

Mr. Dawson

THE
MEMOIRS
OF

M. du Gué-Trouin,

Chief of a Squadron in the ROYAL
NAVY of FRANCE,

AND

GREAT CROSS of the Military Or-
der of St. LEWIS.

Containing

All his Sea-Actions with the *English,*
Dutch, and *Portuguese,* in the late
Wars of King *WILLIAM* and
Queen *ANNE*.

Translated from the *FRENCH* by a *Sea-Officer*.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. BATLEY, at the Dove,
in *Pater-noster Row*. MDCCLXXXII.

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Wars of King WILLIAM and
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Translated from the FRENCH by J. G. G.

LONDON:

Printed for J. BATHURST, at the Door
in Pall-mall near St. James's Church.



To the Sea-faring Part of
GREAT BRITAIN and IRE-
LAND.

GENTLEMEN,



HAVE always under-
stood you to have, in gene-
ral, a very high idea of
M. du Gué-Trouin; and
I have often and often ob-
served, that you never mention him,
but you load him with more than
his just tribute of praise; wherefore
I thought a translation of his Me-
moirs, might prove particularly ac-
ceptable to you, and accordingly I here
present you therewith.

*It has been chiefly to gratify you,
that I have undertaken to make this*

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gentleman speak to you in English, that you may have a more perfect acquaintance with him than you have hitherto had, and consequently be better able to judge whether you have not been a little too lavish of the encomiums you are always ready to bestow on him.

In my opinion he has made you a very scurvy return for your generous inclinations towards him, by painting you in very wretched colours both as to conduct and courage. You are, it seems, nothing in his hands, he will fight you at what odds you will, and had rather dye than strike to so mean an enemy, as he would make you. It seems he has never heard how often your forefathers have humbled the power of France, and laid it low in the dust. He knows nothing, it seems, of the sovereignty you claim over the seas he generally cruised in; the almost immemorial date of your pretensions to that dignity; and how severely you have, within

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within the memory of man, more than once, treated your sister Holland for daring to dispute it with you, not to enumerate what has been done in vindication of this right in old time. He knows not that your name, all the world over, stands foremost in the list of those who are the terrors of the sea. Upon these considerations it had not been, methinks, infinitely beneath old Lewis himself, to have waved his standard to the British Flag if the stress of battle had urged him to it.

But by what he says you would swear, he had his king's honour more at heart than his majesty himself could have, for whom he conceived a vast fund of veneration when as yet he lay in his cradle, and I question whether he was breeched before he was so exceedingly charmed with the sublime virtues of his grand monarch, that he could not sufficiently admire them. What wonder then that he ventured his life so

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iv DEDICATION.

cheerfully in his Service, when he came to man's estate and more mature knowledge? You will upon this chapter find, now and then, such fulsome stuff, that if the best of the French panegyrist had not said as much before him you would laugh; and yet he professes to be nothing of the courtier; and I am sure therein he is nothing of the sailor, who if he is rough he is honest, and though he cannot flatter his king, can love him ten times better than those who can.

However, do not think I am so angry with du Gué that I would run him down without giving him any quarter; I will allow him as much courage and as much of a certain kind of generosity as you please; I only contend that the man is more than ordinarily besotted with false notions of honour and loyalty, which have debauched his good sense, and run his modesty quite aground. And here I must take the opportunity
of

DEDICATION. V

of confessing, that I personally know some of his brother officers in the French navy, who are men of a quite different character, and very well worthy, upon all accounts, of the highest esteem and honour.

*But to our point, where, gentlemen, was the mighty deed in taking the Cumberland and the other ships with her, the most considerable action of du Gué's life, if you set aside his expedition against Rio Janeiro. Had he not as good as six line of battle ships under his command, and was he not in company with his rival de Fourbin, who had six sail more of much the same quality? Here then were twelve ships of very considerable force, and all extraordinarily manned, according to the French custom, against five English. This was a very great disproportion; to which our commander in chief, in this action, it seems, added by a very greatly mistaken conduct. Had our
comm-*

vi DEDICATION.

commadore been better advised, and instead of lying like a log for the enemy to do what they would with him, had he got his little squadron under an easy sail, after the enemy had come well up with him, the day might have taken a widely different turn. The Cumberland, the Devonshire, and the Royal Oak would have cut out work for them. We may pronounce this without the help of magic, by what the poor distressed Devonshire was able to do alone, according to our author's own confession. And yet tho' he confesses she in a very short time killed him near three hundred men, and tho' he gives her out, at ninety guns, which, if I forget not, is false; yet he has the conscience to tell us, That one of their fifty gun ships was advancing up to board her before he did. If this be true, will you not be ready to say, That the captain who would have rushed himself into the jaws of such sudden destruction, without the

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the least prospect of doing good, was a madman? Or if it be not true, have we not room to wonder the man is not ashamed to talk at so preposterous a rate?

But this is scarce any thing to the wonders you will find wrought by du Gué, his people, and his consorts. For my part I had scarce gone through half his book before I expected to hear he had attempted to run away with the lands-end of England, or something of the kind. Such an attempt would have put him upon a level with his friend de Fourbin, whose immortal scheme for running away, as I may call it, with London, deserves the commendation of all men of sound judgment and skill in geography. No, 'tis in France, and in France alone, where you must meet with these men who can do any thing, no matter what stands in the way, no matter for the difficulties, nay, no matter whether they

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they know what it is they are to do, they'll do it. I'll warrant de Fourbin knows as much of London, as he does of the bottom of the most unfathomable sea in the world, and yet he would have made a London of it, if the French ministry had been of his mind.

Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. We must almost always expect to be despised by the French, who for the most part think of us just as they do of the rest of their neighbours. They are so good indeed as to allow us to be creatures pretty much in shape like them; and therefore they barely condescend to call us men; but for wit, and taste, and conduct, and courage, and fighting, and what not, you have not the least pretensions, they are all purely French. Du Gué seems to be perfectly of this opinion; let him therefore hug himself in the pleasing conceit;

DEDICATION. ix

*conceit; and let us, as he deserves,
p—s upon him.*

Gentlemen;

I am your unworthy brother;

The TRANSLATOR.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 16. line 7. for, captain, read, capture.
 p. 30. l. 9. f. he, r. she. p. 92. l. 11. f. opportunity, r. opportunity. p. 101. l. 7. f. butin, r. bug in. p. 104. l. 10. f. *Nesmand*, r. *Nesmond*. p. 106. l. 9. f. theirs, r. they. p. 111. l. *ultim*. f. did dare, r. did not dare. p. 112. l. 8. f. matresse, r. matresses. p. 132. l. 8. from the bottom, r. jury masts. p. 139. l. 7. from the bottom. f. *sursal*, r. *surf fall*. *ibid.* *dele* when. p. 141. l. 5. f. thought, r. thoughts. p. 142. l. 6. f. mere, r. most. p. 143. l. 10. f. ship's companies, r. ship's company. p. 144. l. 7. f. one ship, r. our ships. p. 149. l. 3. from the bottom. f. the *Lis*, r. the *Lilly*. p. 158. l. 6. f. and were we scarce, r. and scarce were we. p. 160. l. 12. from the bottom, f. *Toscan*, r. *Toscan*. p. 164. l. 9. f. *Bucas*, r. *Buscas*. p. 166. l. 6. from the bottom, f. *le Desmares*, r. *le Desmarest*. p. 180. l. 10. *dele* them: p. 189. l. 8. f. a little a strength, r. a little strength. *ibid.* l. 7. from the bottom, f. ship, r. ships. *ibid.* l. 2. from the bottom, f. assualt, r. assault. p. 194. l. 2. f. *Cittés*, r. *Citté*, p. 197. l. 7. f. Equinoctral, r. Equinoctial. p. 207. l. 11. f. adis-de-camps, r. aid-de-camps. p. 209. l. 5. from the bottom, f. to the reconnoitre, r. to reconnoitre.



MEMOIRS
OF
M. Du GUE-TROUIN.

THE occurrences of my life are so extraordinary in their kind, and so proper to stimulate all men of generous inclinations, that in consideration thereof, I have overcome the reluctance I had to engaging myself in any undertaking of this kind, resolving now to leave a powerful incentive to my friends and family to serve their king and country with fidelity.

The sincere confession I make of the errors of my youth, and my very violent pursuit after women, may serve to deter all young people from engaging themselves in so dangerous a commerce,

2 MEMOIRS of

merce, and from incurring the slavery of that tyrannical passion.

Now in these Memoirs you will find nothing but military enterprizes, battles, and boarding of ships. Can any thing else be expected from a man, who has raised himself from obscurity to a tolerable degree of note by no other means than a continued series of dangers and warlike actions crouding one upon the other? It will be plainly seen by my stile, that they are recorded by a seaman, who as such is incapable of varnishing truth, and but ill versed in the arts of writing; and I hope I shall be excused for the terms of art I have been obliged, by indispenfible, necessity, to make use of.

I was born at *St. Malo* in the year 1673, of a family which had been used to follow the sea. My father there commanded several ships, which were sometimes fitted out for war, sometimes for trade, according as the times required the former, or permitted the latter, and had acquired the character
of

of a brave and intelligent navigator. He sent me to study in the college of *Rennes*, and afterwards had my crown shaven with design to send me into *Spain* to the bishop of *Malaga*, natural brother to the late king of *Spain*. He was a prelate of uncommon merit, and loved and protected my family, which for two hundred years had successively enjoyed the consulship of *Malaga*. The intention of my parents was to obtain me some good benefice through his interest; but providence ordained quite otherwise. My father died whilst I studied rhetoric at *Rennes*, and my mother sent me to *Caën* to study philosophy, and to go through my exercises. It was there I began to neglect my study, and to apply myself wholly to the diversions of fencing, dancing, and tennis: from that time I began to feel the first incentives of Mars and Venus, my two predominant passions. I was born with very happy dispositions for all kinds of exercise, and confiding in my skill, I fancied

that a sword could hurt me no more than a foil: upon this presumption I proposed one day, to a cousin of mine, who also was a young man of some dexterity, that we should fence with our swords to try our courage; he consented, and drawing on the spot, at first made some gentle passes at each other; but heating by degrees we assaulted in earnest, and that, with a madness well worthy of Bedlam itself: already the sleeve of my coat was run through, his was the same, and the scene was going to be bloody, when the mistress of the house, frightened by the clashing of our swords, ran into the room where we were, and parted us, by seizing on our weapons.

