our declaration, to be signified to the crews of our ships at the Nore, and did require such crews to return to their due obedience ac-

cordingly: and whereas it has been represented to us, that some of the crews of our said ships have been desirous of returning to their obedience accordingly, but have been prevented from so doing by violence; and other of our ships, in the actual discharge of their duty, have been fired upon, and attempts have been made to prevent some of our ships from proceeding, according to the orders of their commanders. And whereas such continued perseverance in rebellious and treasonable attempts against our crown and dignity, after repeated admonitions and offers of our gracious pardon, render it necessary for us to call on all our loving subjects to be aiding and assisting in repressing the same; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council to issue this our royal proclamation; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our admirals, generals, commanders, and officers, of our forces by sea and land, and all magistrates whatsoever, and all others our loving subjects, that they, in their several stations do use their utmost endeavours, according to law, to suppress all such mutinous and treasonable proceedings, and to use all lawful means to bring the persons concerned therein, their aiders and abettors, to justice. And we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our loving subjects whatsoever, not to give any aid, comfort, assistance, or encouragement whatsoever, to any person or persons concerned in any such mutinous or treasonable proceedings, as they will answer the same at their peril; and also, to the utmost of their power and according to law, to prevent all other persons from giving any such aid, assistance, comfort, or encouragement.

Proclamation by order of the Duke of York, announcing the increased Pay and other Advantages conferred on the Army.

“Whereas, over and above the provision made, for clothing, for Chelsea-hospital, for lodgings, and for medical

assistance; and, likewise, over and above the allowance of beer, and other articles, provided in barracks and quarters, and of bread provided at a reduced rate in camp, the private soldier of infantry of the line, serving at home, heretofore received the pay of sixpence per day, which, together with the sum of two-pence farthing per day, granted to him by His Majesty's warrant, for establishing and consolidating certain other allowances lately given him, amounts to the sum of eight-pence farthing; His Majesty having been graciously pleased to take the same into consideration, is pleased to direct, that, under the following regulations, there shall, from the 25th of this present month of May, be paid to each private soldier of infantry, in addition to the said sum of eighteen-pence farthing, the farther sum of three-pence three-farthings, making, in the whole, the sum of one shilling daily. Out of this advance of pay, the soldier is to pay the extra price of bread and meat, now paid by the public, which at present amounts, upon an average, to the daily sum of one penny three-farthings; so that the nett increase in future, to each soldier, will be two-pence per diem.

“ With respect to the disbursement of this shilling per day, His Majesty has been pleased to order that a sum not exceeding four shillings per week shall be applied toward the expense of the soldier's mess (including vegetables, &c.) unless he himself shall choose to appropriate a farther part of his pay to that purpose.

“ That a sum not exceeding one shilling and sixpence a week shall be retained for necessaries, to be accounted for, as usual, monthly. That the remainder of his pay, amounting to one shilling and sixpence per week shall be paid to the soldier, subject to the accustomed deduction for washing, and articles for cleaning his clothes and appointments; and His Majesty, out of his royal bounty, is farther pleased to order and direct for the benefit of the

soldier, That in camp he shall receive the sum of five-pence farthing per week, being the difference between the allowance and value of bread and beer in quarters or barracks, and the ordinary (increased) supply of bread in camp; that if meat, of the quality proper to be provided for him, should exceed the price of sixpence per pound, or bread, of the household quality, the price of one penny halfpenny per pound, such extra price shall be allowed by the public, upon a quantity not exceeding three quarters of a pound of meat, and one pound of bread per day for each man. That when any soldier shall, with the approbation of his commanding officer, provide himself with lodgings, and the several articles of small beer, &c. to which his billet would entitle him, he shall receive the same allowance as the publican would have been entitled to under such billet.

“ His Majesty is farther pleased to order, that the pay and allowances to a drummer shall be daily thirteen-pence farthing; that the pay and allowances to a corporal shall be daily fourteen-pence farthing; that the pay and allowances to a serjeant shall be daily eighteen-pence three farthings.

“ His Majesty is farther pleased to order, that the pay and allowances of the invalids shall be daily,—to a private eleven-pence farthing; to a drummer thirteen-pence farthing; to a corporal thirteen-pence three farthings; to a serjeant eighteen-pence farthing; and that the serjeants, drummers, and private men of the militia and fencible infantry shall be placed on the same footing respectively as those of the line. His Majesty is farther pleased to order, that the like nett addition of two-pence per diem shall be made to all his soldiers serving out of Great Britain.

“ Field-marshal the Duke of York is happy to announce the King's gracious intentions towards the whole of his army.

“ His Royal Highness rests assured that these new instances of the liberality of Parliament, and of His Majesty’s paternal care, will rivet that affection for their King and country which has ever been the pride of British soldiers; and that a continuance in steady discipline and honourable conduct will merit those gracious favours that have been repeatedly shewn them.

“ On this occasion his Royal Highness cannot but add that however incredible it may appear that there should exist a wretch, so lost to honour and humanity as to league with the enemy, and to aim at the utter ruin of his country, yet there are certainly many desperate persons who have persevered in methodising treachery and sedition; and who, under specious and delusive pretences, taking the advantage of unguarded moments, have endeavoured to seduce soldiers from their duty, and render them accomplices in their treasons, the direct object of which is universal confusion and rapine, and the overthrow of that happy system of religion and government secured to us by the blood of our ancestors; and which for so many ages has rendered Britain the admiration and envy of the world!

“ His Royal Highness is convinced that the love and attachment of the soldier to his king and country, are firm and unshaken; and, that, holding in abhorrence all base and scandalous attempts to shake his loyalty and true affection, every good soldier will repel, with indignation, the instigator of such wickedness, and glory in the opportunity of exposing them to the exemplary justice of their insulted country.

“ By command of field-marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

“ WILLIAM FAWCETT,
Adjutant-General.”

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Wednesday, June 7,

*At the Court at the Queen's House, June 6, 1797,
present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

“Whereas, by an act passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, “An act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of His Majesty's ships, now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion,” it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, or any three or more of them, being thereto authorized by order of His Majesty in council, to declare the crew of any of Majesty's ships, who have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and who still persist therein, and also the crew of any other of His Majesty's ships, who shall be guilty of any of the like offences, to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion; and, by such declaration, to warn all His Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships. And it is farther enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, in such manners as his Majesty shall authorize and require, to accept the submission of the crew of any ship which shall have been so declared to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any such ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be so declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act contained, in such manner, and

under such terms and restrictions, as His Majesty shall think fit. And whereas the said lords commissioners have represented to His Majesty, that it appears to them that the crews of the ships hereinafter-mentioned, that is to say, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Belliqueux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tysiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inspector have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, particularly by taking the command of the said ships from His Majesty's officers, by combining to obstruct the trade and navigation of the port of London, and by other acts of the most heinous nature; and that some of such crews had actually fired on divers of His Majesty's ships, and that all the said crews still persisted in such their mutiny and rebellion. His Majesty in pursuance of the powers vested in him by the above recited act, is hereby pleased, by and with the advice of privy council, to authorise, and by this his order in council doth authorise the said commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, or any three or more of them, to declare the crews of the said ships to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and to warn all His Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships, in the manner directed by the said act.

“ And His Majesty is hereby further pleased, with the advice aforesaid, to authorize and require the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, to accept the submission of the crew of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any of the said ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty; and thereupon to declare the persons or person, whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties

and forfeitures in the said act contained, in such manner and under such terms and restrictions as His Majesty shall think fit.

“ W. FAWKENER.”

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. (L. S.)

“ By virtue of an order of His Majesty in council, bearing date the 6th day of June instant, and in pursuance of the provisions of an act passed in the present session of parliament, entitled “ An act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of His Majesty’s ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion,” we do hereby declare, that the crews of His Majesty’s ships hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Belliqueux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tysiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inspector having been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and persisting therein, are, and are to be deemed and taken to be, in a state of mutiny and rebellion. And in further pursuance of the provisions of the said act, we do hereby warn all His Majesty’s faithful subjects to abstain from all communication and intercourse with the crews of the said ships. And we do hereby notify that by virtue of the said act, any person who shall wilfully and advisedly have any communication or intercourse, whether personally or by letter, message, or otherwise, with the crew of any of the said ships, or with any person or persons being part of such crew, or with any person who shall after this day remain on board any of the said ships, will on conviction thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death. And also that any person who shall wilfully and advisedly in any manner supply and comfort or assist such crew, or any part thereof,

or any person remaining on board any of the said ships after this day, will on conviction thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death. And also that from and after this day all wages and other allowances payable to the crews of the said ships will cease and determine, and be no longer payable; and that they will respectively from thenceforth forfeit and lose all wages, and other allowances, and all shares of prizes then due to them respectively, and all benefits and advantages to which they might otherwise be entitled from Greenwich Hospital or the chest at Chatham and all other benefits and advantages whatsoever to which they might otherwise be entitled, in consequence of their having served as seamen or marines on board His Majesty's ships; and that all persons voluntarily remaining on board any of the said ships, after having had knowledge of this declaration, will on conviction thereof be adjudged guilty of piracy and felony, and will suffer death.

“ And whereas the penalties of the said act do not extend to such communication or intercourse with the said crews as may be carried on by our order or authority, or by the order and authority of such person or persons as may be authorised by us to grant permission, and give directions in that behalf, we do hereby notify, that we have authorised Charles Buckner, Esq. vice-admiral of the white, and commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the river Medway, and at the Buoy at the Nore, to hold communication or intercourse with the said crews, and to grant permission, and give directions in that behalf. And we do further notify and declare, that we are authorized by His Majesty, in pursuance of the said act, to accept the submission of the crew of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons on board of any such ships, and to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall

be so declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act.

“ Given under our hands and the Seal of
the Office of Admiralty, this 7th day
of June, 1797.

“ SPENCER,	PH. STEPHENS,
“ ARDEN,	J. GAMBIER,
“ CHA. S. PYBUS,	W. YOUNG,
“ H. SEYMOUR,	
“ By command of their lordships,	
	“ EVAN NEPEAN.”

*Copy of the Rules and Orders observed by the Sailors
during the Mutiny.*

RULES AND ORDERS.

“ 1. Every ship shall diligently keep a quarter watch ; and every man found below in his watch shall be severely punished.

“ 2. Every ship shall give three cheers morning and evening.

“ 3. No woman shall be permitted to go on shore from any ship ; but as many may come in as please.

“ 4. Any person attempting to bring liquor into the ship, or any person found drunk, shall be severely punished.

“ 5. The greatest attention to be paid to the officers' orders ; any person failing in the respect due to them, or neglecting their duty, shall be severely punished.

“ 6. Every seaman and marine shall take an oath of fidelity, not only to themselves but to the fleet in general.

“ 7. No ship shall lift their anchors to proceed from this port, until the desires of the fleet be satisfied.

“ 8. That there be no liberty given from ship to ship till all are settled.

“ No private letters to be sent on shore.”

The following were the supplies granted for the service of the navy during the year 1798 :

NOVEMBER 16, 1797.

That 110,000 seamen be employed, including 20,000 marines		
For wages for ditto	£2,645,500	0 0
For materials for ditto	2,717,000	0 0
For wear and tear of ships	4,290,000	0
For ordnance sea service	357,500	0 0
For the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health	1,200,000	0 0

NOVEMBER 20.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers	689,858	19 7
For building and repairing of ships and other extra works	639,530	0 0

APRIL 24, 1798.

That 10,000 additional seamen be employed.		
The sum for maintaining them, including ordnance for sea service		
	910,000	0 0
<hr/>		
Total supplies voted for the navy....	£13,449,388	19 7
		<hr/>

The resolution which was passed in Parliament, in the month of April, 1798, for an augmentation to the naval force of ten thousand men, was followed by a motion of Mr. Pitt for suspending the protection granted by the crown to watermen, masters who had apprentices on board, &c. The protections were to be suspended for one month in the coal trade, and for five months in the other trades. After some conversation and slight opposition leave being given, the bill was prepared, and brought into the House of Commons, where it passed through the usual stages in the course of the same evening, and was afterwards, being carried through the House of Lords, passed into a law.

During the early part of this year, the French government kept up an alarm in England by a threat of invasion; but while troops were assembling on the northern shores of France opposite to the coasts of England, apparently for the purpose of putting this threat into execution, a more serious and secret expedition was fitted out for Egypt; which sailed from Toulon, under the command of Bonaparte, on the 30th of May. It consisted of thirteen ships of the line, of which one carried one hundred and twenty guns, three eighty, and nine seventy-four, seven frigates of forty guns each, besides smaller vessels, making in all forty-four sail; the transports amounted to nearly two hundred, carrying about twenty thousand regular troops, with a proportionate number of horses and artillery, and immense quantities of provisions and military stores.

The French fleet appeared off the Island of Malta on the 9th of June; and this island, though well garrisoned and in its fortifications almost impregnable, was given up by the Knights, after a spiritless show of defence. From this capture the French derived very great advantages, as they obtained two ships of war, four galleys, and one frigate, besides an immense quantity of military stores, and one thousand two hundred pieces of cannon.

Leaving a sufficient force to guard this important acquisition, Bonaparte sailed from hence on the 20th of June, and reached his ultimate destination, the coast of Egypt, on the 1st day of July. The precise object of this expedition has never been satisfactorily ascertained; but it is highly probable that the French government had several objects in view; in the first place, the possession of Egypt itself; secondly, by obtaining it, the means of intimidating the Turks; and lastly, the project of threatening, if not of invading, our East India possessions.