This was not the only extravagance I was guilty of in this way. Resolving within myself to try how I might come off from a real duel, I made several drunken quarrels, and at length my folly ran to such a pitch, that one fine moon-light evening I insulted a scholar of the riding-house, who was
much

much older than myself, giving him a punch with my elbow about twenty steps from a Coffee-house he had just come out of, upon which we laid hold on our swords, and pushing briskly at each other, we soon closed. Happily for me, his foot slipped as we were seizing on each others weapon, so that he falling, drew me down upon him. The noise we made alarmed the Coffee-house, from whence several came out, and parted us, time enough to prevent our running each other through the body, and we came off with only our hands a little cut. A Gentleman of the country, who was one of the first that came to part us, was touched with the tenderness of my years, and was generous enough to shelter me from the threats of my antagonist, who having met with two of his companions, was coming to kill me; but my protector defended me from them, and carried me to sup and lie at his lodging. This Gentleman, however, was an honest sharper, which I knew not, nor was

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he commonly known as such: I call him honest, because he lost his money generously, but when it grew short he had recourse to his skill; for the rest, he was brave, handsome, witty and very engaging in his deportment; a great lover of the fair sex and of wine, even to the most excessive debauchery. A fine school for a young man of my age! He would have me share in all his pleasures, making me the confident, and very often the companion of his enterprizes: he even taught me some flights with the cards and dice, which thank God, I never apply'd to any dishonest purpose. This gay Gentleman, whose name I forbear for the sake of his family, lost his money a few days after we became acquainted, and as I had just received a quarter's allowance to pay for my board and the charge of my exercises, I lent it to him very readily. My quarterly remittance was soon lost, because at that time he lay under a necessity of suppressing his Talents.

In

In the mean while a relation of mine, a great bully and debauchee, came from *Paris* to the free Fair of *Caën*, accompanied by another kind of sharper ; they were both acquainted with my friend ; so we frequently saw each other, and went all together to play at the fair. One evening being there according to our custom, my relation's friend was caught in his foul play, and was at once so furiously assaulted, that to defend him we were all three obliged to draw our swords. This rascal thinking we should be overpowered by numbers, took to his heels, and it was as much as ever we could do, with all our skill and agility, to get clear of this dirty affair. In this skirmish my friend was slightly wounded in the thigh, and this adventure gave my relation so good a notion of me, that he judged me no unfit person to serve him as a second in case of need, and with this view, offered to take me with him to *Paris*, and to bear my expences thither. I embraced
his

his propofal, and we departed. In our way to *Rouen*, he heard that a girl he loved had been there debauched by a counfellow, who kept her and had locked her up. He immediately took the refolution of forcing the place where ſhe was, and running away with her; and this was executed in the open day, by only him and myſelf and one of the Town; the doors of the houſe were broke open, the Servants put to flight, and my relation that inſtant carried his prize out of *Rouen*, leaving me the dangerous commiſſion of taking up our things from the inn, and to join him at a village on the road to *Paris*. The counfellow informed of this rape, immediately diſpatched ſome officers after us, who came ſtrait to our inn: I luckily ſpied them thro' the window of my chamber, as they were in the yard, and had but juſt time enough to make my eſcape thro' a back door, from whence I ran, without ſtopping, to the appointed village; where I found my relation wallowing in love
and

and wine ; I too would willingly have recompensed myself with the fair for the danger I had incurred, which he opposing, we laid hands to our swords and began a shameful duel ; the poor girl in the utmost affright shrieked out, and ran in between our swords : her cries brought in the people of the house, who prevented us from cutting one another's throat. No sooner was the heat of my passion allayed, than I reflected on the evils my brutality had just now exposed me to : ashamed of the unworthy figure I had made, I without hesitation asked my wicked relation for as much as would carry me back to *Caën* : he gave me a *Louis d'or*, and we parted not a little displeased with each other.

Being returned to *Caën* I found my good friend the gamester in much better circumstances than when I left him, he had not only won back again what he had lost, but 700 pistoles into the bargain. He very handsomely returned me what I had lent him, and more-
over

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over insisted that I should accept of 20 pistoles. I had never seen myself master of so considerable a sum before, and concluding it to be sufficient to carry me to *Paris* (I had heard wonders of that city) I immediately sat out on my journey without any further reflection, and against the will of my benefactor, who did his utmost to divert me from it. Being arrived at *Paris*, I alighted at a public house near the cross-streets of *Richieu*, to enquire after news and eat a bit. I had scarce sat down, when I saw a footman come in for two bottles of Burgundy for *Monf. Trouin de la Barbinais*; this was the name of my eldest brother, whom the declaration of war had driven from the city of *Malaga*, where he had been Consul for the *French* nation, and by mere chance lodged overagainst the house I was at. This name had no sooner struck my ears than I interrogated the footman, and knew by his answers that it was really my own brother, I was so near to. I began then

M. Du Gué-Trouin. II

to ruminate on the journey I had so rashly undertaken, without leave asked or notice given, and was seized by so sudden a fit of fear that without making an end of my victuals, I in haste left the house and *Paris* too, and that, with the more precipitation, as I imagined every moment I saw my brother at my heels. I returned with all speed to *Caën*, and a fortnight afterwards, the same chance which had directed me to him at *Paris*, brought him to *Caën* in his way to *St. Malo*. At his arrival, he failed not to enquire into my conduct, and came to me at a tennis-court where I was playing: he took me aside and examined me under the gallery, and easily discovered, by my ways, that I was a very libertine: he thought it adviseable to give an account of me to my mother, who soon after sent for me to *St. Malo*.

I came there at a conjuncture when they were fitting out ships for a cruise, and soon after I was put on board a frigate called the *Trinity*, of 18 guns, fitted

fitted out by our family. I made my first cruise in her as a volunteer, but it was so tempestuous a one, that I was sea-sick all the time. Nevertheless we took an *English* ship, laden with sugar and indigo, and with her we shaped our course for *St. Malo*. We were taken in our way by a very strong gale at north, which drove us on the coast of *Brittany* in the midst of a very dark night: our prize by very good luck struck on a bank of ooze, and there settled, after she had driven over several shoals, among which we were obliged to drop our anchors, thereby to retard, for a few moments, a death which seemed to us inevitable: we struck our yards and top-masts, and hoised out our long boat; but the gale increased upon us to that degree, that, notwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, our ship dragged her anchors, and tailed against the rocks: our long boat was lost in the breakers, and at the very instant that we were going to perish in the same manner, the

the wind all at once chopt about from north to south, and we swung off from the rocks as far as the scope of our cables would allow. This sudden shift of wind gave us smooth water to ride in, and the next day we with great difficulty hauled our prize off from the ooze, and carried her to St. *Malo*. Our frigate was careened anew, and putting to sea again, we fell in with a *Flushing* privateer equal in force to ourselves; we engaged him, and having boarded him, I stood one of the foremost to jump into him, but seeing our master, near whom I was, fall between the two ships, which in meeting together squeezed and crushed him quite flat, I must confess so frightful an object put a stop to me, and the rather, because not having my legs in such perfection as he, I imagined it would be impossible for me to escape the same hideous kind of death. However, the enemy, after having been boarded thrice successively, was carried sword in hand, and it was thought,

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that

that for a younker I had behaved with tolerable gallantry.

My two cruises in this ship, wherein I had tried all the horrors of shipwreck, and those also of an obstinate and bloody sea-fight, did not discourage me, and I shipped myself on board of another frigate of 28 guns, called the *Grenedan*, and in her I was so fortunate as to distinguish myself: we fell in with a fleet of 15 *English Merchantmen*, from 14 to 28 guns; most of the officers took them for *Men of War*, so that the captain thought it best to keep clear of them; but I in the strongest terms represented to him, that it would be for his honour not to let slip so fine an opportunity, and that they were certainly Merchantmen very richly laden, from some circumstances, which I made him remark through a spying glass: he yielded to my entreaties, and we boldly steered for this fleet. The commadore bore for 40 guns, and mounted by 28, was boarded and carried; I was the first

first on board of him: I stood the fire of a pistol from the captain, and having wounded him with my cutlass, made myself master of him and his ship too. This done, our captain called out to me to return on board of him with a part of the brave fellows, who had seconded me. I obeyed, and in an instant afterwards we boarded a second ship of 24 guns: I had got upon our *cat-head* to jump the first into her, but the shock of our coming foul of each other, and that of our boltsprit which carried away the enemy's taffaril, was so great, that it threw me overboard, together with another volunteer who stood near me; as he knew not how to swim he had infallibly been drowned, had he not caught hold on a piece of the enemy's taffaril, which he held fast, and was taken up by the first prize's pinnace, who was astern of us, and who brought to for that purpose. As for me who held fast to a rope I had in my hand, I was hauled up by the feet into our ship by some of our

C 2

people,

people, who contrived to get hold on me. Quite stunned as I was with this fall, and wet from head to foot, I nevertheless jumped on board the enemy, and contributed to the carrying of him. This second action was followed by the captain of a third ship, in which also I performed my part, and our little victory had been more complete, if the night had permitted us to push it on farther.

This adventure did me so much honour, by the report our captain and all our ship's company made of it, that notwithstanding I was so very young, my family judged me worthy of a small command.

They trusted me with a pink of 14 guns, and going out with her to cruise, I was forced by a storm into the river of *Limeric*, where I landed, and possessed myself of my Lord *Clare's* castle, and in spite of a detachment from the garrison of *Limeric*, I burnt two ships which lay ashore; but as the pink I commanded did not sail well, by which

which defect I had missed several good prizes, I had on my return the command of a better frigate of 18 guns, called the *Coesquen*.

I sailed out with a ship of equal force, and in conjunction with her, I on the coast of *England* attacked a small fleet of thirty sail, convoyed by two small *English Men of War* of 16 guns each: I fought them alone, and made myself master of them both, after a smart engagement of an hour and a half. My consort in the mean time stuck close to the *Merchantmen*, and took twelve of them, whom we convoyed to the coast of *Brittany*. We there met with a squadron of five *English Men of War*, who retook two of them, and engaged me in a warm dispute to save the rest. I at length stood in for the road of *Arqui* about nine leagues from *St. Malo*, a place, beset with rocks and shoals, the *English* were unacquainted with. The headmost of them, who had been the most eager in chasing me, were in

great danger of striking upon them, and were therefore obliged to give me over. A few days afterwards I weighed from this road without any pilot, all mine having been killed or wounded; and those of my officers, who could have served me in that capacity, staid also ashore to have their wounds dressed; this laid me under the necessity of taking charge of my ship the remainder of the voyage, not without great fatigue of mind and body. I was driven by stress of weather into the bottom of *Bristol* channel, and was so near the land that I was obliged to anchor under the island of *Lundy*, at the mouth of the river *Severn*. This danger was followed by another; for as soon as the gale was over, an *English Man of War* of 56 guns made in for the same place, to anchor there likewise. My danger was great; but to avoid it, I cut my cables and set sail, steering out on one side of the island, while the *Man of War* was coming in on the other: she gave me chase 'till night,

night, which favoured my escape. Delivered from this danger, I repaired to my cruising-station, and took two *English* prizes from *Barbadoes*, and went with them to *St. Malo* to lay up my ship there.

During the interval of these cruises, I made amends for all the fatigues I had undergone at sea, by the enjoyment of all the pleasures I could taste at land, gaming, the exercises, and the fair sex took up all my thoughts by turns. I gamed with good fortune on my side, and was thereby enabled to give a full swing to the inclination I had for women, which indeed was boundless: it should seem that a heart so worn out by its own inconstancy, and used to wander after so many different objects, should be incapable of fixing itself, and of uniting all those desires for one person, which were before divided amongst so many. But nevertheless, I fell deeply in love with a young lady of great beauty and wit; and shall only say, that I was so happy as to gain her
favour,

favour, and engage her to give me a meeting, which when her relations heard, they sent her into a convent, otherwise it is possible that the affair between us might have taken a serious turn. The violence of my passion did not interrupt the course of my irregularities, which I instantly resumed again; so true is it, that a vicious habit becomes, as it were, incurable.

While thus ashore, my brother procured one of the king's pinks for me, called the *Profound*, of 32 guns, and I repaired to *Brest*, to take upon me the command of her. This campaign was unfortunate indeed; I cruised three months without taking one prize, and suffered a vexatious engagement in the night with a *Swedish Man of War* of 40 guns, who taking me for an *Algerine*, attacked me, and continued the mistake 'till day light; and to complete my misfortune, eighty of my people died of a fever, which obliged me to put into *Lisbon*, there to recover my sick men, and clean my ship. While
I lay

I lay in this harbour a very unlucky affair befell me; for my gunner running away from the ship, I met him a few days afterwards at a place near the sea-side. I would have laid hold on him; but he jumped back, and had the impudence to draw his sword and dagger; I fell on him, and presently wounded him in two places, whereupon he took to his heels, but I should soon have overtaken him, if a parcel of *Portuguese* had not drawn upon me, and offered to stop me. I shortened my arm, and running on them, forced a way through them, and came up with the rascal: my arm was lifted up to cut him down, when at the instant I struck my toe against a stone, which as I ran full speed, threw me upon my nose with such violence, that my face and hands were all bloody; I got up again, and pursuing him, saw him go into a church, which is a sure asylum in that country; and the Monks, according to their laudable custom, protected him from me.

My

My ship being cleaned, and my ship's company recovered, I weighed from the river of *Lisbon*, and took a *Spanish* ship laden with sugar; of many I had seen, she was the only ship I could speak with, for we sailed but heavily: so I returned to *Brest*, where I left my ship, and set out for *St. Malo*.

The influences of this vexatious trip followed me on shore: I had shipped a young man, who had been pump-dresser to *Coq*, a fencing-master at *Paris*, for whom he gave lessons to the officers and volunteers of my ship, and diverted me with the same exercise, which I was very fond of. This young fellow having acted the mutineer whilst we were at sea, I chastised him, and put him twice into irons; whereupon he boasted (as I was afterwards informed) that he would take revenge on me for that affront when we came to land. In effect he had the impudence to declare at *St. Malo*, that he had endeavoured to make me draw my sword, and that

I dared

I dared not. A lieutenant of foot belonging to the garrison was imprudent enough to acquaint me with this ; and asking him if he could inform me where the braggadocio lodged, and he replying yes, I went that minute to ferret him from his hole. He saved me that trouble, for I met him with two other bullies in the middle of the high street; I made towards him, intending to cane him, but he perceiving my design, jumped back, and drew his sword. I ran upon him, and forcing him between a wall and a cart, which stood there; I was so transported by my passion, that I broke my sword half a foot from the point, without perceiving it, and drove on at him, and did hit him several times, but my sword would not enter. While I was thus employed, one of his companions came and ran me in behind, which I neither saw nor felt; and by this time a good number being gathered about us, they parted us, and dragged me home. In coming into the house my mother was
the

the first that saw blood upon the back of my coat, which was spotted by it, and a minute afterwards I felt my wound, which did not prove dangerous.

A short time afterwards I obtained a commission for one of the king's frigates, called the *Hercules*, of 28 guns, which I fitted out at *Brest*, and fixing my station in the chops of the channel, I took five or six prizes, *English* and *Dutch*, and among them two ships from *Jamaica*, considerable both for their strength and riches. The circumstances of this last action are too remarkable to be passed over in general terms.

I had cruised above two months, and had but fifteen days allowance of provision left, and was moreover pestered with prisoners, and had sixty men sick. My officers and all my ship's company, perceiving that I did not so much as speak of going into a harbour, represented to me, that it was time to think of it, and that the king's order positively required it. I knew that

as

as well as they ; but I was taken with a sudden and secret foreboding of some fortunate adventure at hand, which made me lengthen our cruise from day to day : when I saw myself urged closely, I called together the people, and haranguing them, I engaged them, partly by persuasion, and partly by my authority, to consent that I should shorten their allowance a little, promising them that if we caught any thing, I would allow them plunder, and recompense them amply. I must frankly confess that my conduct at this time was not a little out of the way, and I cannot myself conceive what urged me to bespeak them in such terms, and with such assurance ; but herein I was hurried on by an unknown voice, which it was impossible for me not to obey. However this was, chance would have it, that at the end of eight days I saw, in a dream, two large ships bearing down upon us with all the sail they could make : this vision put me into such an agitation, that I started

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out of my sleep, and day-break beginning to appear, I turned out of my cabbin and went upon the quarter-deck, where carrying my eye round the horizon, I immediately saw two real ships, in the same posture, and with the same canvass abroad, as those I had seen in my sleep: they at first seemed to me to be *Men of War*; because they bore down upon us with all their sail standing, and made an appearance which was warlike enough to continue me in the dread I at first conceived. Under this apprehension I thought it adviseable to stand away from them, and try heels with them, before I exposed myself to any hazard; but finding that I outailed them very considerably, I tacked about, and gave them battle, and after a hot resistance for three hours, they became my prizes. These ships were bored for 48 guns, and had each of them 28 mounted: they were laden with sugar, indigo, and a great deal of gold and silver. The plunder which was great, and which I

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connived at, for the fake of my word, did not hinder my owners from being very considerable gainers by this capture. I carried these two prizes into *Nants*, where I cleaned my ship, and returning to my station, took three more prizes, before I sailed for *Brest*.

As I owe the taking of these two ships to a secret foreboding, which made me require from my ship's company eight days longer to cruise in, I cannot forbear observing, that I have had many such, which have never once deceived me. I leave philosophers to explain what this inward voice may be, which has so often foretold me good and bad events. Let them, if they will, attribute it to some *Genius* which attends on us wherever we go, to a warm and lively imagination, or to the soul herself, who in some auspicious moments, darts through the shades of futurity, there to explore the embryo's of events; I will not wrangle with them, let their solution be what it will, but sure I am, that I have felt nothing

more sensibly within myself than that still voice, and though still, yet distinct, and, if I may so express myself, importunate, which has foretold to me many times, and to others, even the very day and circumstances of adventures to come.

As soon as I came to *Brest*, I laid down the command of the *Hercules* to take up that of the *Diligent*, a royal frigate of 40 guns: I sailed with her for the strait's mouth, where I cruised, and took three prizes, and then put into *Lisbon* to careen my ship. My care to do my duty with all becoming regularity did not prevent me from having several temporary amours here according to custom, and among the rest I had an intrigue with a lady, who was kept in a very splendid manner by a Count and grandee of *Portugal*: her charms were heightened by a very uncommon generosity, and it was my own fault, that I reaped no advantage from it; for of all the valuable presents she would have forced on me,

me, I accepted of nothing but a very rich and genteel snuff-box.

The Count, who kept this amiable lady, and a Marquis his cousin, lay at this time under the king of *Portugal's* displeasure, and were hotly pursued for killing the governor of *Lisbon*. The *French* ambassador, who resided in that city, ordered me to convey them to *France*; and I received them on board my ship with the greater pleasure, as one of them was son in law to the Marshal *de Villeroy*, one of the most worthy noblemen we have in the kingdom. The Count was extremely surpris'd to see in my hands the snuff-box his mistress had given me, for ignorant of how far, or in what manner it might affect him, I generally carried it about me. The curiosity he betrayed in examining the box, and the many questions he put to me concerning it, let me into the motive of his inquietude, and like a man of honour I did my utmost to make him easy.