Earl St. Vincent, who was employed in watching the Spaniards on the western coast of Europe, having been

apprized of the motions of the French fleet in Toulon, dispatched Rear-Admiral Nelson, with the Vanguard of seventy-four guns, the flag ship; the Orion and Alexander also of seventy-four guns each, and two frigates. From the 9th of May, when they sailed from Gibraltar, to the 4th of June, Admiral Nelson was employed in cruising in search of the enemy. On the latter day he was joined by the Mutine, Captain Hardy; from whom he learnt that Captain Towbridge had been detached, with ten sail of the line and a fifty gun ship, to reinforce him. This reinforcement had been prepared and victualled by Lord St. Vincent, to be detached into the Mediterranean as soon as a reinforcement from the Channel fleet, under the command of Admiral Curtis, should join; and thereby enable him to spare such a detachment, and still maintain the blockade of Cadiz.

The expected squadron from the Channel fleet was no sooner announced to be in sight, than Lord St. Vincent made the signal for the others to weigh and proceed under the command of Captain Trowbridge. They were soon all under sail, and actually steering for the Mediterranean and out of sight, before the Channel squadron had anchored.

On the 8th of June the reinforcement joined Admiral Nelson; but no instructions whatever were brought him how he was to steer, nor was any information given him respecting the destination of the enemy. The first thing that the admiral did was to arrange his fleet in an established order of battle: two divisions were formed; his own ship was placed in the centre of the van, and the Orion, Captain Sir James Saumarez, in a similar station in the rear; the Culloden was ordered to lead the line, on the starboard tack, and the Bellerophon, Captain Darby, to lead on the larboard tack.

Admiral Nelson, knowing that the enemy had sailed with a fresh wind from the north-west, concluded they

were bound up the Mediterranean. This determined him to steer for the Island of Corsica; but there he could procure no information respecting them: from Corsica he proceeded to Naples; but here also he was unsuccessful in learning the course of the enemy. From Naples he sailed for Sicily, where at last he learnt that the French fleet had been seen off Malta. To this island he directed his course, under a press of sail; but on his arrival he was informed that they had departed thence a few days before, and steered to the south-eastward. Admiral Nelson naturally concluded that they were bound for Egypt; and consequently steered directly thither; but on his arrival off Alexandria, he had the mortification to find that not a single ship had made its appearance there.

As Admiral Nelson was still of opinion that the French must be up the Mediterranean, he proceeded to the Island of Rhodes; but they not having been seen or heard of there, he resolved to retrace his course to Sicily. Accordingly he entered the Bay of Syracuse; here, by great exertions, the fleet completed their wood and water in a few days, and taking on board a considerable stock of live cattle, they proceeded again to the eastward in quest of the enemy.

When they were off the south coast of the Morea, Captain Trowbridge, who had been despatched for the purpose of procuring intelligence, learned from the Turkish governor of Coron that the enemy had been off Candia a month before, and had gone towards Alexandria. To this place Admiral Nelson therefore determined to proceed with all possible despatch; but the sailing of the rest of the ships was rather retarded by the Culloden, who had a small vessel laden with wine in tow.

On the 1st of August the Pharos, a light-house off Alexandria, was descried by the fleet, who were steering directly towards it; and as they approached discovered a wood of masts in the harbour. The *Alexander* and *Lean-*

der, which were about two leagues ahead, made the signal that they had discovered ships of war to the eastward. The admiral, who with the rest of his squadron was in close order of sailing, immediately altered his course accordingly, and made the signal to recal those on the look out. At this time the Culloden was about two leagues to the eastward of the admiral. The Alexander and Leander, who had run in nearer Alexandria, were obliged in consequence of the admiral's signal, to haul more to the wind, in order to round the point off Aboukir: this threw them considerably behind the main body of the fleet, which sailing with a free wind reached the point about five o'clock.

As soon as the admiral had got the bay fairly open, he hauled up on the larboard tack under an easy sail, partly that he might view more accurately the situation of the enemy, and partly in order to afford time for his own squadron to close; the Culloden being still about two leagues distant on the north-west; the Alexander and Leander were still further distant on the west-south-west.

The fleet of the enemy, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, were but a few miles off, bearing from south-west to south, and anchored in a line extending nearly north-west and south-east. The admiral's flag was discovered flying on board a three deck ship in the centre, and four frigates with several gun vessels dispersed inside towards the van and rear.

Admiral Nelson, with that promptitude of decision which is the characteristic of a great mind, and for which he was eminently distinguished, immediately formed his plan of attack. He gave orders to prepare to anchor by the stern, and wore with the whole squadron together by signal. By this manœuvre the situation of the squadron was at once changed, by giving the van to those who were, while their heads were towards the sea, dropping astern to join their situation in the rear, in the order of

sailing. The admiral himself bore up toward the van of the enemy, making the signal to form the line of battle ahead as most convenient ; that is, for each ship to fall in as their situation best suited, without paying regard to the established order of battle.

The admiral, as the ships were drawing into order of battle, made the signal to attack the enemy's van and centre; and soon afterwards added the signal for a close engagement, which was kept flying throughout the whole of it.

In the course of the day the wind had blown between the north-west and north-north-west—a fresh top-gallant-sail breeze ; and though it moderated as the day drew near a close, it still swelled out the lighter sails.

Before the *Goliah*, which was the leading ship, had approached within a mile of the enemy's van ships, they began a brisk cannonade with their starboard guns : at the same time the batteries from the shore and the gun vessels opened their fire. This galled the British ships considerably ; it, however, only rendered them more anxious to get into close engagement with the enemy. The situation of their anchorage, and the shallowness of the water around them gave them many advantages ; but not so many as they anticipated ; for by anchoring so near the shore they seem to have considered it absolutely impossible for the British ships to have got round them. Captain Foley, however, in the *Goliah*, was resolved if possible to pass round the bow of the enemy's van, and inside of their line, though no signal was made to direct such a manœuvre. Accordingly keeping his ship under all convenient working sail, and as near to the edge of the bank as the depth of the water would permit, and passing ahead of the enemy's van ship, *Le Guerrier*, he poured into her a most destructive fire ; then bearing round up, shortened sail and anchored by the stern, inside of the second of the enemy's line, *Le Conquerant*.

The example of the *Goliah* was followed by four others which composed the British van. The *Zealous* first followed in the tract, but not so far as the *Goliah*, having dropped her anchor astern, so as to preserve her situation on the inside bow of *Le Guerrier*. The *Orion* next followed, and passing to windward of the *Zealous*, and round her, playing her larboard guns against *Le Guerrier*, continued in a south-east course, and passed the inside of the *Goliah*. In this situation being annoyed by the fire of a frigate, she brought her starboard guns to bear upon her, and sent her to the bottom. Then hauling round towards the enemy's line, she dropped her anchor between the third and fourth ships from their van, and swung round abreast of the *Aquilon*, which ship made no attempts to prevent her from taking up this position.

The *Theseus* which followed the *Orion* passed between the *Zealous* and *Le Guerrier*, and so close to the latter as only not to get entangled with her; and when abreast of her bow poured in a broadside, which brought down the main and mizen masts, the foremast having been carried away before. Thus in the short space of fifteen minutes the van ship of the enemy was reduced to a mere wreck. The broadside which did this damage was fired just as the sun was setting. After this the *Theseus* passed on the outside of the *Goliah*, and dropped her stern anchor ahead of her, and thus was placed inside of the third ship of the enemy, *Le Spartiate*. The *Audacious* followed next, and passing between *Le Guerrier* and *Le Conquerant* poured a destructive fire into them. The breeze at this time slackening, the ships in the rear of the British squadron were not able to close as quickly as they wished.

The *Vanguard* followed the *Audacious*, but did not pass the line of the enemy; but was anchored by the stern on the outside, and close to the third ship from the van, *Le Spartiate*; her followers passed on ahead, an-

choring by the stern as they came up, on the outside as the admiral had done. Thus the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, and *Swiftsure* took up their positions abreast of the fourth, fifth, and sixth ships from the van; by this arrangement the *Bellerophon* was left to attack the French admiral's ship *L'Orient*, a three decker. The difference of force between these two ships by estimating the weight of ball fired from one broadside of each was above seven to three, and the weight of ball from the lower deck of the French ship exceeded that from the whole broadside of the *Bellerophon*. The stern anchor of this ship was dropped on the outside bow of her opponent. By this time the day was so much closed as to render it difficult to observe the movements and operations of the hostile squadrons. Under these circumstances the *Majestic*, who followed the *Bellerophon*, had to grope for an antagonist; in doing which her gib-boom entered the rigging of the enemy's ships astern of the admiral, and while thus entangled she was severely handled.

The *Culloden*, in the mean time having been detained by the towing of the wine vessel, had not been so fortunate as the other ships in getting into battle, and before the close of the day she run ashore on a shoal; but it was some consolation that this accident served as a beacon to induce the two ships, the *Alexander* and the *Leander*, then to the westward of her, to haul more out than they otherwise would have done. The former of these having got round the end of the shoal, steered under all sail for the centre of the enemy, and anchored inside of the French admiral's ship: soon afterwards the *Leander* ran in under the stern of the fifth ship.

Having thus described the manner in which the ships of the British fleet went into action, we shall give the remaining narrative in the words of Mr. Southey, in his life of Nelson.

“ The two first ships of the French line had been dis-

masted within a quarter of an hour after the commencement of the action; and the others had in that time suffered so severely, that victory was already certain. The third, fourth, and fifth, were taken possession of at half-past eight. Meantime Nelson received a severe wound on the head from a piece of langridge shot. Captain Berry caught him in his arms as he was falling. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound was mortal: Nelson himself thought so; a large flap of the skin of the forehead, cut from the bone, had fallen over one eye; and the other being blind, he was in total darkness. When he was carried down, the surgeon—in the midst of a scene scarcely to be conceived by those who have never seen a cockpit in time of action, and the herosm which is displayed amid its horrors,—with a natural and pardonable eagerness, quitted the poor fellow then under his hands, that he might instantly attend the admiral. “No!” said Nelson, “I will take my turn with my brave fellows.” Nor would he suffer his own wound to be examined till every man, who had been previously wounded was properly attended to. Fully believing that the wound was mortal, and that he was about to die, as he had ever desired, in battle and in victory, he called the chaplain, and desired him to deliver what he supposed to be his dying remembrance to Lady Nelson: he then sent for Captain Louis from on board the *Minotaur*, that he might thank him personally for the great assistance which he had rendered to the vanguard; and ever mindful of those who deserved to be his friends, appointed Captain Hardy from the brig to the command of his own ship, Captain Berry having to go home with the news of the victory. When the surgeon came in due time to examine his wound, (for it was in vain to entreat him to let it be examined sooner,) the most anxious silence prevailed: and the joy of the wounded men, and of the whole crew, when they heard that the hurt was merely

superficial, gave Nelson deeper pleasure than the unexpected assurance that his life was in no danger. The surgeon requested, and, as far as he could, ordered him to remain quiet: but Nelson could not rest. He called for his secretary, Mr. Campbell, to write the dispatches. Campbell had himself been wounded; and was so affected at the blind and suffering state of the admiral, that he was unable to write. The chaplain was then sent for; but, before he came, Nelson, with his characteristic eagerness, took the pen, and contrived to trace a few words, marking his devout sense of the success which had already been obtained. He was now left alone; when suddenly a cry was heard on the deck, that the *Orient* was on fire. In the confusion, he found his way up, unassisted and unnoticed; and, to the astonishment of every one, appeared on the quarter-deck, where he immediately gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy.

“ It was soon after nine that the fire of the *Orient* broke out. Brueys was dead: he had received three wounds, yet would not leave his post; a fourth cut him almost in two. He desired not to be carried below, but to be left to die upon deck. The flames soon mastered his ship. Her sides had just been painted; and the oil-jars, and paint buckets were lying on the poop. By the prodigious light of this conflagration, the situation of the two fleets could now be perceived, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. About ten o'clock the ship blew up. This tremendous explosion was followed by a silence not less awful: the firing immediately ceased on both sides; and the first sound which broke the silence, was the dash of her shattered masts and yards, falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been exploded. It is upon record, that a battle between two armies was once broken off by an earthquake:—such an event would be felt like a miracle; but no incident in

war produced by human means, has ever equalled the sublimity of this constantaneous pause, and all its circumstances.

“ About seventy of the Orient’s crew were saved by the English boats. Among the many hundreds who perished, were the *Commodore*, *Casa-Bianca*, and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on the wreck of a mast when the ship blew up. She had money on board to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds sterling. A port fire from her fell into the main-royal of the *Alexander*: the fire which it occasioned was speedily extinguished. Captain Ball had provided, as far as human foresight could provide, against any such danger. All the shrouds and sails of his ship, which were not absolutely necessary for its immediate management, were thoroughly wetted, and so rolled up, that they were as hard and as little inflammable as so many solid cylinders.

“ The firing recommenced with the ships to leeward of the centre, and continued till about three. At day-break, the *Guillaume Tell*, and the *Genereux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line which had their colours flying: they cut their cables in the forenoon, not having been engaged, and stood out to sea, and two frigates with them. The *Zealous* pursued; but as there was no other ship in a condition to support Captain Hood, he was recalled. It was generally believed by the officers, that if Nelson had not been wounded, not one of these ships could have escaped: the four certainly could not, if the *Culloden* had got into action: and if the frigates belonging to the squadron had been present, not one of the enemy’s fleet would have left *Aboukir Bay*. These four vessels, however, were all that had escaped, and the victory was the most complete and glorious in the annals of naval history. “ *Victory*,” said Nelson, “ is not a name strong enough for such a scene;” he called it

a conquest. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken and two burnt: of the four frigates, one burnt, another sunk. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five. Westcott was the only captain who fell. Three thousand one hundred and five of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel; and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished.

“As soon as the conquest was completed, Nelson sent orders through the fleet, to return thanksgiving in every ship for the victory with which Almighty God had blessed His Majesty’s arms. The French at Rosetta, who with miserable fear beheld the engagement, were at a loss to understand the stillness of the fleet during the performance of this solemn duty; but it seemed to affect many of the prisoners, officers as well as men: and graceless and godless as the men were, some of them remarked, that it was no wonder such order was preserved in the British navy, when the minds of our men could be impressed with such sentiments after so great a victory, and at a moment of such confusion.—The French at Rosetta seeing their four ships sail out of the Bay unmolested, endeavoured to persuade themselves that they were in possession of the place of battle. But it was in vain thus to attempt, against their own secret and certain conviction, to deceive themselves: and even if they could have succeeded in this, the bonfires which the Arabs kindled along the whole coast, and over the country, for three following nights, would soon have undeceived them. Thousands of Arabs and Egyptians lined the shore, and covered the house tops during the action, rejoicing in the destruction which had overtaken their invaders. Long after the battle, innumerable bodies were seen floating about the bay, in spite of all the exertions which were made to sink them, as well from fear of pestilence, as from the loathing and horror which the sight occasioned. The shore

for an extent of four leagues, was covered with wreck ; and the Arabs found employment for many days in burning on the beach the fragments which were cast up, for the sake of the iron. Part of the Orient's main-mast was picked up by the Swiftsure. Captain Hallowell ordered his carpenter to make a coffin of it ; the iron as well as wood was taken from the wreck of the same ship : it was finished as well and handsomely as the workman's skill and materials would permit ; and Hallowell then sent it to the admiral with the following letter.—“ Sir, I have taken the liberty of presenting you a coffin made from the main-mast of l' Orient, that when you have finished your military career in this world, you may be buried in one of your trophies. But that that period may be far distant, is the earnest wish of your sincere friend, Benjamin Hallowell.”—An offering so strange, and yet so suited to the occasion, was received by Nelson in the spirit with which it was sent. As if he felt it good for him, now that he was at the summit of his wishes, to have death before his eyes, he ordered the coffin to be placed upright in his cabin. Such a piece of furniture, however, was more suitable to his own feelings, than to those of his guests and attendants ; and an old favorite servant entreated him so earnestly to let it be removed, that at length he consented to have the coffin carried below : but he gave strict orders that it should be safely stowed, and reserved for the purpose for which its brave and worthy donor had designed it.

“ The victory was complete ; but Nelson could not pursue it as he would have done, for want of means. Had he been provided with small craft, nothing could have prevented the destruction of the store ships and transports in the port of Alexandria :—four bomb vessels would at that time have burnt the whole in a few hours. “ Were I to die this moment,” said he in his despatches

to the Admiralty, "*want of frigates* would be found stamped on my heart! No words of mine can express what I have suffered, and am suffering, for want of them." He had also to bear up against great bodily suffering: the blow had so shaken his head, that from its constant and violent aching, and the perpetual sickness which accompanied the pain, he could scarcely persuade himself that the skull was not fractured. Had it not been for Trowbridge, Ball, Hood, and Hallowell, he declared that he should have sunk under the fatigue of refitting the squadron. "All," he said, "had done well; but these officers were his supporters." But, amidst his sufferings and exertions, Nelson could yet think of all the consequences of his victory; and that no advantage from it might be lost, he despatched an officer over land to India, with letters to the governor of Bombay, informing him of the arrival of the French in Egypt, the total destruction of their fleet, and the consequent preservation of India from any attempt against it on the part of this formidable armament. "He knew that Bombay," he said, "was their first object, if they could get there; but he trusted that Almighty God would overthrow in Egypt these pests of the human race. Bonaparte had never yet had to contend with an English officer, and he would endeavour to make him respect us." This dispatch he sent upon his own responsibility, with letters of credit upon the East India company, addressed to the British consuls, vice-consuls, and merchants on his route; Nelson saying, "that if he had done wrong, he hoped the bills would be paid, and he would repay the company: for, as an Englishman, he should be proud that it had been in his power to put our settlements on their guard." The information which by this time reached India, was of great importance. Orders had just been received for defensive preparations, upon a scale proportionate to the apprehended danger; and the extraordinary expenses

which would otherwise have been incurred, were thus prevented.

“ Nelson was now at the summit of glory: congratulations, rewards, and honours, were showered upon him by all the states, and princes, and powers, to whom his victory gave a respite. The first communication of this nature which he received, was from the Turkish sultan; who, as soon as the invasion of Egypt was known, had called upon “ all true believers to take arms against those swinish infidels the French, that they might deliver these blessed habitations from their accursed hands;” and who had ordered his pashas to turn night into day in their efforts to take vengeance.” The present of “ his imperial majesty, the powerful; formidable, and most magnificent, Grand Seignior,” was a pelisse of sables, with broad sleeves, valued at five thousand dollars; and a diamond aigrette, valued at eighteen thousand: the most honourable badge among the Turks; and in this instance more especially honourable, because it was taken from one of the royal turbans. “ If it were worth a million,” said Nelson to his wife, “ my pleasure would be to see it in your possession.” The sultan also sent, in a spirit worthy of imitation, a purse of two thousand sequins, to be distributed among the wounded. The mother of a sultan sent him a box, set with diamonds, valued at one thousand pounds. The czar Paul, in whom the better part of his strangely compounded nature at this time predominated, presented him with his portrait, set in diamonds, in a gold box, accompanied with a letter of congratulation, written by his own hand. The king of Sardinia also wrote to him, and sent a gold box, set with diamonds: Honours in profusion were awaiting him at Naples. In his own country the king granted these honourable augmentations to his armorial ensign: a chief undulated, argent; thereon waves of the sea; from which a palm tree issuant, between a disabled

ship on the dexter, and a ruinous battery on the sinister, all proper : and for his crest, on a naval crown, or, the chelink, or plume, presented to him by the Turk, with the motto, *Palman qui meruit ferat*.* And to his supporters, being a sailor on the dexter, and a lion on the sinister, were given these honourable augmentations : a palm branch in the sailor's hand, and another in the paw of the lion, both proper : with a tri-coloured flag and staff in the lion's mouth. He was created Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, with a pension of two thousand pounds for his own life, and those of his two immediate successors. When the grant was moved in the house of commons, General Walpole expressed an opinion, that a higher degree of rank ought to be conferred. Mr. Pitt made answer, that he thought it needless to enter into that question. "Admiral Nelson's fame," he said, "would be coequal with the British name, and it would be remembered that he had obtained the greatest naval victory on record, when no man would think of asking, whether he had been created a baron, a viscount, or an earl?" It was strange that, in the very act of conferring a title, the minister should have excused himself for not having conferred a higher one, by representing all titles, on such an occasion, as nugatory and superfluous. True, indeed, whatever title had been bestowed, whether viscount, earl, marquis, duke, or prince, if our laws had so permitted, he who received it would have been Nelson still. That name he had en-

* "It has been erroneously said that the motto was selected by the king—it was fixed on by Lord Grenville, and taken from an ode of Jortin's. The application was singularly fortunate; and the ode itself breathes a spirit, in which no man ever more truly sympathized than Nelson :

*Concurrant paribus cum ratibus rates
Spectent numina ponti, et
Palman qui meruit ferat.*

nobled beyond all addition of nobility : it was the name by which England loved him, France feared him, Italy Egypt, and Turkey celebrated him ; and by which he will continue to be known while the present kingdoms and languages of the world endure, and as long as their history after them shall be held in remembrance. It depended upon the degree of rank what should be the fashion of his coronet, in what page of the red book his name should be inserted, and what precedence should be allowed his lady in the drawing room and at the ball. That Nelson's honours were affected thus far, and no farther, might be conceded to Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in administration : but the degree of rank which they thought proper to allot, was the measure of their gratitude, though not of his services. This Nelson felt ; and this he expressed, with indignation, among his friends.

Whatever may have been the motives of the ministry, and whatever the formalities with which they excused their conduct to themselves, the importance and magnitude of the victory were universally acknowledged. A grant of ten thousand pounds was voted to Nelson by the East India company ; the Turkish company presented him with a piece of plate ; the City of London presented a sword to him, and to each of his captains. Gold medals were distributed to the captains ; and the first lieutenants of all the ships were promoted, as had been done after Lord Howe's victory. Nelson was exceedingly anxious that the captain and first lieutenant of the Culloden should not be passed over because of their misfortune. To Trowbridge himself he said, " Let us rejoice that the ship which got on shore was commanded by an officer whose character is so thoroughly established." To the Admiralty he stated, that Captain Trowbridge's conduct was as fully entitled to praise as that of any one officer in the squadron, and as highly deserving of reward. " It was Trowbridge," said he,

“ who equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse: it was Trowbridge who exerted himself for me after the action: it was Trowbridge who saved the Culloden, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it.” The gold medal, therefore, by the king’s express desire, was given to Captain Trowbridge, “ for his services both before and since, and for the great and wonderful exertions which he made at the time of the action, in saving and getting off his ship.” The private letter from the Admiralty to Nelson informed him, that the first lieutenants of all the ships *engaged* were to be promoted. Nelson instantly wrote to the commander-in-chief.—“ I sincerely hope,” said he, “ this is not intended to exclude the first lieutenant of the Culloden.—For Heaven’s sake, —for my sake,—if it be so, get it altered. Our dear friend Trowbridge has endured enough. His sufferings were, in every respect, more than any of us.” To the Admiralty, he wrote in terms equally warm. “ I hope and believe, the word *engaged* is not intended to exclude the Culloden. The merit of that ship, and her gallant captain, are too well known to benefit by any thing I could say. Her misfortune was great in getting aground, while her more fortunate companions were in the full tide of happiness. No; I am confident that my good Lord Spencer will never add misery to misfortune. Captain Trowbridge on shore is superior to captains afloat: in the midst of his great misfortunes he made those signals which prevented certainly the Alexander and Swiftsure from running on the shoals. I beg your pardon for writing on a subject which I verily believe, has never entered your lordship’s head; but my heart, as it ought to be, is warm to my gallant friends.” Thus feelingly alive was Nelson to the claims, and interests, and feelings of others. The Admiralty replied, that the exception was necessary, as the ship had not been in action: but they

desired the commander-in-chief to promote the lieutenant upon the first vacancy which should occur.

“ Nelson, in remembrance of an old and uninterrupted friendship, appointed Alexander Davison sole prize agent for the captured ships: upon which Davison ordered medals to be struck in gold, for the captains; in silver, for the lieutenants and warrant officers; in gilt metal, for the petty officers; and in copper, for the seamen and marines. The cost of this act of liberality amounted nearly to two thousand pounds. It is worthy of record on another account;—for some of the gallant men, who received no other honorary badge of their conduct on that memorable day, than this copper medal, from a private individual, years afterwards, when they died upon a foreign station, made it their last request, that the medals might carefully be sent home to their respective friends.—So sensible are brave men of honour, in whatever rank they may be placed.

“ Three of the frigates, whose presence would have been so essential a few weeks sooner, joined the squadron on the twelfth day after the action. The fourth joined him a few days after them. Nelson thus received despatches, which rendered it necessary for him to return to Naples. Before he left Egypt he burnt three of the prizes: they could not have been fitted for a passage to Gibraltar in less than a month, and that at a great expense, and with the loss of the service of at least two sail of the line. “ I rest assured,” he said to the Admiralty, “ that they will be paid for, and have held out that assurance to the squadron. For if an admiral, after a victory, is to look after the captured ships, and not to the distressing of the enemy; very dearly indeed, must the nation pay for the prizes. I trust that sixty thousand pounds will be deemed a very moderate sum for them: and when the services, time, and men, with the expense

of fitting the three ships for a voyage to England, are considered, government will save nearly as much as they are valued at.—Paying for prizes,” he continued, “is no new idea of mine, and would often prove an amazing saving to the state, even without taking into calculation what the nation loses by the attention of admirals to the property of the captors; an attention absolutely necessary as a recompense for the exertions of the officers and men. An admiral may be amply rewarded by his own feelings, and by the approbation of his superiors; but what reward have the inferior officers and men, but the value of the prizes? If an admiral takes that from them, on any consideration, he cannot expect to be well supported.” To Earl St. Vincent he said, “If he could have been sure that government would have paid a reasonable value for them, he would have ordered two of the other prizes to be burnt: for they would cost more in refitting, and by the loss of ships attending them, than they were worth.”

“Having sent the six remaining prizes forward, under Sir James Saumarez, Nelson left Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, off Alexandria, with the *Swiftsure*, *Goliath*, *Alcmene*, *Zealous*, and *Emerald*, and stood to sea himself on the seventeenth day after the battle.”

In consequence of the distracted state of Ireland, the French government resolved to send an expedition there; General Humbert, who commanded it, succeeded in effecting a landing; and for a short time, defeated the troops which were sent against him, and advanced a considerable way into the country; but at last he was obliged to surrender. We have noticed this expedition, which took place in the month of August, though not connected with the subject of these volumes, because it seems to have led to the sailing of a French squadron, consisting of one ship of the line and eight frigates, for Ireland, in the month of October following: this squadron was on the

11th of that month, taken or dispersed by the squadron of Sir John Borlase Warren.

There are very few other events of this year to be recorded. In the summer, an armament under Captain Popham, with a body of troops, bombarded Ostend, and landing, did considerable damage to the basins, &c. of the Bruges canal; but the troops not being able to reembark on account of the seige, were obliged to surrender.