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To have done with this, as I was carrying these grandees of *Portugal* to *France*, I had advice of four rich *Flushingers* from *Curacao*, laden with cocoa, and some pieces of eight, all four of 20 or 30 guns; I joined them, gave them battle, and made myself master of the stoutest, whose skilful working, and the resistances he made, saved her three consorts, who got clear of me by the favour of a mist, and of the night, which came upon us. I carried this prize into *St. Malo*, and laid hold on this opportunity of landing the two *Portuguese* lords, whom I left very well satisfied with the respectful usage they had met with from me.

I put to sea again without loss of time, and making towards the coast of *England*, I spied a fleet of thirty sail, convoyed by an *English* *Man of War* of 56 guns, called the *Prince of Orange*. I bore down upon her, with a design to fight, and even to board her, but speaking by the way with one of the ships of the fleet, who informed me they

they were all laden with nothing but coal, I thought it imprudent to run the hazard of a doubtful battle for so base a commodity. Just as I was near enough to haile the *Man of War*, I got my tacks on board under *English* colours, and stood away in quest of some better adventure. The captain of this ship took me all along for an *Englishman*, but finding by my way of working that he was under a mistake, gave me chase: I then resolved to convince him, that I had not waved an engagement through any fear of him, and accordingly clewed up my courses; which when he saw, he did the same. I now thought I had done enough, and therefore let fall my courses again, but he renewing the chase, I braced my headsails to the mast, and striking my *English* ensign, which I as yet kept flying at my stern, I hoisted it up again in a waft by way of derision. Enraged at this bravadoe, he fired three shot at me, which I answered with three other, without so much as condescend-

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ing to spread my white ensign: at length perceiving that this rhodomontade aimed at nothing, I left him with his fleet: but by the sequel it will appear into what trouble this empty insult had like to have thrown me.

A fortnight afterwards, it being hazy weather, I fell in with a squadron of six *English Men of War* from 50 to 80 guns; and being unluckily hemmed in between them, and the *English* coast, I was obliged to engage. The *Adventure* was the first that came up with me, and we fought with all sails standing for almost four hours, before any of her consorts could join her; I even began to hope that being at the point of doubling the isle of *Scilly*, which confined me in my run, the goodness of my ship might extricate me from this trouble; this hope was of short duration, the enemy brought both my topmasts by the board with one of her last broadsides. This cruel accident dashed my expectations, and she came within pistol-shot of me in
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an instant, and clewing up her low fails ranged so close to me, that a sudden resolution took me of boarding her in person with all my crew. I all at once ordered my officers, who were near me, to go and drive up all the people to their quarters, and at the same time get ready all our graplins, and put the helm hard over. Just as I was coming foul of her, ill luck would have it, that one of my lieutenants, who commanded in the steerage, and knew nothing of my design, seeing through one of the ports, that the enemy was close to us, and not dreaming that I intended to board her, thought there was some mistake in the posture of the helm, and therefore shifted it. I ran to the bittacle, where I found the helm had been shifted contrary to my orders, and put it hard over again, as I would have it, but saw with a heavy heart, that the captain of the *Adventure*, marking my design, had set his low fails again, and was steering off from me; we were so
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near to each other that my bow-sprit end damaged his taffaril. Thus by a mistake, I lost an opportunity of making one of the most surprizing attempts, ever heard of; for in the resolution of either perishing or carrying this *Man of War*, who sailed better than any other of the squadron, it is not to be doubted but that I should have succeeded, and carried her with me to *France*, a ship every way superior to mine, who being unmasted, had no chance to escape.

Thus baulked in my aim, the *Monk* came up with me, and cannonaded me at pistol-shot, while the *Canterbury*, the *Dragon*, and the *Romney*, let fly at me with their fore-chase. The commodore only of the squadron did not deign to honour me with one shot; to force him to it, I brought my broadside to bear on him, and fired several at him, but he did not condescend to hold the least correspondence with me. In this distress I was forsaken by my people, who all ran down into the hold.

hold in spite of all I could do to prevent them; and whilst I was endeavouring to make them keep the deck, and had even wounded two of them, to complete my misfortunes, the gun-room took fire. The fear of being blown up, made me hurry down thither, and having soon conquered the fire, I ordered some barrels of Grenadoes to be brought to me near the hatch-ways, and threw down such a number of them into the hold, as made many of my run-aways glad to get upon deck again: I re-manned some of the posts, and fired several volleys of my lower tire before I went up again to the quarter-deck; but when I came up, I was quite confounded to find the ensign struck; whether the halliards had been cut away by a shot from the enemy, or whether in the minute I was absent, some wretched coward had done me dishonour on purpose, is uncertain: I immediately ordered it to be hoisted again; when, my officers came to me, and represented that
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it would be a vain exposing of ourselves to the butchery of the *English*; if, after having seen our colours down for a considerable time, they saw them thrown out again, and we obstinately persisting against them, when we had not the least chance in our favour, being deprived of all our masts. I could not withstand the truth of this remonstrance, and whilst, in despair, I was yet musing on what was best to be done, I was thrown flat on the deck by a bullet, which, after having cut several of the carlings of my poop, fell upon my hip, and took my senses from me for a full quarter of an hour: they carried me into my cabin, and this accident put an end to my irresolution. The captain of the *Monk* was the first that sent his barge to fetch me; I was carried on board of him with a good part of my officers, and his generosity was such, that he would absolutely lay me in his own bed, ordering that I should be treated with as much care and tenderness, as if I had been his own son.

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The whole squadron went with me to *Plymouth*, and I was there regaled by all the captains. When they sailed away, I had the whole town for my prison: this gave me an opportunity of getting acquainted with a very pretty young woman, who helped me to escape after a very extraordinary manner, which it may not be amiss to give at length. In order thereunto, you must recollect what I have related to have passed between the *English Man of War* called the *Prince of Orange* and me, and how I fired three shot at her by way of return, without ever spreading my white ensign. This youthful prank drew me into a great deal of trouble.

For, the captain of this Ship, having convoyed his fleet to their several ports, came by chance into *Plymouth-sound*, a few days after I had been brought thither; and seeing my ship remembered it was her who had so grossly affronted him. His resentment was such, that he petitioned the admiralty,

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that I might be brought to a Trial for firing at him without shewing my colours, contrary to the laws of arms; and requested that I should be imprisoned until the return of an express he was going to dispatch to the queen of *England* upon that affair. Hereupon the admiralty ordered me into custody, and I was confined in a prison-room, with a sentry at my door. The only distinction made between me and the other prisoners, was the liberty I had of dressing my victuals in my own room, and the leave given to the *French* officers to come and keep me company. Even the captains of the *English* companies, who guarded the prison by turns, dined with me very freely, and my pretty acquaintance came very often to visit me. It happened that a *French* refugee, a captain of one of these *English* companies, became distractedly enamored of this young woman, and observing the familiarity between her and me, he imagined I might assist him in obtaining her good
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graces ; and therefore opened his mind very frankly to me upon that subject. The esteem and love I bore her, would have prompted me to have rejected his overture very hard-heartedly, had I not kept my senses about me enough to foresee, that I might turn this project very much to my own advantage. With this prospect I told him, that I would serve him with all my heart, but that I was too closely beset in my room, and saw no likelihood of succeeding, if he did not procure me some opportunities of being with her more privately ; that to this purpose the neighbouring tavern appeared to me a very proper and convenient place in all respects ; that she might come to me thither without any suspicion ; and that, if I could but get her there, I wou'd exert all my rhetoric to dispose her to think well of him, and afterwards give him notice to come and pass away the rest of the evening with her. His love made him swallow down this stratagem very greedily,

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ly, and for the execution of it we fixed upon the day when he was next to mount guard at the prison. I took care to inform my fair friend of the several particulars of this plot, and to assure her in the strongest terms, that I should soon sink under the pain of confinement, if she would not be so good as to forward my deliverance; convincing her, that she had it in her power, without running the least hazard in reference to her honour. I was so happy as to affect her with what I said, and she gave me her word, that she would take all the steps she thought necessary to the end I proposed. This preliminary settled, I wrote to the captain of a *Swedish* ship in *Hamoze*, proposing to him, that he should sell me a boat fitted with a sail, six oars, six musquets and as many cutlasses, with bisket, beer and a sea-compass, and some other provisions and necessaries, entreating him particularly to send some of his people to the prison under pretence of visiting

sitting the *French* prisoners; and to send privately by them a *Swedish* seadrefs for my master, who speaking their language, and being moreover a tall man, might mix with them when they went out of the prison.

This project was executed, my master mixed with the *Swedish* sailors, and escaped out of prison under that disguise. He bargained with their captain for his boat and necessaries, and it was agreed that I should pay him 35 *l.* sterling, provided she was ready on an appointed day, and that six of his people should wait for me at a rendez-vous out of the town, to carry me to the boat.

You must know that the public-house, where I was to meet my lass, stood at the foot of a hill; and that from the second story you went into a little garden, that ran out towards a street which was near the top of the hill: it was over the walls of this garden that I thought to save myself, while the amorous captain should

imagine I was persuading his favourite to love him. With this view I ordered my valet de chambre who had leave to go out to market for me, and my surgeon who went to the hospital to dress our wounded men, to be infallibly at four in the afternoon behind the wall of that garden, there to wait for me, and from thence conduct me to our good friends the *Swedes*.

At length the much desired day came: my amorous captain, having observed his mistress to go into the public-house, made no scruple to let me out of my room with another of my officers whom he had consented to receive into the secret; he only begged of us not to keep him long in pain, and to send for him as soon as possible: I for my part hardly gave my self time to thank my kind friend, and salute her, but impatiently scaled the garden-wall with my companion. Behind this wall we found my valet de chambre and surgeon, who led us on boldly to the

the appointed rendez-vous, where we found six lusty *Swedes* well armed, who carried us two leagues on foot, and guarded us to the boat.