The expedition to Minorca proved more successful. Admiral Duckworth's squadron appeared off that island, which surrendered to eight hundred men, who debarked from it, under the command of General Steuart. About the same time, the island of St. Domingo was evacuated by the British.

*[As Spain and Holland were now leagued with France, and though nominally her allies, were in fact her vassals; the French government considered the united naval force of all three kingdoms, as adequate to combat with the naval force of Britain; and with this united force, they planned the invasion of some part of the British empire. But it was necessary in the first place, to unite the fleets of Spain and Holland, with that of France; and orders were accordingly given, that the Spanish and Dutch fleets should sail for that purpose.

The British ministry aware of the danger, and probably of the plan of such a junction, directed Sir John Jervis, with fifteen sail of the line, to cruize off the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and watch the movements of the Spanish fleet, which was to proceed northward from Cadiz. On the 13th of February, while Admiral Jervis was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, he heard the signal guns of the enemy, and at the same time learnt

* This and the following paragraphs, enclosed within the crotchets, relate to the year 1797; but through inadvertence were omitted to be printed at the end of the account of the mutiny.

from Captain Foote of the *Niger*, who had kept company with them for several days, that they were not more than three leagues distant. On the dawn of day on the 14th, the British Admiral saw a number of ships extended from south west to south, the wind being then at south: at about eleven o'clock, a signal was made that the ships were of the line, and in number twenty-five. The British fleet at this time was formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, Admiral Jervis was fortunate enough to get in with the enemy's fleet at half-past eleven, before it had time to form a regular order of battle. Every officer in the fleet immediately seconded the wishes of the admiral to take the advantage of this favorable circumstance; the admiral judging that the honor of His Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprize, felt himself justified in departing from the regular system; and passing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and by this manœuvre separated one third of them from the main body. After a furious engagement of four hours, two ships of one hundred and twelve guns each, one of eighty-four, and one of seventy-four were captured: only three hundred men of the British fleet were lost in this memorable battle, while the loss of the Spaniards in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to nearly six thousand.

One of the most brilliant exploits of this most celebrated victory, was performed by Commodore Nelson, in which he gave a fore-taste of what he afterwards performed on a larger scale; the details of this exploit, it would be unpardonable to omit.

At one o'clock the Captain of seventy-four guns, Commodore Nelson's ship, having passed the sternmost of the enemy's ship, which formed their van, and part of their centre, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, they on

the starboard, and the British on the larboard tack, the admiral made the signal to tack, in succession; but Commodore Nelson perceiving the Spanish ships all to bear up before the wind, evidently with an intention of forming their line, ordered his ship to be wore, and passing between the Diamond and Excellent, was engaged with the headmost, and of course leewardmost of the Spanish division: the ships of the enemy were the Santissima Trinidad, one hundred and twelve, Salvador del Mundo, one hundred and twelve, San Nicolas, eighty; another first rate, and a seventy-four, names not known. The Commodore was immediately joined and most nobly supported by the Culloden, Captain Trowbridge. The Spanish fleet appeared not to wish to have a decisive battle; and for that purpose hauled to the wind, on the larboard tack, which brought the ships just mentioned to be the leewardmost and sternmost ships in their fleet.

The Culloden and Captain, for the space of nearly an hour, fought all these ships, when the Blenheim came up to their support, and gave them a respite. At the time the Salvador del Mundo and another ship dropped astern, and were fired into in a masterly manner, by the Excellent, Captain Collingwood, who compelled the latter, (the San Julio,) to hoist English colours: it is thought that the Salvador del Mundo struck her colours about the same time: but Captain Collingwood pushed on, with every sail set, in order to assist Commodore Nelson, who was then in a critical situation. The Blenheim being ahead, and the Culloden crippled and astern, the Excellent ranged up within ten feet of the San Nicholas, giving her a most tremendous fire; the consequence was, that the Captain was enabled to resume her station: she was at this time in a very disabled state, having lost her foremast, not a sail, shroud, or rope left, her wheel shot away, and thus rendered incapable of further service in the line, or in chase. Under these circumstances, Com-

Commodore Nelson directed the helm to be put a starboard, and calling for the boarders, ordered them to board. The soldiers of the 69th regiment, with an alacrity which did them great credit, were among the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains, was Captain Berry : a soldier of the 69th regiment, having broken the upper quarter gallery windows, jumped in, followed by Commodore Nelson and others, as fast as possible. The cabin door was found fastened, and some Spanish officers fired their pistols ; but having broken open the door, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier fell, as retreating to the quarter deck. Having pushed on the quarter deck, the commodore found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down ; he passed with his people on the larboard gangway to the forecastle, where he met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to the seamen, who delivered him their swords.

At this moment, a fire of pistols or musketry opened from the admiral's stern gallery of the *San Joseph*, upon which the Commodore directed the soldiers to fire into her stern ; and calling to Captain Miller, who was still on board the *Captain*, ordered him to send more men with the *San Nicholas*, and directed the people to board the first rate, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting Commodore Nelson into the main-chain.

At this moment, a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said that they had surrendered ; Commodore Nelson immediately made his way to the quarter-deck, when the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented his sword, saying at the same time, that the admiral was dying of his wounds. Berry asked on his honor whether the ship had surrendered ; he declared she had, upon which the commodore gave him his hand, and desired him to call to his officers and ship's company to tell them of it, which he accordingly did. Thus, on the quarter-

deck of a Spanish first rate, did Commodore Nelson receive the swords of the Spaniards, which, as he received, he gave to one of his bargemen, who put them, with the greatest *sang froid*, under his arm.

As a reward for this victory, a peerage was deservedly bestowed on Sir John Jervis, and the title of St. Vincent commemorated the scene of his glory. Commodore Nelson was raised to the rank of rear-admiral.

The character of Nelson was sufficiently conspicuous from his conduct in this action; a daringness, which sometimes carried him beyond the verge of what was practicable even by his skill and bravery, and by the confidence of success, with which he inspired his men. His next exploit was not so successful.

On the 15th of July, he was despatched with a squadron against the Spanish island of Teneriffe: a thousand men were landed at Santa Cruz, in the night, under the command of Captain Trowbridge, they soon obtained possession of the town, which they kept nearly seven hours: but they found it impracticable to storm the citadel, without great loss; and as they had no prospect of success, they prepared for their retreat. This, however, they could not have effected without very great loss, had not the Spaniards, either through fear or through admiration and respect for their romantic valour, entered into a capitulation with them, by which they were permitted to go to their boats unmolested. In this disastrous business nearly as many lives were lost, as in the splendid victory of St. Vincent; and Nelson had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon ball.

On this occasion, the Spanish governor behaved in a manner that deserves to be recorded: the moment the terms were agreed to, he directed the British wounded to be received into the hospitals, and all the rest to be supplied with the best provisions that could be procured, making it known, that the ships were at liberty to send

on shore and purchase whatever refreshments they might need, during the time they lay off the island.

When the mutiny broke out, it was the intention of the British ministry to employ several of the ships engaged in it, in blocking up the Dutch fleet in the Texel; and upon this service, Admiral Duncan was soon afterwards employed. While he lay off the Texel, the Dutch fleet did not venture out; but on his being driven from his station by a gale of wind, they took advantage of his absence, and put to sea: they had scarcely cleared the land, when they were descried by the British fleet, which had returned from Yarmouth as soon as possible: it was at nine o'clock of the morning of the 12th of October, that the two fleets came in sight of each other. Admiral Duncan had judiciously placed his squadron in such a situation, that the enemy could not regain the Texel, unless they fought their way thither: he immediately bore up and made the signal for a general chase; the Dutch at the time were forming in a line on the larboard tack, to receive the British, the wind being at north west.

As soon as the British squadron came near, Admiral Duncan made the signal to shorten sail, in order to connect the ships of his squadron: soon after this, the land was seen between Camperdown and Egmont, on the coast of Holland. This convinced him that no time was to be lost in making the attack, as otherwise he might get entangled with the shore; he accordingly made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line and engage them to leeward each ship her opponent; by this manner he got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching.

Vice Admiral Onslow, in obedience to the signal, bore down on the rear of the Dutch fleet, in the most gallant manner, his division following the example, and the action commenced about forty minutes after twelve o'clock.

The Venerable, Admiral Duncan's own ship, soon got through the line of the enemy, and began a close action, with his division, against their van; the engagement lasted nearly two hours and a half, when the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board: even for some time after this, however, she was defended in the most gallant manner; at last being overpowered by numbers, her colours were struck, and the Dutch admiral, De Winter, was brought on board the Venerable.

About the same time Vice-admiral Onslow had obliged the ship which carried the Dutch vice admiral's flag, to strike her colours. Many others had also surrendered. During the action, the two fleets had approached so near the coast of Holland, being within five miles of it, that that they had only nine fathoms water. The first thing therefore to which Admiral Duncan directed his attention, was to get the heads of the disabled ships off shore. This was indeed difficult and dangerous; for the wind continued for some time to blow strong from west south west, to west north west, and consequently directly on the coast of Holland; as soon as it shifted to the north, the admiral made the signal to wear, and stood to the westward. On the 14th of October he succeeded in reaching Orfordness, the Venerable being so leaky, that, with all her pumps going, she could be scarcely kept free of water.

During the action, one of the enemy's ships caught fire and drove very near the Venerable; but no mischief was done. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, rigging, &c. The killed and wounded on board of the British ships was very great; but that of the Dutch much greater, five hundred men being killed and wounded on board two of their ships only. Besides the Dutch admiral's ship, eight others of the line, and two frigates were captured. The Dutch attributed their defeat to the cir-

cumstance of Vice-admiral Storey having fled with the greater part of his division, soon after the action began, into the Texel.

In relating the single actions of this year, the name of Sir Edward Pellew again meets our eye. On the 13th of January, while he was cruizing in the *Indefatigable*, in latitude 47° 30' north, Ushant being north fifty leagues, he discovered a large ship steering for France: he instantly made the signal for the *Amazon*, Captain Reynold, who was in company with him, for a general chase. At four o'clock they had got so near the strange ship, as to be able to distinguish she had two tier of guns: at fifteen minutes before six, the *Indefatigable* brought her to close action, which was supported in a gallant manner for nearly an hour, when the *Indefatigable* shot a head. At this time the *Amazon* came up, but she also shot ahead. A second attack by both ships was soon, however, recommenced, placing themselves upon each quarter; this attack, often within pistol shot, was continued unremitedly, for above five hours: the *Indefatigable* and *Amazon* then sheered off to secure their masts. During all this time, the sea was very high, the people on the main deck were up to their middle in water; the guns were many of them useless and all the masts were wounded.

At about twenty minutes past four, by a glimpse of the moon, the land was seen, and soon afterwards, breakers were heard and seen. The *Indefatigable* at this time was close under the enemy's starboard bar, and the *Amazon* close on her larboard; not an instant was to be lost; the safety of the ships and their crews, depended entirely upon the prompt execution of Captain Pellew's orders; these orders were obeyed in the most efficient manner by the officers and seamen. Before day, breakers were again seen on the lee bow: the *Indefatigable* was instantly wore to the northward; but as soon as the captain had fair day-light, he again ordered the ship to be wore to the

southward, in twenty fathoms water. A few minutes afterwards, the enemy was observed lying on her broadside, and a tremendous surf breaking over her. The Indefatigable passed her within a mile, but she could afford her no assistance, as she was in a very bad condition, having at that time four feet water in her hold, in great sea, and the wind dead on the shore, which was now ascertained to be Hodwone Bay: the fate of the Indefatigable depended upon her weathering the Penmark Rocks, which at last she did by about half a mile. The Amazon succeeded also in getting out of danger.

While the *Fiorenze*, Captain Sir Harry Neale, and the *Nymph*, Captain Cook, were reconnoitring the enemy's force, in the outer road of Brest Harbour, in the beginning of March, they saw two ships to the westward standing in for Brest; they soon ascertained them to be French frigates, and as they were near the French coast, with a leading wind out from Brest, and the French fleet in sight from their tops, it was an object of the utmost importance to be as decisive as possible in their mode of attack. Accordingly, both the British ships attacked the headmost of the enemy, before her consort came up, and compelled her to surrender after a short resistance. By this time the smaller frigate had arrived up, and being immediately attacked by both ships in the same manner as the former, she also surrendered, though after a longer resistance than her consort had made. The ships taken were the *Resistance*, forty-eight guns and three hundred and forty-five men; and the *Constance*, twenty-four guns and one hundred and eighty-nine men.

Early in this year, Trinidad was captured by a force under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and Rear Admiral Harvey. In the Gulph of Pavia, the Spaniards set fire to four ships of the line, to prevent their falling into the power of the captors, but one of them escaped the conflagration.

It was during this year that Buonaparte was appointed to the chief command of the French armies; and by his victories compelled the Austrians to sign the treaty of Leoben. By this event England was left alone in the contest with France. Negotiations for peace were again opened under Lord Malmesbury; but after his lordship had resided two months at Lisle the negotiations were broken off, by an order from the directory for him to leave France. The French complained that his lordship was not invested with sufficient powers, and the British complained that the directory had demanded a restitution of all that we had conquered from them and their allies in the course of the war.]

On the 27th of November, 1798, the House of Commons entered into a committee of supply for the services of the ensuing year. Mr. Hobart brought up the report, in which it had been voted that one hundred and twenty thousand men be employed for the service of the navy, for the year 1799, including twenty thousand marines. On the second reading, Sir John Sinclair spoke against the resolution, contending that as the naval force of the enemy was now nearly destroyed, there was no necessity for such a large and expensive establishment; when the question, however, was put, there was only one dissenting voice, namely, that of Sir John Sinclair himself.

On the 3rd of December, the house having formed itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer said, that independent of the transport service, which had not yet been voted, but which he estimated at one million three hundred thousand pounds, the sums necessary for the navy, including one hundred and twenty thousand seamen, amounted to ten million, seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds, making in all, under the naval department, thirteen million, six hundred and forty-two thousand pounds.

On the 7th of June, 1799, the navy supplies were still

further elucidated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who said that with respect to the navy, gentlemen would recollect, that in stating the article of service which first presented itself, and which he noticed in the month of December, 1798, under the head of the navy, the estimates amounted to ten million, nine hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The ordinaries in that branch of the service might be estimated at six hundred and ninety-three thousand pounds; the extraordinaries at seven hundred and twenty-nine thousand pounds; and the transport service at one million, three hundred thousand pounds; so that the estimate, with a small addition which afterwards took place, amounted to a sum total of thirteen million, six hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds for the year 1799. This estimate however was formed before it could be judged with precision, how far the calculation of seven pounds per month would be sufficient to answer the object proposed. But it appeared on making up the accounts to the 31st of December, 1798, that there had been a saving of no less a sum than nine hundred and three thousand pounds in that article; and he was justified in stating that there would be an additional saving of five hundred thousand pounds in the course of the year. He was therefore to deduct the two sums of nine hundred and three thousand pounds, being a diminution of the navy debt, and of five hundred thousand pounds which was expected to be saved; and the total sum of the supply to answer every exigency of the navy, would be twelve millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, being less by one million, four hundred and three thousand pounds, than the estimate in December, 1798.

The naval transactions of the year 1799 are neither numerous nor important: at the same time, we succeeded in diminishing to a considerable extent the naval force of our enemy; but without the opportunity or necessity of any display of skill or courage of our naval officers or

seamen. We allude to the expedition to Holland under the Duke of York this year, which, though it was by no means successful, so far as our land forces were concerned, was eminently successful in the naval part of it.

As the British ministry were secure with respect to Ireland, and after the arrival of Lord Nelson's fleet from the Mediterranean, had ships more than sufficient to watch the enemy in Brest, they resolved to hasten the expedition to Holland: the land forces were in the first instance under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and afterwards of the Duke of York. The British fleet was under the command of Admiral Mitchell. The expedition sailed from the Downs early in August, with about one hundred and thirty transports; this however was only the first division. The force of the Dutch government consisted at that period of nine ships of the line, and a few frigates, under the command of Admiral Story; they were anchored in the inner channel of the Texel, behind the island of that name, and the point of the Helder, the northern extremity of the province of Holland.

Admiral Mitchell met with unfavorable winds; but on the 19th of August he was off the coast of Holland. The next day, Admiral Lord Duncan, to whose fleet was joined the squadron of Admiral Mitchell, sent the Dutch Admiral Story, a summons to acknowledge the Prince of Orange, and go over to the English fleet: to this a peremptory answer in the negative was given.

On the 29th of August, a great part of the English convoy and frigates having come to an anchor in the road of the Texel, and the wind having freshened from the south, the Dutch Admiral resolved to take advantage of the first tide to fall down into the road, and chase or destroy the convoy. At this moment a revolt broke out among the crew of the *Washington*; the mutiny spread, and amidst this disorder, on the 30th of August, the English fleet entered the road of the Texel, and eleven

ships of the line, six frigates, and four sloops, under the orders of Admiral Mitchell, penetrated far into it with a favourable wind and tide. As soon as the Dutch Admiral made the signal to clear for battle, a general mutiny took place: the captain declared that the revolt of their crew was such that all hopes of subordination were over, and that they could not fight the English. The commander of one ship alone, said that the crew of his vessel was ready and willing to fight, and that he would defend himself, if the Admiral would set him the example. This, however, Story was by no means disposed to do; for after many protestations of fidelity to the republic, and inveighing against the treachery and cowardice of his crew, he declared himself and his officers prisoners of war. Besides the fleet composed of eight ships of the line and three frigates, which surrendered to Admiral Mitchell, three ships of the line, five frigates, and five East India vessels were taken in the Nieu Deep. The Batavian republic after this loss had nothing left, except a few ships dispersed in the ports of Zealand. Such was the result of the naval part of the expedition to Holland, which though very successful could by no means compensate for the failure of the military and principal part of it.

We must now turn our attention to the shores of the Mediterranean. Buonaparte in Egypt was successful, though the port of Alexandria and the mouth of the Nile were blocked up by a British squadron under Commodore Hood. After Buonaparte had reduced Egypt, he turned his thoughts to the invasion of Syria; in this he expected no obstacles; there was no town in the least strong, either by nature or art, between Egypt and Syria; and his victories had already, he trusted, sufficiently intimidated the inhabitants of both countries. As it was necessary however to reduce St. John D'Acree before he could enter Syria, he ordered the artillery for this purpose to be sent by sea. Vice Admiral Parrie with three frigates

had sailed during the night to escort the gun-boats, and had orders to cruise before Jaffa.

Sir Sydney Smith, to whom was principally entrusted the watching of Buonaparte, endeavoured to retain him by making attempts on Alexandria, but in vain. After this he sailed to the assistance of the Pacha of Syria, who, at first did not think of defending himself in D'Acre, but who was afterwards persuaded by Sir Sydney to attempt, and prepare for, its defence. It is probable however, that this place must have fallen, if, at the very moment when Buonaparte had finished the investment of it; the fleet of gun boats had not fallen into the hands of the English. This fleet was doubling Mount Carmel, when it was perceived by the Tigre, Sir Sydney Smith's vessel; it was immediately pursued and soon overtaken, when seven of the vessels struck their flag; a corvette and two small vessels escaped. Buonaparte however, persevered in his attempts to reduce D'Acre, but he was repulsed in eleven different attacks, principally by the chivalrous gallantry of Sir Sydney Smith. It is impossible for us to detail the particulars of those various assaults and repulses, nor do they properly come under the plan and object of our work. In order however, that our readers may form some idea at once, of the blind and mad obstinacy of Buonaparte, and of the heroism of Sir Sydney Smith, we shall lay before them the letters of the latter, as they were given in the Gazette of the 10th of September.

Tigre, Acre, May 9.

“ MY LORD,

“ I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the 2d instant, that we were busily employed completing two ravelines for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night,

and almost every night since; but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss: the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent sorties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally received orders to join me in Egypt, I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here; it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the 51st day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers were suddenly increased tenfold; our flanking fire from a float was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the enemy had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass eighteen pounder in the light-house castle, manned from the *Theseus*, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate, and the last mounted twenty-four pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the *Tigre*, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musquetry, did great execution; and

I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise. The Tigre's two sixty-eight pound carronades, mounted in two praams lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with), threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it considerably. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Day-light showed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night, and which were now seen composed of sand-bags, and the bodies of their dead built with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half-way on shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival. I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described; many fugitives return with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of

ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzles of their muskets touching, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Gezzar Pacha, hearing the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musquet-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to this English friends all was lost. This amicable contest, as who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. I had now to combat the pasha's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his *séraglio*, become a very important post, as occupying the *terre-plein* of the rampart. There were not above two hundred of the original one thousand Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate; and I over-ruled his objections by introducing the Chifflick regiment of one thousand men, armed with bayonets, disciplined after the European method, under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his imperial majesty's express commands, at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot; and, there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the pasha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally, and take the assailants in flank: he readily complied; and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel or nearest trench, and there fortify himself, by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town-gate efficaciously with grape from the

sixty-eight pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach; so that the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by our few remaining hand-grenades, thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the *Theseus*. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The groupe of generals and aids-du-camp, which the shells from the sixty-eight pounders had frequently dispersed, was now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle: his gesticulations indicated a renewal of attack, and his dispatching an aid-du-camp to the camp showed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station in the shoal water to the southward, and made the Tigre's signal to weigh and join the *Theseus* to the northward. A little before sun-set, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The pasha's idea was, not to defend the brink this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the beach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pasha's garden, where in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced amongst them lay headless corpses; the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and whom we have since learnt to be General Lasne, was carried off, wounded by a musquet-shot: general Rombauid was killed.

Such confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay, impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by their numerous emissaries. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the whole garrison, wherever it appeared, was now in the dusk mistaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which Colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the pasha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotte, just arrived with Hassan Bey; and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move. Buonaparte will no doubt renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men a-breast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defensible according to the rules of art, but, according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended; not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach that Buonaparte means to march to farther conquests. 'Tis on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor; and, with such a reinforcement, for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople, and even Vienna, must feel the shock. Be assured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does not decrease the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may, and probably shall be, overpowered, I can venture to say, that the French army will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear bought victory.

“ W. S. SMITH.

“ Rear-Admiral LORD NELSON.”

Tigre, off Jaffa, May 30.

“ MY LORD,

“ The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate, of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa in cool blood, three days after their capture; and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparte's extraordinary career. He raised the siege of Acre May 20, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last dispatch of the 9th inst. are as follow: Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the shieks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them, at the same time, a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a christian knight, and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had all the effects that I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship, but obedience; assuring me, that in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine

and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped by a warlike people, inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward, towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of ten thousand men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparte came with his horse-artillery, and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry by which they were completely surrounded. The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night, Soliman Aga, the lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel;—and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Buonaparte's intention, was obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works; in which it succeeded, after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing *in statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in

former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that, even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time; however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and war. A flag of truce was sent into the town by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the pasha, proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies; the stench from which, became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious, within a few hours after being seized with the first systems of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the general who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the general, with a message which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st inst. I

had above said, that the battering train of artillery (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to twenty-three pieces. The howitzers and medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise; together with the worst among the two thousand wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to His Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril, rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his aide-du-camp M. Lallemand having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat

their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that, when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, to such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van columns of the retreating army in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musquetry behind the sand hills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pasha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Nablu-sians. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house (under which the pasha met me), serves as an asylum for all religious, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afforded another proof of divine justice, which caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in hospital, where they are protected, and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pasha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are

just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats under a constant fire of musquetry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your lordship by Lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much lamented friend and coadjutor Captain Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of Lieutenant Sommers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire at five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her.

“ W. SIDNEY SMITH.”

Bonaparte retreated to Cairo, from whence he proceeded to Aboukir, where he was in some measure consoled for his defeat and disgrace before D’Acre, by a victory over the Turks. Soon after this event the affairs of Europe recalled him to France, and he had the good fortune to reach the French shores, notwithstanding the vigilance of the English cruisers.

The flourishing settlement of Surinam was this year wrested from the Dutch by a body of troops collected from St. Lucia and Martinique, and embarked on board a squadron commanded by Lord Hugh Seymour.

There were a considerable number of single naval actions this year, but none that call for particular notice except the two following.

The *Success*, under the command of Captain Peard, was cruising in the Mediterranean: on the 9th of June he resolved to attack a Spanish polacca, which had taken refuge in a small port near Cape Creaux; for this purpose the first and third lieutenants of the ship, the lieutenant of marines, and three boats were dispatched; they were all volunteers on this occasion. The attack was made in the face of day by forty-two men, in three boats, against a vessel armed with one hundred and thirteen men, secured with a boarding netting, and supported by a battery and a large body of men at small arms on shore. Notwithstanding this great disparity the vessel was taken; but the loss of the British was very great.

The other action to which we alluded was in the East Indies. The *Sybilie*, Captain Cooke, son of the celebrated circumnavigator, sailed from Madras on the 19th of February, to cruise for the French frigate *La Forte*, which Captain Cooke was informed was in the bay. On the 28th of that month the two ships met off the land's head of Bengal river, when a well-fought action took place: it continued one hour and forty minutes; and during this time the enemy's ship was completely dismasted, while His Majesty's ship suffered comparatively very little damage. In this action Captain Cooke displayed the greatest degree of courage, presence of mind, and professional abilities; and he was nobly supported by the intrepid conduct of his officers and crew. The joy which the officers and crew experienced, however, was much damped by Captain Cooke's receiving a wound which soon proved mortal, and thus the service was deprived of a most excellent and meritorious officer.

On the 12th of February, 1800, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr.

Wallace moved that the sum of six hundred and eighty-five thousand, four hundred and twenty-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and eleven-pence, be granted to His Majesty for the ordinaries of the navy for eleven lunar months, beginning the 26th of February, 1800. On this there was some conversation respecting a proposed increase to the salaries of the lords of the Admiralty; and Mr. Tierney remarked, that it was extraordinary the secretary should have four thousand pounds a year, while the salary of the first lord was not above three thousand pounds. To this Mr. Pitt replied that the office of first lord of the Admiralty was one to which men aspired with a particular ambition; and whose fortunes rendered the consideration of salary little else than secondary.

The resolutions were then moved in succession.

For repairs, wear and tear	£ 656,515
Probable expenses of transportation	1,300,000
Prisoners of war in health	500,000
Sick prisoners of war	90,000

These with the money necessary for the maintenance and pay of the seamen, &c. raised the navy estimate for this year to the sum of twelve millions, six hundred and nineteen thousand pounds.

The naval events of this year present very little that is important. A descent was made on the coast of Brittany, and the fleets of Quiberon destroyed. The Dutch settlements of Goree and Curaçoa were also added to our conquests. Two unsuccessful attempts were made on the Spanish coast. The first under the command of General Pultney, with a squadron under Sir J. B. Warren, at Ferrol; but which retired after a slight skirmish with the enemy; the place being found too strong for the assault. A still larger armament, under Lord Keith and General Abercrombie, appeared before Cadiz; but the plague which raged in that garrison and the tempestuous weather

on the coast induced them to retire. They, however, proceeded to the Mediterranean, and succeeded in wresting Malta from the enemy.