We embarked in her about six in the evening, five *French* in all, viz. the officer who was the companion of my flight, my master, my surgeon, my valet and myself. We immediately got under sail and passed very near to a couple of *English Men of War* at anchor in the sound, who hailed us as we went by; we answered them as an *English* fisher-boat, and holding on our way were at day-break got out of the sound, and not far off from an *English* frigate, standing in for *Plymouth*. I know not by what ill luck she took it into her head to speak with us, but it is certain we were upon the point of being re-taken, when it fell flat calm, and gave us an opportunity of rowing away from her. Behold us then on the open sea almost spent with rowing so long. Night came on, and the master and I relieved each other,
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to steer by a compass and a small lantern. I for my part was so overcome with fatigue, that, not able to keep my eyes open, I fell asleep with the tiller in my hand; but I was very soon and very severely disturbed by a sudden and violent squall of wind, which laid us all along and almost filled us in a minute. I immediately let fly the sheet, and, putting the helm a-weather, bore away before it, and by this piece of yare-handiness I escaped perishing, which was the more inevitable as we were 13 leagues from any land; my companions also, who now lay under water, were soon roused from their slumber: our bisket and barrel of beer were spoiled by the sea-water which got amongst them, and it took us up a great deal of time to free our boat, which we did by baling the water out with our hats. The boat thus freed we steered our course again, and so we continued to do the remainder of the night, and all the following day. At length about 8 in the evening

ing we came in with the coast of *Brittany*, at the distance of about two leagues from *Treguier*: and overjoyed with the thoughts of having escaped so many dangers, I (all fatigued as I was) ran gently a-ground upon the beach to embrace my native land; and we had just day-light enough to direct us to a small village, where we were accommodated and refreshed with milk, bread and clean straw. The next day we proceeded to *Treguier*, and from thence to *St. Malo*. Upon my coming thither I was informed, that my eldest brother was gone for *Rochefort* where he was fitting out one of the king's ships, called the *Francois*, of 48 guns, with design to give me the command of her as soon as I should return from *England*. I took post to go to him, and found this ship at anchor in the roads of *Rochelle*, all ready for sailing.

I went on board her, and standing out for the main sea, fixed my cruising station on the coasts of *England* and *Ireland*. I presently took five ships
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laden with tobacco and sugar, and then a sixth laden with masts and furs from *New-England*; she had parted about two days before with a fleet of 60 sail under the convoy of two *English Men of War*, the one called the *Nonsuch* of 50 guns, the other, the *Boston* of 38 guns, tho' bored for 72. This last ship was built by the Inhabitants of *Boston*, as a present they designed for prince *George*, and was laden with very fine masts and furs: I informed myself with all diligence how this fleet might bear of me, and crowded with all my sail after them, and made them about noon.

Impatient to take my revenge, I instantly attacked the two *Men of War*, who convoyed this fleet. With my first broad-sides I had the good luck to bring the *Boston's* main-top-mast by the board, and to cut her main-yard in two: this accident quite put her by from crossing my design of boarding the *Nonsuch*. This ship I instantly boarded, and grappled her
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in the midst of our mutual fire of great guns and small arms. And then threw into her such a shower of *Grenadoes*, which I had caused to be delivered to all hands fore and aft, that the enemy's decks were soon cleared; I then ordered the drums to beat the charge, and just as my people were ready to enter, her poop at once took fire so fiercely, that, fearing to be burnt with her, I in all haste put off. As soon as this fire was extinguished, I grappled this ship (the *Nonfuch*) a second time, and my fore-top and fore-sail taking fire, I was under a necessity of quitting my hold once more. In the mean time night came on, and the whole fleet dispersed: the two *Men of War* were the only ships that kept together, and I took care to be the third in company; in the night I was taken up in unbending my tattered and singed sails: the enemy on the other hand were employ'd in splicing and knotting, and getting themselves into order again.

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As soon as day peeped out, I was prepared to board the *Nonsuch* a third time, but, in the midst of our mutual fire of great guns and small arms, her main-mast and fore-mast fell into my chains; this accident, which quite disabled her, was the reason I did not enter her now, but on the contrary crowded sail for the *Boston* with equal activity, she then using all endeavours to save herself by flight. I came up with her, and took her presently, and then returned to her consort, who, being as naked as a punt, was obliged to submit.

These two ships thus mastered, a *Dutchman*, who had commanded a prize I took a few days before, came up from the hold to the quarter-deck to wish me joy, telling me, with an air of great satisfaction, that he also had gained a small victory over the captain of the *English* prize, who gave me advice of this fleet; for that, going down into the hold a minute before we engaged, the *Englishman* said to him,

him, *Come, brother, let's be merry, we shall soon be at liberty, the Nonfuch is commanded by one of the stoutest captains in England, and with this same ship boarded and took the famous John Bart and the chevalier Fourbin; his consort also is well fitted and officered, and has had her numbers increased with the crew of an English ship lost a little time ago on the coast near Boston; and this Frenchman will never be able to hold out against them long. The Dutch captain assured me he answered to this, That he took me for a braver man than either of the English commanders; and that he would forfeit his head if I did not get the day of them: the Englishman in a passion told him, he lied, which the other returning him with a box on the ear, they came to cuffs about it. The Dutchman was too many for his antagonist, and came that instant to acquaint me with the combat between them, desiring it of me as a particular favour, to order his adversary to appear on the deck,*

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that he might with his own eyes see these two ships mastered, and burst with rage at the sight. I accordingly sent for him up, and he had like to have run mad when he saw the *Non-such* and the *Boston*, in the distressed condition I had reduced them to, and went off swearing like a heathen, and tearing up his hair by the roots.

In the mean time I was sadly puzzled to secure these two ships, my long-boat and pinnace were torn to pieces, and there came on a gale which put us in great danger, thro' the disorder we were in after so long and so obstinate a fight. The captain and all the officers of the *Non-such* were killed or wounded, and my people brought me the commissions of Mess. *Bart* and *Fourbin*, since chiefs of a squadron, and formerly taken by this same ship. In this action I lost almost the half of my ship's company, and stress of weather parted us from each other. M. *Boscher*, my cousin german, who was my second captain, and who distinguished
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ed himself very much in this engagement, being on board of the *Nonsuch*, was obliged to throw all her upper guns overboard, and tho' she was destitute of masts, guns and sails, yet so clever was he as to save this prize, and carry her into *Port-Louis*. As for the *Boston*, she, when the storm was over, fell in with four privateers of *Flushing*, who retook her in sight of the island of *Ushant*, and it was with much trouble that I caught hold on the port of *Brest* with my ship, considering that she had lost her top-masts and mizen-mast, and that the hull of her was quite shattered.

The late king, *Louis the great*, always mindful to reward military virtue, was pleased to honour me with a sword after this action. I received it with a very obliging letter from the minister that presided over our naval affairs, who exhorted me to get my ship in a readiness, to join the Marquis de *Nesmond* in the roads of *Rochelle*. I

obeyed, and lost no time in repairing to the appointed place.

We were five *Men of War* under his command, viz. the *Excellent* of 62 guns, who bore the general's flag; the *Pellican* of 50, commanded by the chevalier *Augers*; the *Fortunate* of 56, by M. *de Beaubriand*; the *St. Anthony*, of *St. Malo*, of 56 also, by M. *de la Villestreux*; and the *Francis* of 48 guns, commanded by myself. This squadron cruised in the chops of the channel, where we fell in with three *English Men of War*, and giving them chase, I was by a little the headmost ship of our squadron, and exactly in the wake of the biggest of the enemy's ships of 76 guns, and called the *Hope*. I came up with her within musquet-shot, and was preparing to board her at once, with a resolution of not firing one shot till I had grappled her. While my thoughts were thus employed, the marquis *de Nesmond*, who as well as the rest of the squadron had *English* colours flying, fired a shot to lee-ward
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without shifting his colours: upon this all my officers represented to me, that seeing he had not spread his white flag, this gun could be no other than a signal for me to lye by for him, which if I did not, I should incur the penalties of disobedience; it being impossible that our chief should take it into his head, to fight under the enemy's colours. It was with very much ado that I perswaded myself to give way to their remonstrance, or to consent to the clewing up of our main-sail, being thoroughly vexed at the loss of so fine an opportunity of signalizing myself; and was still much more concerned, when a quarter of an hour afterwards I saw the marquis *de Nesmond* spread his white flag, and fire another gun as a signal for the fight. In an instant I set my main-sail again, and fired my whole broad-side at the *Hope*. At the same time M. *de Villestreux* attacked the *Anglesey* of 68 guns: but scarce had we exchanged three or four broad-sides when the marquis *de Nesmond*

came up with the *Hope*, and fought her so briskly at the distance of pistol-shot, that he brought her main-mast by the board, and became master of her after a pretty handsom resistance. M. *de Villestreux*, captain of the *St. Anthony*, was mortally wounded in fighting and attempting to board the *Anglesey*: and by the same ship was he even so disabled in his sails and rigging, that being no longer in a condition to give chase, the enemy got clear with her consort by the favour of the night.

I made my just complaints to the marquis *de Nesmond*, in that he had obliged me to clew up my main-sail by the shot he fired under *English* colours, whereby he had deprived me of the honour I was going to acquire by boarding the *Hope*; I told him all my officers were ready to witness that I was prepared for, and fully resolved upon, the attempt; and that it was a hard thing for me, that he should have used his authority so much to my disadvantage and loss. He answered, that
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he was very sorry for me, but that it was an inadvertency in his captain of the signals, who had forgot that the *English* ensign was flying, and that all the fault, if any there were, was to be laid at that officer's door, and not to me, who had perfectly well acquitted myself of my duty. However, the people of the other ships, who had seen me the headmost towards the enemy, and did not mind the gun which the commander in chief fired under *English* colours, were quite astonished, to see me clew up my main-sail; and were even so unjust to me as to interpret this part of my working to my disadvantage, without diving into the reasons of subordination which had forced me to it; so that in their sea-songs they taxed me with want of courage; but they have since that time sung so many in honour of me, that they have more than made amends for this groundless censure. The marquis *de Nesmond* did upon this occasion, give such public and authentic testimonies of my conduct in
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this action, that I had all the reason in the world to be satisfied.