This important island had been blocked up by the British fleet immediately after the battle of the Nile; for the space of two years it endured the greatest hardships, and it probably would not have been so soon taken, had it not been for the following action.

While Lord Nelson, during the month of February, in the *Foudroyant*, in company with His Majesty's ships *Northumberland*, *Audacious* and *Elcarso* brig, was cruising in the Mediterranean, he observed the *Alexander* in chase of a line of battle ship, three frigates and a corvette. About eight o'clock of the 18th, one of the frigates was seen to strike her colours; the *Alexander*, however, did not delay the chase of the others, but continued it under a press of sail. At half-past one, the other frigates and the corvette tacked to the westward, but the line of battle ship, not being able to tack, without coming up with the *Alexander*, bore up. The *Success*, Captain Peard, which had been in company with the *Alexander*, being to leeward, with great judgment and gallantry lay across the hawse of the enemy, and fired several broadsides into him. At half-past four the *Foudroyant* and *Northumberland* coming up, the French ship struck her colours. She proved to be the *Genereux* of seventy-four guns, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Perrée, commander-in-chief of the French naval force in the Mediterranean, having a number of troops on board from Toulon, bound for Malta.

On the 29th of March, while the blockade of Malta was strictly continued, the *Guillaume Tell* of eighty guns and one thousand men, bearing the flag of Contre-Admiral Dacres, attempted to escape from that island. The signal rockets and cannonading from the batteries, together with the strong southerly winds, convinced Captain

Dixon, of the *Lion*, who was cruizing off that island in company with some other ships, that the enemy's vessels that were blockaded were attempting to escape.

Nearly at midnight an enemy's vessel was descried by Captain Blackwood, of the *Penelope*: chase was immediately given, the signal being made for the British squadron to cut a ship. Under a press of canvas Captain Dixon, guided solely by the firing of the *Penelope*, continued the chase until five A. M., and as a direction to the rest of the squadron blue lights were shewn every half hour from the *Lion*. When daylight broke, Captain Dixon found himself and the *Penelope* very near the enemy. The *Lion* was run close alongside, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in. As the enemy was of immense bulk, and full of men, Captain Dixon was anxious neither to board nor be boarded, and even found it necessary to keep from her broadside: after being engaged about fifty minutes, the *Foudroyant*, which was commanded at present by Captain Sir Edward Berry in the absence of Lord Nelson, passed, hailing the enemy to strike: this they refused. A heavy fire from both ships took place, broadside to broadside; the *Lion* and the *Penelope*, in the mean time, being frequently in situations to do great mischief.

After a most gallant and determined opposition, or, to use Captain Dixon's own words, "after the hottest action that probably ever was maintained by an enemy's ship opposed to three of His Majesty's, and being totally dismasted, the French admiral's flag was struck." The crippled condition of the *Lion* and the *Foudroyant* made it necessary that the prize should be taken possession of by the *Penelope*, Captain Blackwood, of whose conduct throughout the whole of this engagement Captain Dixon speaks in the very highest terms of admiration. The loss of the enemy was upwards of two hundred; and that of the British ships was also great, the *Foudroyant* having

eight killed and sixty-one wounded, the *Lion* seven killed and thirty-eight wounded, and the *Penelope* two killed and two wounded.

There are two or three other actions or naval enterprises which occurred this year, that it may be proper cursorily to notice.

While Rear-Admiral Duckworth was cruising off Cadiz, in the month of April, he discovered twelve sail from the mast head, which were immediately afterwards ascertained to be three Spanish frigates with their convoy. Chase was immediately given, and two of the frigates were come up with; but notwithstanding the great superiority of Admiral Duckworth's force, the enemy's ships were fought long and most gallantly; nor did they surrender till they had sacrificed many lives. The other frigate escaped; but eleven of the convoy were taken. The frigates were laden principally with quicksilver, and were bound for Lima.

As there were several frigates in Dunkirk roads, Captain Inman, of the *Andromeda*, with a small squadron under his command, consisting among others of several fire ships, was directed by the Admiralty to attempt their destruction. Captain Inman ordered Captain Campbell, of the *Dart*, to attack the easternmost; and he succeeded in carrying her in the most skilful and gallant manner, and in bringing her out, in less than a quarter of an hour; but though the other part of the attack, especially that of the bomb vessels, was well managed, it did not succeed. The frigate taken was *La Desirée*, of forty guns and three hundred and fifty men.

In the West Indies a very spirited action occurred this year. Captain Milne, of His Majesty's ship *Seine*, on the morning of the 20th of August, observed a ship standing to the northward through the Mona passage. It may be proper to inform our readers that the channel that separates Porto Rico from Domingo is fifteen leagues

broad ; that nearly in the middle, on the south side, are the islands Mona and Monica or little Mona ; and that the channel between them and Porto Rico is called the Mona passage ; it is eight leagues wide. Captain Milne soon ascertained that the vessel was an enemy ; chase was immediately given, but it was near midnight before she could be brought to action : after some fighting the two ships separated, only however to renew the fight next morning, and after about an hour and a half's hard fighting, an officer came out on her bowsprit, the only place he could be seen from in consequence of the confusion by the loss of almost all her masts, and said that they had struck to the British flag : she proved to be the *Vengeance*, a ship of very superior force to the *Seine*.

One of the finest and largest ships in the service was lost this year by a dreadful accident ; we allude to the loss of the *Queen Charlotte*, of one hundred guns, Lord Keith's ship, in the Mediterranean. The following are the particulars :

“ His lordship had thought it expedient to attack the Island of Cabrera, of which the French are still possessed, about twenty or thirty miles from Leghorn. The attack was to have been made by the British navy, assisted by the Austrian troops ; and while his lordship was making the necessary arrangements with the Austrian commander on shore at Leghorn, he sent, on the night of the 16th, the *Queen Charlotte*, having eight hundred and thirty-seven persons on board, to reconnoitre the island. On the morning of March 17. he had the mortification of discovering the *Queen Charlotte* on fire, four or five leagues at sea. This sight rendered Lord Keith almost frantic ; he immediately gave orders for all the vessels and boats to put off, and every assistance to be given ; and in this service he was zealously seconded by the Austrian general and all ranks in Leghorn. An American vessel, several tartans, and some ships of the line immediately bent their

sails. The fire, however, notwithstanding all the efforts of the crew, continued to increase. Between eight and nine o'clock the masts and rigging caught fire, and made a most awful blaze: the crew, however, cut the masts by the board, and they going over the ship, no longer threatened mischief; but the fire had taken strong hold of the body of the vessel and continued to rage. The guns now began to go off, and the people in the boats and other vessels, who had gone from Léghorn, were so much alarmed for fear of shot, that they would not approach the ship. Here we must mention that a part of the Queen Charlotte's own crew behaved with the most generous bravery. Despising all danger they approached the ship, and saved many of their gallant countrymen. The ship at eleven o'clock blew up with a tremendous explosion, sunk, and left not a wreck behind. The reports are various respecting the origin of the fire; but the most credible account is, that it was occasioned by some hay which had been put on board, and lodged on the booms. It was necessary to remove this hay, to make room for the launch, and some of it falling upon the match-tub caught fire, and blazed up with astonishing rapidity. It suddenly caught the sails and rigging, and spread the flames so quickly on all sides that they could not be overcome by any exertions. Immediately after the accident the wind freshened, and prevented the other ships from returning into port. At length, about eleven at night of the same day, a tartan came in with thirty English seamen, together with the admiral's lieutenant, Mr. Stuart. Shortly five other tartans came in, among which was an Austrian one, the General Ott. She had saved eighty-five sailors, two soldiers, two quarter-masters, and two mates; they were quartered at Della Scalla Sancta. Yesterday the xebec the Prince de Conti, came to an anchor; she had on board twenty-three Englishmen, of whom three were dead. The Triton also came in, in her

company, with twenty-six English seamen and one officer. On the 28th at noon, a large sloop, which belonged to the burned vessel, arrived with twenty-four seamen and three officers. The number of the crew saved amounts to one hundred and fifty-eight. The captain remained to the last moment upon the quarter-deck, giving directions for saving the crew, without regarding his own safety in the least. The Queen Charlotte was Lord Howe's ship in the memorable 1st of June; and it was on board of her that the royal family went when the King reviewed the fleet at Spithead after that glorious victory. We regret her loss; but we most deeply lament the fate of her gallant crew, which consisted of some of the most choice and brave men in the navy. The Queen Charlotte was launched in 1790, in immediate succession off the slip of the Royal George, and was allowed, both as a prime sailor and for her other superior qualities, to be the finest ship of war that ever displayed English colours: though rated one hundred and ten guns, she carried one hundred and twenty. The following account is dated off Leghorn on the 17th of March.

“ Mr. John Braid, carpenter of the Queen Charlotte, reports that about twenty minutes after six o'clock yesterday morning, as he was dressing himself he heard throughout the ship a general cry of ‘ Fire.’ On which he immediately ran up the fore-ladder to get upon deck, and found the whole half-deck, the front bulk-head of the admiral's cabin, the main-mast's coat, and boat's covering on the booms all in flames; which from every report and probability he apprehends was occasioned by some hay, which was lying under the half-deck, having been set on fire by a match in a tub, which was usually kept there for signal guns. The main-sail at this time was set, and almost entirely caught fire; the people not being able to come to the clue-garnets on account of the flames. He

immediately went to the fore-castle, and found Lieutenant Dundas and the boatswain encouraging the people to get water to extinguish the fire. He applied to Mr. Dundas, seeing no other officer on the fore-part of the ship (and being unable to see any on the quarter-deck from the flames and smoke between them), to give him assistance to drown the lower decks and secure the hatches, to prevent the fire falling down. Lieutenant Dundas accordingly went down himself, with as many people as he could prevail upon to follow him, and the lower deck-ports were opened, the scuppers plugged, the main and fore-hatches secured, the cocks turned, and water drawn in at the ports, and pumps kept going by the people who came down, as long as they could stand at them. He thinks that by these exertions the lower deck was kept free from fire, and the magazines preserved for a long time from danger; nor did Lieutenant Dundas or he quit this station, but remained there with all the people who could be prevailed upon to stay, till several of the middle-deck guns came through that deck. About nine o'clock Lieutenant Dundas and he, finding it impossible to remain any longer below, went out at the foremost lower-deck port, and got upon the fore-castle; on which he thinks there were then about one hundred and fifty of the people drawing water, and throwing it as far up as possible upon the fire. He continued about an hour on the fore-castle; and finding all efforts to extinguish the flames unavailing, he jumped from the jib-boom, and swam to an American boat approaching the ship, by which he was picked up, and put into a tartan, then in the charge of Lieutenant Stewart, who had come off to the assistance of the ship.

“ JOHN BRAID.”

We now come to the last year of the war, but in many respects it was an important one.

In the month of February Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Dundas, resigned, avowedly because they could not carry the catholic question. A new administration was speedily formed, in which Mr. Addington was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Pelham secretaries of state; and Earl St. Vincent first lord of the admiralty.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland having been effected, the imperial parliament met at Westminster, on the 22nd of January, 1804, and on the 2nd of the following month His Majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he avowed his intention of putting an end to the war as soon as safe and honourable terms could be obtained.

The following were the sums voted for the supply of the navy for this year.

FEBRUARY 17, 1801.

That 135,000 seamen be employed, for ten lunar months, commencing the 26th of March, 1801, including 30,000 marines.		
For wages for ditto	£2,497,500	0 0
For victuals to ditto	2,565,000	0 0
For ordnance sea service on board the ships in which they are to serve	337,500	0 0
For wear and tear of such ships	4,050,000	0 0
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea and marine officers	637,418	5 8
For building and repairing of ships and other extra works	733,900	0 0
For the expense of the transport service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health, at home and abroad	1,445,718	14 6
For the care and maintenance of sick prisoners of war	155,000	0 0
Total supply.....	£12,423,037	0 2

This year was distinguished by the formation of a maritime confederacy against Britain. The Emperor of Russia having made peace with France, and not only made peace, but also permitted himself to be influenced by the counsels of that power, was at the head of that confederacy; its professed object was to protect the maritime interests and rights of the members who composed it against the encroachments of Great Britain.

It is foreign to our purpose to enter into a consideration of what are called the rights of neutrals; but we may be permitted to offer one or two observations on this interesting, important, and difficult subject.

In the first place, neutral states ought not, if possible, to suffer from the hostilities of belligerents; and if war cannot be carried on without their interests and rights suffering more or less, care ought to be especially taken by the belligerents that they suffer as little as possible. The principal point in which they are exposed to injury respects their trade: it must happen that if one belligerent succeeds in injuring the trade of another belligerent, that the trade also of the neutral nation with which the second belligerent has commercial relations must suffer at the same time; this cannot be avoided. In another respect also the neutral must be harassed and incommoded; by the laws of all nations, and by what is called the international law, neutrals are not permitted to carry what are deemed contraband of war; but the searching of neutral ships occasionally cannot be avoided to ascertain whether they do carry contraband of war.

In the second place, neutrals ought not in any degree to run the risque of losing their character and privileges of neutrality by assisting, even in the most indirect manner, one belligerent against the other. But if the principle, that free bottoms make free goods, were acted upon, this must necessarily be the case; for let us examine this a little: it may be said, that by the practice of free bottoms making

free goods, each belligerent will be benefitted and favoured in an equal degree : this, however, scarcely, if ever, can happen. For it generally occurs that in a naval war, one power is superior to the other ; of course the one that is superior will have no occasion for the carrying on of its commerce by neutrals ; whereas the one that is inferior will need such assistance ; of course the latter will be a better customer than the former to neutrals, and therefore neutrals will almost always be found assisting the weaker power : hence it follows that the two belligerent nations scarcely ever can be equally benefitted by the assistance of neutrals, in carrying on their commerce in time of war. Besides there will always be a strong temptation to carry contraband of war for the weaker nation ; since without a supply of these articles the war cannot be carried on. Hence we see that in almost all naval wars, the inferior power has been assisted by neutrals, whilst the superior power has derived no such assistance : there is also another thing to be taken into consideration, the superior power will always be an object of envy, jealousy, and dread, and consequently every opportunity of injuring her will be eagerly sought after and embraced.

The truth of these observations is fully made out by what has generally occurred when Britain has been engaged in naval wars : she being superior did not need neutral assistance ; she also, in too many cases, was apt to carry her maritime supremacy too high ; the consequence has been that armed maritime confederacies have been formed against her more than once.

Early in this year a convention, having for its object a maritime confederacy against Britain, was signed at Petersburgh by Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia ; the British ministry were not slow in retaliating. An embargo was immediately laid on all Russian, Swedish, and Danish vessels ; those of Prussia were, from some cause or other, exempted. It was also resolved to strike

with promptitude. On the 11th of March a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with a great number of inferior vessels, sailed from Yarmouth, under the command of Admiral Parker, assisted by Vice-Admiral Nelson and Rear-Admiral Totty. The commanders were directed to attack Copenhagen, in case the British plenipotentiary there should fail in his efforts of detaching Denmark from the confederacy.

The Danish navy consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, one or two of which were totally unfit for service, and most of the others were in bad order; and they had fourteen frigates and cutter brigs, from twenty to forty guns; seventeen gun boats, of twenty-four guns each, besides guard ships. This fleet, however, was very indifferently manned.

Sweden had eighteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, sloops, and other smaller vessels, and seventy-four gallies and flat-bottomed boats, besides gun boats. This fleet was better manned than that of Denmark.

The navy of Russia consisted of eighty-two sail of the line, besides nearly forty frigates, gallies, and other small craft. Several of these, however, particularly the ships of the line, were in a very bad condition and nearly unfit for service. At Cronstadt, Revel, Petersburgh, and Archangel there were forty-seven sail of the line, the rest were in the Mediterranean and Black Sea. The whole of the Russian fleet was badly manned, and worse officered, and the ships were ill equipped.

Soon after the British fleet left Yarmouth, the *Invincible*, of seventy-four guns, struck on a ridge of sand, and was so much damaged that she soon afterwards sunk. Admiral Totty, who was on board, with a few officers, nineteen marines, and one hundred and sixty-four seamen were saved, all the rest perished.

On the 30th of March the British fleet passed the Sound; it was expected that the passage would have been

opposed effectually, at least that some damage would have been done to the ships during their passage; but Sweden, thus early in the business, proved that she was not hearty; as when the British fleet, in order to avoid the Danish batteries, kept near the Swedish shore, from the batteries no firing was kept up. The passage of the Sound occupied nearly four hours: about mid-day the whole fleet anchored between Copenhagen and Huen.

The admiral, together with Lord Nelson, and Rear-Admiral Graves, reconnoitred the formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire ships, and gun boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries, and occupying from one extreme point to another an extent of nearly four miles. Lord Nelson, having offered his services for conducting the attack, was judiciously entrusted by Admiral Parker, with an enterprise worthy of his intrepidity and genius.

In the morning of the 2d of April, Lord Nelson having weighed anchor and made the signal for attack, with twelve sail of the line, advanced to force the approaches to Copenhagen. This city was defended by six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, from twenty-six twenty-four pounders to eighteen eighteen pounders, and one bomb ship, besides other vessels: these were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight cannons, and four sail of the line moored in the mouth of the harbour, and some batteries on the Isle of Amak. The particulars of this most determined action, we shall take from Mr. Southey, in his *Life of Lord Nelson*.

“ The land forces, and five hundred seamen, under Captain Freemantle and the Honourable Colonel Stewart, were to storm the Crown battery as soon as its fire should be silenced: and Riou,—whom Nelson had never seen till this expedition, but whose worth he had instantly perceived, and appreciated as it deserved,—had the *Blanche* and the *Alcmene* frigates, the *Dart* and *Arrow* sloops,

and the *Zephyr* and *Otter* fire-ships, given him, with a special command to act as circumstances might require:—every other ship had its station appointed.

“ Between eight and nine the pilots and masters were ordered on board the admiral’s ship. The pilots were mostly men who had been mates in Baltic traders; and their hesitation about the bearing of the east end of the shoal, and the exact line of deep water, gave ominous warning of how little their knowledge was to be trusted. The signal for action had been made, the wind was fair, not a moment to be lost. Nelson urged them to be steady, to be resolute, and to decide:—but they wanted the only ground for steadiness and decision in such cases; and Nelson had reason to regret that he had not trusted to Hardy’s single report. This was one of the most painful moments of his life; and he always spoke of it with bitterness. ‘I experienced in the Sound,’ said he, ‘the misery of having the honour of our country intrusted to a set of pilots, who have no other thought than to keep the ships clear of danger, and their own silly heads clear of shot. Every body knows what I must have suffered: and if any merit attaches itself to me, it was for combating the dangers of the shallows in defiance of them.’ At length Mr. Bryerly, the master of the *Bellona*, declared that he was prepared to lead the fleet: his judgment was acceded to by the rest: they returned to their ships; and, at half-past nine the signal was made to weigh in succession.

“ Captain Murray, in the *Edgar*, led the way; the *Agamemnon* was next in order; but, on the first attempt to leave her anchorage, she could not weather the edge of the shoal; and Nelson had the grief to see his old ship, in which he had performed so many years gallant services, immoveably aground, at a moment when her help was so greatly required. Signal was then made for the *Polyphe-mus*: and this change in the order of sailing was executed

with the utmost promptitude : yet so much delay had thus been unavoidably occasioned, that the *Edgar* was for some time unsupported : and the *Polyphemus*, whose place should have been at the end of the enemy's line, where their strength was the greatest, could get no further than the beginning, owing to the difficulty of the channel : there she occupied, indeed, an efficient station, but one where her presence was less required. The *Isis* followed, with better fortune, and took her own birth. The *Bellona*, Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, kept too close on the starboard shoal, and grounded abreast of the outer ship of the enemy : this was the more vexatious, inasmuch as the wind was fair, the room ample, and three ships had led the way. The *Russell*, following the *Bellona*, grounded in like manner : both were within reach of shot ; but their absence from their intended stations was severely felt. Each ship had been ordered to pass her leader on the starboard side, because the water was supposed to shoal on the larboard shore. Nelson, who came next after these two ships, thought they had kept too far on the starboard direction, and made signal for them to close with the enemy, not knowing that they were aground, but, when he perceived that they did not obey the signal, he ordered the *Elephant's* helm to starboard, and went within these ships : thus quitting the appointed order of sailing, and guiding those which were to follow. The greater part of the fleet were probably, by this act of promptitude on his part, saved from going on shore. Each ship, as she arrived nearly opposite to her appointed station, let her anchor go by the stern, and presented her broadside to the Danes. The distance between each was about a half cable. The action was fought nearly at the distance of a cable's length from the enemy. This, which rendered its continuance so long, was owing to the ignorance and consequent indecision of the pilots. In pursuance of the

same error which had led the *Bellona* and the *Russell* aground, they, when the lead was at a quarterless five, refused to approach nearer, in dread of shoaling their water on the larboard shore : a fear altogether erroneous, for the water deepened up to the very side of the enemy's line.

“ At five minutes after ten the action began. The first half of our fleet was engaged in about half an hour ; and by half-past eleven the battle became general. The plan of the attack had been complete ; but seldom has any plan been more disconcerted by untoward accidents. Of twelve ships of the line, one was entirely useless, and two others in a situation where they could not render half the service which was required of them. Of the squadron of gun-brigs, only one could get into action : the rest were prevented, by baffling currents, from weathering the eastern end of the shoal ; and only two of the bomb-vessels could reach their station on the Middle Ground, and open their mortars on the arsenal, firing over both fleets. Riou took the vacant station against the Crown Battery, with his frigates ; attempting, with that unequal force, a service in which three sail of the line had been directed to assist.

“ Nelson's agitation had been extreme when he saw himself, before the action begun, deprived of a fourth part of his ships of the line. But no sooner was he in battle, where his squadron was received with the fire of more than a thousand guns, than, as if that artillery, like music had driven away all care and painful thoughts, his countenance brightened ; and, as a bye-stander describes him, his conversation became joyous, animated, elevated, and delightful. The commander-in-chief mean time, near enough to the scene of action to know the unfavourable accidents which had so materially weakened Nelson, and yet too distant to know the real state of the contending parties, suffered the most dreadful anxiety. To get to

his assistance was impossible; both wind and current were against him. Fear for the event, in such circumstances, would naturally preponderate in the bravest mind; and, at one o'clock, perceiving that, after three hours' endurance, the enemy's fire was slackened, he began to despair of success; and thinking it became him to save what he could from the hopeless contest, he made signal for retreat. Nelson was now in all the excitement of action, pacing the quarter-deck. A shot through the mainmast knocked the splinters about; and he observed to one of his officers, with a smile: 'It is warm work; and this day may be the last to many of us at a moment:' and then stopping short at the gangway, added, with emotion—'But mark you! I would not be elsewhere for thousands.' About this time the signal lieutenant called out, that No. 39, (the signal for discontinuing the action) was thrown out by the commander-in-chief. He continued to walk the deck, and appeared to take no notice of it. The signal officer met him at the next turn, and asked if he should repeat it. 'No,' he replied; 'acknowledge it.' Presently he called after him, to know if the signal for close action was still hoisted; and being answered in the affirmative said, 'Mind you keep it so.' He now paced the deck, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion. 'Do you know,' said he to Mr. Ferguson, what is shown on board the commander-in-chief? Number 39!' Mr. Ferguson, asked what that meant.—'Why, to leave off action!' Then, shrugging up his shoulders, he repeated the words—'Leave off action? Now damn me if I do! You know, Foley,' turning to the captain, 'I have only one eye,—I have a right to be blind sometimes:'—and then putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind which sports with bitterness, he exclaimed, 'I really do not see the signal!' Presently he exclaimed, 'Damn the signal!' Keep mine for closer battle flying! That's the

way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast! Admiral Graves, who was so situated that he could not discern what was done on board the *Elephant*, disobeyed Sir Hyde's signal in like manner: whether by fortune, mistake, or by a like brave intention, has not been made known. The other ships of the line, looking only to Nelson, continued the action. The signal, however, saved Riou's little squadron, but did not save its heroic leader. This squadron, which was nearest the commander-in-chief, obeyed, and hauled off. It had suffered severely in its most unequal contest. For a long time the *Amazon* had been firing, enveloped in smoke, when Riou desired his men to stand fast and let the smoke clear off, that they might see what they were about. A fatal order; for the Danes then got clear sight of her from the batteries, and pointed their guns with such tremendous effect, that nothing but the signal for retreat saved this frigate from destruction. 'What will Nelson think of us!' was Riou's mournful exclamation, when he unwillingly drew off. He had been wounded in the head by a splinter, and was sitting on a gun, encouraging his men, when, just as the *Amazon* showed her stern to the *Trekroner* battery, his clerk was killed by his side; and another shot swept away several marines who were hauling in the main-brace. 'Come then, my boys!' cried Riou, 'let us die altogether!' The words had scarcely been uttered, before a raking shot cut him in two. Except it had been Nelson himself, the British Navy could not have suffered a severer loss.

"The action continued along the line with unabated vigour on our side, and with the most determined resolution on the part of the Danes. They fought to great advantage, because most of the vessels in their line of defence were without masts: the few which had any standing, had their top-masts struck, and the hulls could only be seen at intervals. The *Isis* must have been destroyed

by the superior weight of her enemy's fire, if Captain Inman, in the *Desirée* frigate, had not judiciously taken a situation which enabled him to rake the *Dane*, and if the *Polyphemus* had not also relieved her. Both in the *Bel-lona* and the *Isis* many men were lost by the bursting of their guns. The former ship was about forty years old, and these guns were believed to be the same which she had first taken to sea: they were, probably, originally faulty, for the fragments were full of little air holes. The *Bel-lona* lost seventy-five men; the *Isis*, one hundred and ten; the *Monarch*, two hundred and ten. She was more than any other line of battle ship exposed to the great battery; and supporting at the same time the united fire of the *Hólstein* and the *Zealand*; her loss this day exceeded that of any single ship during the whole war. Amid the tremendous carnage in this vessel, some of the men displayed a singular instance of coolness: the pork and pease happened to be in the kettle; a shot knocked its contents about; they picked up the pieces, and ate and fought at the same time.