The king continued me in the command of his ship the *Francois*, and *Monf. Beaubriand* in that of his frigate the *Fortunate*, with intention to send us out against the *Dutch* whale-fishers on the coasts of *Spitz-bergen*. We sailed out in company together from *Port-Louis*, where we had cleaned our ships, and shaped our course for the latitude we were bound to; but we were so crossed by winds, that we were obliged to go and water at the isles of *Fero*; after which, the season being too far advanced for us to go so far as *Spitz-bergen*, we stayed and cruised off the *Orkneys*; and at length disheartened at not meeting with any ship of the enemy's, we steered away for the coasts of *Ireland*, there to make an end of the remainder of our provision.

This unlucky and fruitless cruise for three months together, had quite cast down the officers and men of both
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our ships: I alone cheered them up by a secret forboding of some good in store for us, which possessing me strongly, gave me an air of content in the midst of an universal sadness. The joy and hope I endeavoured to inspire them with, and the positive assurance I gave them of some happy adventure at hand, were justified by our meeting with three homeward-bound *English East-India Men* off the *Blasques*, who were very considerable for their force, but much more for their riches. The commodore, called the *Defence*, had ports for 72 guns, and mounted 58: the second ship, called the *Resolution*, had 68 ports, and 56 guns mounted: the third, whose name does not occur to me, had 40 guns mounted. These ships lay by for us in a line. The *Fortunate* ranged along-side of the *English* commodore, and gave him her broad-side, and, passing on to the second ship, attacked and stuck by her. I followed the *Fortunate* with my bow-sprit-end over her taffarel, and as soon as she shot

a-head of the commadore, I fought him and took him. I then stood towards the third ship, who was endeavouring to get away from us, and who defended herself afterwards with a good deal of obstinacy: indeed I was afraid of bringing her masts about her ears, or even of boarding her; because of the great plunder which I foresaw unavoidable. In the end we secured and fitted these three prizes in such a manner, as to be able to defend themselves in case of need, and so convoyed them to *Port-Louis*. The riches of these three ships yielded tolerable profit, notwithstanding all the plunder.

After this expedition, an inclination took me of going to *Paris*, there to make myself known to the admiral and to the minister for naval-affairs, but chiefly to have the satisfaction of seeing at leisure the person of the late king, for whom from my infancy I had felt within myself a great fund of love and veneration. The chancellor *Monf. de Pontchartrain* did me

me the favour to present me to his majesty, and my admiration redoubled at the sight of that great monarch, who deigned to seem contented with my weak services, and I withdrew from his closet, with a heart quite charmed at the mildness and grandeur, which shone in all his words and minutest actions. The desire I had, of making myself worthy of his favour, became henceforward more ardent. It was a pretty great misfortune for me, that the occasions of signalizing my increase of zeal, did not present themselves at that instant; for they would have prevented me from giving myself up, as I did, to my unbridled passion for women, and from running again into my old course of libertinism. At length, growing weary of so shameful a life, I took a sudden resolution of tearing myself away from *Paris*, and of repairing to *Port-Louis*, there to fit out my *English* prize, the *Nonsuch*; but, instead of 50 guns, as she had before, I mounted only 42, that she might
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be so much the more buoyant and nimble.

This ship I set sail with, and steering for the coasts of *Spain*, I was informed by some neutral ships I spoke with, that three *Dutchmen* lay in the harbour of *Vigo*, in expectation of a *Man of War*, who was to take them in her way, and convoy them to *Lisbon*. I ruminated upon this advice, and formed a design of circumventing them: in effect, I shewed myself to them, one morning under *English* colours, with my courses clewed up, my top-gallant-sheets flying, and with an *English* jack at my mizen-peek, just as I had formerly observed to have been practised by the *English* in cases of a like nature. My ship being *English* built, forwarded the success of my stratagem, inasmuch, that two of the three *Dutch* ships, deceived by these false appearances, weighed their anchors, and came out to put themselves under my convoy; and the third had infallibly done the same, could she have possibly purchased her
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anchor in time. These ships were laden with large masts, and other valuable commodities.

As I was steering with these prizes for the first port in *France*, I, at break of day, discerned the enemy's grand fleet about 3 leagues to windward of us. In this dangerous situation I lost no time in concluding upon what to do; and ordered my two prizes to shew their *Dutch* colours, and salute me with 7 guns each, and then bear away before the wind. After that, relying on the goodness and make of my ship, I stood for the fleet with as much confidence as if I had really belonged to them, and after speaking with some strange vessels was now returning to the body of the fleet.

At once two large ships and a frigate of 36 guns, stretched a-head of the fleet, in order to take a view of me: the two *Men of War* deceived by my way of working, immediately shortened sail, and fell each into her station in the fleet: only the frigate

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hurried

hurried on by an unlucky impulse, was resolved to speak with my two prizes, and made after them while I sailed along with the gross of the fleet as quietly as if I had been one of their number. But I was driven to despair when I saw my two prizes ready to fall under the power of this frigate, and having observed that I sailed much better than the ships nearest to me, I fell off a little from the wind to get insensibly a-head of them, and then on a sudden clapt on all my sail to get between my prizes and the frigate that chased them: this I did soon enough to obstruct her way and fight her, which I did in sight of the whole fleet, nay, I had even carried her had it been possible for me to have boarded her; but the captain of her altho' he had hoised out his pinnace to send her on board of me, had yet a mistrust, and wit enough to keep his wind, and afterwards tackled under the fire of my great guns and small arms to stem with several large ships, who that instant stood out
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of the fleet to rescue her. Their approach obliged me to leave this frigate, whom I had handled so roughly that she put herself upon the careen, with a red flag in her shrouds, and fired guns from time to time. This earnest signal of distress drew the ships which were nearest to her assistance, at the same time they took up her pinnace, which after she had put off from the frigate to come on board of us, discovered what we were; and, unable to fetch her own ship during the engagement, rowed with her head towards the fleet. These favourable circumstances gave me time to rejoin my prizes towards the dusk of the evening, and I carried them into *Port-Louis*.

After I had thus secured these prizes, I went to expend the rest of my provision in the chops of the channel, where I met with a *Flushing*, returning from *Curacoa*. I made myself master of her and carried her into the harbour of *Brest*, where I cleaned my ship.

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At the same time I fitted out a small frigate of 16 guns, and gave the command of her to one of my younger brothers, who had more than once given me instances of a capacity far above his years. We sailed out together and cruised upon the coast of *Spain*. We had consumed the greatest part of our provision and had met with nothing; and as we began to fall short of water, I thought it advisable to try if we could not water near *Vigo*, where we might, perhaps, at the same time make some capture. With this thought we went and anchored between the harbour and the island of *Bayona*, and, meeting with no ship there, we looked out for some place to water at. To this purpose my brother and I embarked in my pinnace with some volunteers, and observed a cove on the lar-board side going in, from whence a stream seemed to issue, and we advanced towards it to view it nearer hand; but in so doing we were saluted by several musquet-shot, which were fired at us from

from retrenchments which ran along the shore-side. My first thought was that we ought to return on board, and not expose ourselves rashly: however, as I had left orders to send us a reinforcement in our long-boat, in case of need; my brother, a young man ardent in his pursuits of honour, represented to me that it would be a shame for us to retreat for a parcel of wretched peasants, who would be unable to withstand us; that we ought to push on and attack them, and at the same time make a signal to our ships for help. I must confess that ill-judged shame and a ridiculous point of honour overswayed my reluctance for this counsel upon this occasion. I landed, and was followed by about 20 young men who came with us in the pinnace: we, sword in hand, forced the retrenchments from whence they had fired at us, and, driving out the guard that kept them, possessed ourselves thereof, to wait for succour from our ships. They without delay sent us 150 men well armed. Of these I left

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20 to guard the retrenchments, which we fortified with the stones which ballasted our boats, to secure ourselves a retreat. I gave the command of 50 others to my brother, whom I ordered to go behind a large village where we saw the *Spanish* militia rendezvousing, designing myself to attack them in front with the 80 men that remained with me. In this order I advanced by beat of drum, to the place where I expected to be the most warmly resisted. My brother, who burned with a desire of distinguishing himself, hastened on his march, and, transported by the heat of his courage, attacked the retrenchments on the backside of the town, before I began my assault in the front, and stormed his part at the head of his company. His valour proved fatal to him: in getting over the first enclosure he received a mortal wound by a musquet-ball, which went thro' his breast. I assaulted also on my side, and, having forced the retrenchments, was minding that my people gave quarter to the

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Spaniards, who had thrown down their arms, when I received the sorrowful news of my brother's death. It would be a most difficult matter for me to express here, how deeply I was afflicted by it. This unfortunate brother was dearer to me for his intrepidity, and for his amiable qualities, than for the ties of blood which united us together. I stood stock still, but suddenly breaking out into rage, I ran like a madman upon such of the enemy who had not yet submitted, and sacrificed many of them to my resentment. In the mean time my people fell to plundering the place: but a troop of horse shewing themselves upon an eminence, I recollected myself, and rallying my men again pretty readily, I ran towards my brother whom I found lying on the ground, and weltring in his own blood, which a surgeon endeavoured to stop. So melancholy a sight drew tears from me, I embraced him, but could not speak one word to him, and had him carried immediately on board
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of my ship, whither I went along with him, not able to leave him in so sorrowful a condition. At the same time I ordered my officers to bring off all the people, and gave it in charge to one of my cousin-germans, who was also my first lieutenant, to cover them, and secure their retreat, which was made without any confusion, and with very little loss.

My brother lived but two days afterwards, and breathed his last in my arms, with very good sentiments of religion, and an heroic fortitude. Tenderneſs and ſorrow inſpired me with eloquence to exhort him in his laſt moments, and I ſtaid by him under extreme trouble of mind. I ordered our anchors up, that we might carry his corps to *Viana*, a place upon the frontiers of *Portugal*, where I paid the laſt duties to him, with all the marks of honour due to his valour and merit, which certainly were uncommon. All the nobility of the neighbourhood aſſiſted at his funeral,
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and seemed to be concerned at the loss of so lightly and so valorous a youth.

This melancholy business being over, I retook the sea to make an end of my provisions, and, meeting with a *Dutchman* bound from *Curacao*, I came up with her, took her, and carried her into *Brest*. I laid up my two ships, having my mind perpetually disturbed with the thought of my brother's expiring in my arms, which every night made me start out of my sleep, and for a long time afterwards did not allow me a moment's rest.

Six months afterwards *Monf. des Clouseaux*, Intendant of the navy at *Brest*, who had a greater value for me than I deserved, re-engaged me by his earnest solicitations to assume the command of three ships, which he wanted to send out to meet the *Bilboa* fleet; viz. the *St. James's Victory* of 48 guns, the *Nonfuch* of 42, and the frigate *Leonora* of 16. I went on board the first of these ships, and gave the command of the second to a relation

tion of mine, M. *Baucher*, who had been my second captain, and whose worth and capacity I was no stranger too.

Eight days after our departure from *Brest* I made the fleet we looked for, convoyed by three *Dutchmen of War* under the command of the Baron *de Wassenauer*, (*viz.*) the *Delft* and the *Houftardie*, both of 54 guns, and the third of 38. A stiff gale obliged me to keep them company only for two days, at the end of which I was upon the point of venturing a battle, when I happily discovered two frigates of *St. Malo*, the one of 30 guns, called the *Black Eagle*, commanded by M. *de Belisle Pepin*, and the other of 38 guns, called *la Falvere*, commanded by M. *Desaudrais du Fresne*. We held council together, and disposed of ourselves for the attack after the following manner.

The enemy's three *Men of War* lay by to the windward of their fleet, the *Delft* commanding in the center, with

with the *Houstardie* a-stern, and the third ship a-head of her: I was to give the *Houstardie* my broadside, as I passed by her, and stretching a-head of her to board the commadore. The *Nonsuch* was to grapple the *Houstardie* as soon as I had passed by her, and the frigates the *Black Eagle* and *la Favere* were to fall to work on the third *Man of War*, which when they had effected they were to stand for the body of the fleet: as for the frigate *Leonora*, she was ordered to stretch towards the *Merchantmen*.

In this order we came up with the enemy, and as I was going to range under the lee of the *Houstardie*, she filled her head-sails, and let fall her fore-sail. This unforeseen change of posture, wrought a change also in our disposition; for being now becalmed by the sails of this ship, it was impossible for me to shoot a-head of her to board the commadore; and at the same time wearing round upon me with intent to bring me between two fires,
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I was under a necessity of boarding the *Houftardie*. The captain of the *Non-fuch*, who followed me close, resolved at once to cut short the commadore's way, and then board him upon the broadside, which he executed with most admirable conduct. The *Black Eagle* and *la Favere* at the same time attacked the third ship, and the *Leonora* ran into the midst of the fleet.

The *Delft* and the *Houftardie* were boarded with equal bravery, but with very different success; on board of this last I entered the half of my officers, and 120 of my best men, who carried her; and instantly putting off from her, I ran in all haste to succour the *Non-fuch*, who lay grappled to the commadore, from whom she endured a terrible fire; and I came up with them just as my consort's poop was blown up into the air, by means of a cannon-ball, which took some boxes full of cartridges: by this accident 80 men were either crushed to death or tossed
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into the sea, and the fire being ready to spread downwards towards her powder-room, I, in a prodigious fright, expected the moment she was to perish. In the midst of this extraordinary danger M. *Baucher*, captain of the *Non-such*, had presence of mind and calmness enough to cut away his grapples, and put off from the enemy. Provoked at this cruel disappointment, and dreading the loss of this brave relation, which I thought unavoidable, I advanced to fill his place, and to take revenge for him: I therefore boarded the enemy, but it was a very bloody business, thro' the briskness of our mutual fire, and thro' the courage of the Baron *de Wassenauer*, who received me with astonishing fury. The bravest of my officers and people were four times repulsed, and there fell so great a number of them, that notwithstanding my indignation, and all my endeavours, I was forced to put off, to give breath and courage to my disheartened men,

and

and to repair our damages, which were very considerable.

In this interval the *Black Eagle* and *la Falvere* took the third *Man of War*, and this last being within haile of me, I ordered M. *Desaudrais du Fresne*, the captain of her, to make towards the *Delft*, to keep her in play, thereby to give me time to return to the charge. He did so, and was unfortunately killed at the very first of the onset: this fresh disappointment raised a confusion in that frigate, who brought to and waited for me. Afflicted at the death of this brave man, I called out to the *Sieur Langallerie*, his second, and bid him follow me to take vengeance for him. In effect I returned headlong to board this formidable baron, resolved to carry him or perish in the attempt. This last attack was so smart and so bloody, that all the officers of this commadore were either killed or wounded, as he himself was very dangerously in four places, and fell down upon his quarter deck, where

where he was taken with his sword in his hand. The *Falvere* had a share in this victory, by boarding and throwing a supply of 40 men into me.

Above half my ship's company perished upon this occasion, I here lost a cousin-german, who was one of my lieutenants, and two other relations in the *Nonfuch*, without reckoning several other officers wounded. This fight was succeeded by a storm, and by a most frightful night which parted us from each other: my ship, who had received several shot between wind and water, and had loosened her seams by the shock of repeated boardings, was ready to founder: I had but a young officer and 55 of the most indifferent hands in all my ship's company left, and had above 500 *Dutchmen* to take care of, who were set to pump and bale the water out of us fore and aft. Thus were this officer and I obliged to stand continually over them with sword and pistol to keep them under. Notwithstanding all our

endeavours, ordinary and extraordinary, the water gained upon us, and I was reduced to the necessity of tossing my upper tier of guns and those of my quarter-deck, overboard, together with my shot, iron-crows, and even a spare yard, and my hen-coops. At length our distress was such, that the water dashed up between decks from the hold, every time the ship fetched a rowl. In the midst of this danger nothing affected me more strongly, than to see 80 wounded men endeavouring to escape the water, by crawling along upon their hands and feet, with bitter groans, whilst I had it not in my power to administer the least comfort to them. At length, death incompassing us on all sides, I resolved to steer for the coast of *Brittany*, which I knew could not be far from sight, that we might at least perish nearer to the land; with this only hope, that some one or other might save himself upon something that might float from the ship, as she sunk down: but as in
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steering this course, our larboard-side lay to the wind, which side of us had suffered most in boarding and by the enemy's fire, it happened, that the ship stooping to starboard, several of the leaks on the opposite side were out of the water, so that it did not pour into us so fast as before, which we perceiving, redoubled our labour, and freed our ship of two foot of water. While we were intent upon this, the look-outs on the bow-sprit end, cried out, that *they heard the sea break upon the rocks*, and that we should be amongst them, if we did not immediately come upon the other tack. It is natural to fly that danger which presses the hardest upon us, to prolong life; therefore we stood off upon the other tack, and in less than half an hour our ship was as full of water as before; thrice we tacked, and thrice our leak increased and decreased before day. As soon as day appeared we saw we were between the Island of *Groué*, and the Coast of *Brittany*; upon which I directly or-

dered a red flag to be spread in our main shrouds, and fired guns at proper distances, to draw a speedy assistance to us. Happily for us the wind was pretty much dullered, and a number of boats coming off to us, they relieved our people who were quite spent, and carried us into *Port-Louis*. By good luck the three *Dutchmen of War*, with 12 *Merchantmen* of their fleet, arrived there the same day, as also the frigates, the *Black Eagle*, la *Falvere* and the *Leonora*. The *Non-such* came into the same *Port* the day after, having been twenty times upon the brink of destruction by fire, and by water.

One of my first cares was to enquire after the *Baron de Wassenaer*, whom I knew to have been grievously wounded. I was told, that he had been carried ashore to *Port-Louis*; wherefore I went in haste thither to offer him my purse, and all the other assistance in my power. This generous warrior, whose bravery had inspired me with
love

love and emulation of him, would not favour me with accepting of my offers: he only returned me a great many thanks, and gave me to understand, that he should have been much easier under his misfortune, if he could but have been conveyed to my ship, where he was perswaded he should have been indulged in some matters, that were denied him by those who made themselves masters of his ship. This confession of his confounded me, and kindled me so warmly against the commanding officer, that I reproached him in the most bitter terms, and mortified him in the most sensible manner, and have never been able to look on him since with a favourable eye, notwithstanding he was my near relation. In truth, he that cannot love and respect bravery, even in his enemy, has neither a heart, nor generosity. One of my greatest disappointments throughout this affair was, that I could not convince the valarous Baron *de Wassenaer*, of the great esteem and veneration I had

had for his worth, in so glaring a manner as I could have wished.

Upon the report which M. the *Comte de Pontchartrain*, made of this action to the king he had the goodness to take me into his service, in quality of captain of a light frigate. Sensible of this favour as much as a subject could be, who so abounded with zeal for, and admiration of, his *Prince*, as I did; I would not so much as wait till my shattered vessels were unrigged, and laid up, but went immediately to return thanks to the king. I was presented to him in his closet by M. *de Pontchartrain*, and there received such tokens of his goodness, and approbation of my service, as affected me in the more lively manner, as I was attached to that great king by the strongest natural inclination. The Baron *de Wassenauer* had also the honour of saluting him, when he was cured of his wounds, and for his valour, received from his majesty such testimonies of esteem and bene-

benevolence, as were perfectly extraordinary. Certain it is, that no man knew better how to set a just value upon merit, or to reward it accordingly. The aversion I have always had to a courtier's life, was no obstacle to my close attendance upon him, to assure him of my fidelity and disinterestedness towards him, which his natural penetration saw plain enough. However, it was not by this means only that I expected to merit a continuation of his favour. I solicited and obtained two ships from his majesty the *Solid* and the *Bird*, wherewith to infest his enemies, and cruise upon the Coast of *England*. To this purpose I went post to *Brest*, and in my way engaged two other ships of 36 guns at *St. Malo*. These ships set sail for *Brest*, and we were upon the point of departing together upon our cruise, when the king was pleased to give peace to all *Europe*, and the proclamation of it obliged me to return into the harbour with my ships, and lay them up.