“The prince royal had taken his station upon one of the batteries, from whence he beheld the action, and issued his orders. Denmark had never been engaged in so arduous a contest, and never did the Danes more nobly display their national courage:—a courage not more unhappily, than impolitically, exerted in subserviency to the interest of France. Captain Thura, of the *Indfødsretten*, fell early in the action; and all his officers, except one lieutenant and one marine officer, were either killed or wounded. In the confusion, the colours were either struck, or shot away; but she was moored athwart one of the batteries in such a situation, that the British made no attempt to board her; and a boat was despatched to the prince, to inform him of her situation. He turned to those about him, and said, ‘Gentlemen, Thura is killed; which of you will take the command?’ Schroedersee,

a captain who had lately resigned, on account of extreme ill health, answered, in a feeble voice, 'I will,' and hastened on board. The crew perceiving a new commander coming alongside, hoisted their colours again, and fired a broadside. Schroedersee, when he came on deck, found himself surrounded by the dead and wounded, and called to those in the boat to get quickly on board: a ball struck him at that moment. A lieutenant, who had accompanied him, then took the command, and continued to fight the ship. A youth of seventeen, by name Villemos, particularly distinguished himself on this memorable day. He had volunteered to take the command of a floating battery; which was a raft, consisting merely of a number of beams nailed together, with a flooring to support the guns: it was square, with a breast-work full of port-holes, and without masts, carrying twenty-four guns and one hundred and twenty men. With this he got under the stern of the *Elephant*, below the reach of the stern-chasers; and, under a heavy fire of small arms from the marines, fought his raft, till the truce was announced, with such skill, as well as courage, as to excite Nelson's warmest admiration.

“ Between one and two the fire of the Danes slackened; about two it ceased from the greater part of their line, and some of their lighter ships were adrift. It was, however, difficult to take possession of those who struck, because the batteries on Amak island protected them; and because an irregular fire was kept up from the ships themselves as the boats approached. This arose from the nature of the action; the crews were continually reinforced from the shore: and fresh men coming on board, did not inquire whether the flag had been struck, or, perhaps, did not heed it; many, or most of them, never having been engaged in war before,—knowing nothing, therefore, of its laws, and thinking only of defending their country to the last extremity. The *Danbrog* fired upon

the Elephant's boats in this manner, though her commodore had removed her pendant and deserted her, though she had struck, and though she was in flames. After she had been abandoned by the commodore, Braun fought her till he lost his right hand, and then Captain Lemming took the command. This unexpected renewal of her fire made the Elephant and Glatton renew theirs, till she was not only silenced, but nearly every man in the praams, ahead and astern of her, was killed. When the smoke of their guns died away, she was seen drifting in flames before the wind; those of her crew, who remained alive, and able to exert themselves, throwing themselves out at her port-holes.

“ Captain Rothe commanded the Nyeborg praam, and perceiving that she could not much longer be kept afloat, made for the inner road. As he passed the line he found the Aggershuus praam in a more miserable condition than his own; her masts had all gone by the board, and she was on the point of sinking. Rothe made fast a cable to her stern, and towed her off; but he could get her no further than a shoal, called Stubben, when she sunk; and soon after he had worked the Nyeborg up to the landing place, that vessel also sunk to her gunwale. Never did any vessel come out of action in a more dreadful plight. The stump of her foremost was the only stick standing; her cabin had been stove in; every gun, except a single one, was dismantled; and her deck was covered with shattered limbs and dead bodies.

“ By half-past two the action had ceased along that part of the line which was astern of the Elephant, but not with the ships ahead and the crown batteries. Nelson, seeing the manner in which his boats were fired upon when they went to take possession of the prizes, became angry, and said, he must either send on shore to have this irregular proceeding stopped, or send a fire ship and burn them: and, with a presence of mind peculiar to

himself, and never more signally displayed than now, he availed himself of this occasion to secure the advantage which he had gained, and open a negotiation. He retired into the stern gallery, and wrote thus to the crown prince : ‘ Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson has been commanded to spare Denmark, when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag : but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes that he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English.’ A wafer was given him : but he ordered a candle to be brought from the cockpit, and sealed the letter with wax, affixing a larger seal than he ordinarily used. ‘ This,’ said he, ‘ is no time to appear hurried and informal.’ Captain Sir Frederic Thesiger, who acted as his aid-de-camp, carried this letter with a flag of truce. Mean-time the rest of the ships ahead, and the approach of the Ramillies and Defence, from Sir Hyde’s division, which had now worked near enough to alarm the enemy, though not to injure them, silenced the remainder of the Danish line to the eastward of the Trekroner. That battery, however, continued its fire. This formidable work, owing to the want of the ships which had been destined to attack it, and the inadequate force of Riou’s little squadron, was comparatively uninjured : towards the close of the action it had been manned with nearly fifteen hundred men ; and the intention of storming it, for which every preparation had been made, was abandoned as impracticable.

“ During Thesiger’s absence, Nelson sent for Freemantle, from the Ganges, and consulted with him and Foley, whether it was advisable to advance with those ships which had sustained least damage, against the yet uninjured part of the Danish line. They were decidedly of opinion, that the best thing which could be done was,

while the wind continued fair, to remove the fleet out of the intricate channel, from which it had to retreat. In somewhat more than half an hour after Thesiger had been despatched, the Danish Adjutant-General Lindholm came, bearing a flag of truce : upon which the *Trekroner* ceased to fire, and the action closed, after four hours' continuance. He brought an inquiry from the prince, What was the object of Nelson's note ? The British admiral wrote in reply : ' Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity : he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the king of Denmark.' Sir Frederick Thesiger was despatched a second time with the reply ; and the Danish adjutant-general was referred to the commander in chief for a conference upon this overture, Lindholm assenting to this, proceeded to the London, which was riding at anchor full four miles off ; and Nelson losing not one of the critical moments which he had thus gained, made signal for his leading ships to weigh in succession. They had the shoal to clear, they were much crippled, and their course was immediately under the guns of the *Trekroner*.

“ The *Monarch* led the way. This ship had received six and twenty shot between wind and water. She had not a shroud standing : there was a double-headed shot in the heart of her foremast, and the slightest wind would have sent every mast over her side. The imminent danger from which Nelson had extricated himself, soon became apparent ; the *Monarch* touched immediately upon a shoal, over which she was pushed by the *Ganges* taking her

amid ships; the *Glatton* went clear; but the other two, the *Defiance* and the *Elephant*, grounded about a mile from the *Trekroner*, and there remained fixed, for many hours, in spite of all the exertions of their wearied crews. The *Desirée* frigate also, at the other end of the line, having gone, toward the close of the action, to assist the *Bellona*, became fast on the same shoal. Nelson left the *Elephant*, soon after she took the ground, to follow *Lindholm*. The heat of action was over; and that kind of feeling, which the surrounding scene of havoc was so well fitted to produce, pressed heavily upon his exhausted spirits. The sky had suddenly become overcast; white flags were waving from the mast-heads of so many shattered ships:—the slaughter had ceased, but the grief was to come; for the account of the dead was not yet made up, and no man could tell for what friends he might have to mourn. The very silence which follows the cessation of such a battle becomes a weight upon the heart at first, rather than a relief: and though the work of mutual destruction was at an end, the *Danbrog* was, at this time, drifting about in flames; presently she blew up; while our boats, which had put off in all directions to assist her, were endeavouring to rescue her devoted crew, few of whom could be saved. The fate of these men, after the gallantry which they had displayed, particularly affected Nelson: for there was nothing in this action of that indignation against the enemy, and that impression of retributive justice, which, at the Nile, had given a sterner temper to his mind, and a sense of austere delight, in beholding the vengeance of which he was the appointed minister. The Danes were an honorable foe; they were of English mould as well as English blood; and now that the battle had ceased, he regarded them rather as brethren than as enemies. There was another reflexion also, which mingled with these melancholy thoughts, and predisposed him to receive them. He was not here master of his own

movements, as at Egypt : he had won the day by disobeying his orders ; and, in so far as he had been successful, had convicted the commander in chief of an error in judgment. ‘ Well,’ said he, as he left the Elephant ; ‘ I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged. Never mind : let them !’

“ This was the language of a man, who, while he is giving utterance to an uneasy thought, clothes it half in jest, because he half repents that it has been disclosed. His services had been too eminent on that day, his judgment too conspicuous, his success too signal, for any commander, however jealous of his own authority, or envious of another’s merits, to express any thing but satisfaction and gratitude ; which Sir Hyde heartily felt, and sincerely expressed. It was speedily agreed that there should be a suspension of hostilities for four and twenty hours, that all the prizes should be surrendered, and the wounded Danes carried on shore. There was a pressing necessity for this ; for the Danes, either from too much confidence in the strength of their position, and the difficulty of the channel ; or supposing that the wounded might be carried to shore during the action, which was found totally impracticable ; or, perhaps, from the confusion which the attack excited, had provided no surgeons : so that, when our men boarded the captured ships, they found many of the mangled and mutilated Danes bleeding to death, for want of proper assistance :—a scene, of all others, the most shocking to a brave man’s feelings.

“ The boats of Sir Hyde’s division were actively employed all night in bringing out the prizes, and in getting afloat the ships which were on shore. At day-break, Nelson, who had slept in his own ship, the *St. George*, rowed to the *Elephant* ; and his delight in finding her afloat seemed to give him new life. There he took a hasty breakfast, praising the men for their exertions, and then pushed off to the prizes, which had not yet been removed. The

Zealand, seventy-four, the last which struck, had drifted on the shoal under the *Trekroner*; and relying, as it seems, upon the protection which that battery might have afforded, refused to acknowledge herself captured; saying, that though it was true her flag was not to be seen, her pendant was still flying. Nelson ordered one of our brigs and three long boats to approach her, and rowed up himself to one of the enemy's ships, to communicate with the commodore. This officer proved to be an old acquaintance, whom he had known in the West Indies: so he invited himself on board; and, with that urbanity, as well as decision, which always characterized him, urged his claim to the *Zealand* so well, that it was admitted. The men from the boats lashed a cable round her bowsprit, and the gun-vessel towed her away. It is affirmed and probably with truth, that the Danes felt more pain at beholding this, than at all their misfortunes on the preceding day: and one of the officers, Commodore Steen Bille, went to the *Trekroner* Battery, and asked the commander why he had not sunk the *Zealand*, rather than suffer her thus to be carried off by the enemy."

A Swedish fleet left *Carlsrona* on the 31st of March, but was prevented from joining the Danish by contrary winds. The British admiral arriving before that harbour required an explicit declaration from the Swedes, with regard to their intentions against Britain. The Swedish admiral replied, that Sweden would be faithful to her allies; but would listen to equitable proposals from Britain.

But the confederation which had received such a fatal blow at Copenhagen, was soon to be utterly destroyed by an unexpected event: this was the death of the Emperor Paul, who was strangled in his own palace, by a confederacy among his nobles. The Emperor Alexander, who succeeded him, immediately manifested his wish to be

upon friendly terms with Britain; and Britain, by a few salutary concessions, maintained her right of search; and commerce returned to its wonted channels. A convention with Russia was signed on the 17th of June, to which Denmark and Sweden acceded, receiving back from us their captured ships, and their islands in the West Indies, which had been reduced by a squadron under Admiral Duckworth. While the negociation was going on, Britain had a fleet in the Baltic of twenty-five sail of the line, and nearly forty-five frigates, sloops, &c.

Although no great battle by sea took place this year besides that off Copenhagen, yet Britain retained her accustomed superiority. On the Channel station, Admiral Cornwallis menaced or blockaded Brest; in the south, Sir John Borlase Warren intercepted the trade and communication of Toulon; Sir James Saumarez cut off the trade of Cadiz; Admirals Dickson and Graves menaced the Dutch shores; Admirals Keith and Bickerton possessed the Levant and Egyptian sea; Admirals Duckworth and Seymour protected our West India islands; and Lord Nelson struck terror on the coasts and in the harbours of France.

The attempt of Lord Nelson, to which we have just alluded, against the flotilla at Boulogne was however, it must be confessed, a hazardous enterprise; and though every thing was done which British sailors could do, yet in consequence of the means of defence of the enemy, and their ships being fastened by iron chains to the shore, Lord Nelson here lost some of his credit for invincibility, and was obliged to give up the attempt, after his fleet had suffered considerably.

In the Mediterranean a bold enterprise was undertaken by Sir James Saumarez: finding three ships of the line and a frigate at anchor near Algesiras, he formed the resolution of cutting them out. But the batteries on shore opening a tremendous fire, and several ships of his fleet

being disabled from assisting those which began the attack, he was obliged to desist from the attempt, and to leave the Hannibal, a seventy-four, which had struck on a shoal near the batteries. With his few remaining ships Admiral Saumarez did not hesitate to follow a fleet of the enemy from Cadiz, amounting to ten sail of the line, French and Spanish; part of these were attacked by two British ships, on the night of the 11th of July; and in a short time it was discovered that two of the Spanish ships were on fire—two thousand four hundred men were thus destroyed! The British admiral continued to pursue the enemy; and took two French seventy-four's. The thanks of parliament were given him and his officers and crew for this exploit.

The Dutch colony of St. Eustatia was captured early in the course of this year, by Captain Perkins, of the Arab, and a detachment of the third regiment of foot, under Colonel Blunt. The most considerable of the Mollucca islands also surrendered to the arms of the East India Company.

In the midst of these hostilities negotiations for peace between England and France were going on; the preliminary articles were signed at London, on the 1st of October, 1801; and the definitive treaty was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, 1802. By this treaty Great Britain ceded all the colonies she had taken, except Trinidad and Ceylon. Egypt was restored to the Porte. With respect to Malta, it was stipulated that no French or English class of knights should be allowed; that one half of the garrison should be natives, and the rest furnished for a time by the King of Naples; that the independence of the island should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia and Prussia; and that its ports should be free to all nations.

Having thus brought our history of the naval transactions of the first French revolutionary war down to the

peace of Amiens, we shall conclude this volume by a list of French, Dutch, and Spanish ships lost, taken, and destroyed from the commencement of the war in 1793, to October, 1801.

	French	Dutch	Spanish	Total
Ships of the line.....	45	25	11	81
Fifties	2	1	0	3
Frigates	133	31	20	184
Sloops, &c.....	161	32	55	248
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