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During the four years of this peace, I passed my winters at *Brest*, which was my quarters, and my summers at *St. Malo*, whither, ever after that town had been bombarded by the *English*, the king every spring sent a body of officers and men belonging to the navy. I every where carried about with me the same weakness in reference to women, and the same relish for all sorts of exercise. In the midst of this an affair happened to me at *St. Malo*, which drew its origin from the first time I went out to sea. It was as follows.

A Gentleman of the neighbourhood with whom I made my first voyage, and who at that time professed great friendship for me, perceiving at our return that I had won some money at play, took it into his head to sharp me of it; and because that was not an easy matter to do, I being well versed in the usual flights, he thought good to propose, that I should go with him to the country-house of an elder brother

ther he had, there to divert ourselves with hunting. I consented to his proposal, and was received in the handsomest manner imaginable. The result of all this civility was to engage me to play at picket every night with the elder. I had no mistrust, and did not mind that my affectionate friend looked into my hand as he walked backwards and forwards, and, by signs agreed on between them, directed his brother in his play: so that the feigned caresses of my perfidious companion, blinded me to that degree, that I did not suspect him till I had lost 40 pistoles I had about me, and 30 more upon my word. At my departure I was obliged to leave them my note for the sum, but desired them not to speak a word of it, because of some caution I had to take with regard to my mother, assuring them, that at my return from my next voyage I would punctually pay them. And in truth, notwithstanding the well-grounded mistrust I had of their baseness, I should have been

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been as good as my word, had they not been ungenerous enough to summon my mother before a judge, as soon as I was embarked, in hopes to make her pay my note. Their cause was rejected, and their unmanly procedure provoked me: and, therefore far from paying them, at my return I pretended on the contrary to make them refund (had it been possible) the 40 pistoles they had tricked me out of. Thus the affair stood, till a considerable time afterwards; when they thought proper to summon me before the marshals of *France*, and, in default of appearance, they took out an order to arrest me. This happened when I was at *Versailles*, and I went directly to present myself to our judges; and gave them such a natural description of the evil dealing of those persons, and of some of their tricks, which I had sufficient proof of, that they were persuaded of my injury, severely reprimanded my adversaries, ordered me to withdraw, and discharged

At the end of these four years of peace, I was nominated to embark on board the *Dauphine*, as second to the Counte *de Hautefort*, at present lieutenant-general or vice-admiral, who commanded her; but the war breaking out, I left her, to fit out the

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king's two frigates, the *Bellona* and the *Raillense*. As there were no other ships in *Brest*, fit for cruisers, I was forced to content myself with these two, engaging two others of 40 guns, to join me at *Brest* from *St. Malo*.

One of them commanded by M. *Porée*, who by his actions had acquired the character of a very brave and intelligent man, came to me the first, the other delaying too much, we sail'd out, and cruised upon the *Orkneys*. We there took three *Dutch* ships coming from *Spitz-bergen*; but the weather parting us, two of our prizes were lost on the coast of *Scotland*. The storm abating, and endeavouring to join my consorts, I instead of them, discovered a *Dutch Man of War* of 38 guns, who cruised to protect the herring-fishers. I bore down upon her, and heaving out my colours, got my sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that I might board her the easier. This ship perceiving herself to be as strong as me, far from edging away, clewed up her

her main-sail and fore-sail, and brought to with her main-top-sail to the mast, and her fore-top-sail full: I ranged up under her lee, and as soon as she saw my bow-sprit-end stretching along her quarter, she shivered her main-top-sail, let fall her fore-sail, and suddenly rounding in the braces of her head-sails, wore so fast upon me, that I could not prevent my bow-sprit-end from running into her main-shrouds. In this disadvantageous posture I stood all the enemy's fire, without being able to answer with above two guns forward, and I had been certainly gone, if I had not instantly ordered all my ship's company to jump on board of her. My youngest brother, who was my first lieutenant, was the first that entered, killed one of the officers in my sight, and distinguished himself by actions above his years; and this example of intrepidity, so animated the rest of my people, that no-body staid with me but one of my pilots, with the cabin-boys, and the steers-men. The

Dutch captain, and all his officers were wounded, and their ship taken. I had already received two shot in my lazaretto, four others in my bow-sprit and fore-mast, and three in my main-mast; so that all his artillery raking me fore and aft, I was under a necessity of exerting myself, or of perishing without resource.

Our two ships were so disabled by this shock, that I was obliged to go into a harbour of *Shetland* to refit: we were there surprized by a violent gale of wind, which putting me into the utmost danger of being lost at anchor, I was forced to get under sail, and leave my prize behind me; she sailed out from thence a little while afterwards, and was cast away upon the coast of *Scotland*. Again, I took another *Dutch* ship which foundered, and it was as much as I could do, and that with great danger, to save a part of her crew.

Disheartened by this continual storm, and not meeting my consort, I steered
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for the chops of the channel, there to cruise out the remainder of my provisions: but the same stormy weather pursued me, and in the night carried away my bow-sprit, fore-mast, and main-top-mast. This accident struck us with the terrors of death, but providence preserved and enabled me to reach the harbour of *Brest*, where I laid up my ship.

My two consorts were to the full as unfortunate. Mr. *Porée* met with another *Dutch Man of War*, whom he attacked briskly, and was going to board her, when a cannon-ball carried away his arm: this brave man was at the same time so unfortunate, that a moment afterwards he was again very dangerously wounded in the belly, which he miraculously survived.

The *Raillense*, commanded by a relation of mine, was forced to scud away before the wind, and was carried towards *Lisbon*, where she put in, and came to *Brest* without any prize.

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The following year the king granted me the *Eclatant* of 66 guns, the *Furious* of 62, and the *Welcome* of 30. I commanded the first, but mounted no more than 58 guns in her, and but 56 in the *Furious*, to make them the lighter. M. *Desmarais Hurpin* lieutenant of the port commanded the last ship. To these three ships I joined two frigates from St. *Malo* of 30 guns, in order to destroy the *Dutch* fishery upon the coast of *Spitz-bergen*.

These two frigates coming to me as I lay at *Brest*, we set sail; and upon advice received, that fifteen *Dutch East India Men* were coming north about, I judged it proper to cruise a few days off the *Orkneys*. When we had got that length we made fifteen sail of ships, which we could not well distinguish because it was hazy weather. Our expecting the same number of ships from the *East Indies*, made us think these were them, and accordingly we made sail to take a nearer view of them; but the weather clearing

clearing up, we saw plainly that they were a squadron of large *Dutch Men of War*, who were cruising for those we sought after; wherefore we crowded from them with all the sail we could make. However, there were amongst them, five or six ships, who being newly cleaned, sailed so well, contrary to custom of the *Dutch*, that they visibly gained upon the *Furious* and the *Welcome*; but chiefly this last was upon the point of falling into their hands. I could not persuade myself to see them taken without striking one stroke, and as my ship, the *Eclatant*, was the best of my little squadron, I clewed up my courses, and fell astern of them to cover them; therein acting the part of a good shepherd who ventures his life for his flock. God blessed my endeavours, and ordered it so, that the first ship, of 60 guns, who came and fought me at the distance of pistol-shot, was in three or four broadsides exchanged at yard-arm and yard-arm or very close to each other, unmaisted entirely

entirely, and as naked as a punt. The four ships who were nearest up with the *Furious* and the *Welcome*, stood immediately for me, to succour their consort. I waited calmly for them, and saluted them, one after another, with some shot as they passed by, in hopes to provoke them to fall upon me: in effect they spent so much time in cannonading of me alternately as gave my squadron an opportunity of getting at a good distance from them, and even of losing sight of them by means of a fog which arose. The enemy kept pace with me as well as they could, and cannonaded me whilst they had me under their guns, but I no sooner saw my consorts out of danger than I made all the sail I could and left this squadron in a very little time; and then I steered after my consorts, and was so happy as to rejoin them before night.

The Chevalier *de Courserac*, lieutenant of a *Man of War*, who was my second captain, assisted me both with
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his hand and head, in this nice and perilous affair : we had about 30 men killed and wounded ; and I cannot but say that of all my actions this has given me the greatest satisfaction, and has seemed to me the most likely to win me the esteem of such hearts as are truly generous.

Our meeting thus with the enemy, prevented me from cruising any longer in these latitudes, and made me go strait for *Spitz-bergen*, where we took, ransomed, or burnt, 40 of the whale-fishermen. The weather being foggy made us miss a great number of others. I received advice of 200 of them in the port of *Groven-haven*, and steering thither was between the capes of the bay, when there arose a thick fog, which brought on so dead a calm, that our ships, being insensible of the helm, were horsed by the currents upon the north end of the island of *Voland*, in 81 degrees of northern latitude, and so near to an icy coast, which stretches out of sight, that it was as much as we could

could do to keep clear of it: at length a faint breeze wafted us to the offing, and enabled us to return to the harbour of *Groven-haven*. Where being arrived, we found there had been above two hundred *Dutch* ships, but were moreover told, that during the calm, they had been towed away by a great number of boats, which the whale-fishermen are always well provided with, and that they had moved off under the convoy of two *Men of War*.

The fogs are so frequent and lasting in these latitudes, that we were thereby led into a great error, which well deserves to be related at length. In our ships we use half-hour glasses, which the man at the helm turns 8 times to make up the four hours of the watch, which being expired, one half of the ship's company relieves the other which has been upon deck. Now it is very common for the man at the helm to shorten his watch by turning the glass before it is quite run out,

out, which is called *eating of sand*. This error, or rather, this mischievous practice, can be rectified by no other means than an observation, and as we had not seen the sun for nine days together, and as it was the season of the year when he only wheels round the horizon, whence you have no distinction between day and night, it happened, that the helms-men had *eaten so much sand*, that at the end of nine days they had changed the day into night, and the night into day; in-
 somuch that every ship in the squadron discovered an error of eleven hours at least, when the sun appeared again: this had so disconcerted our hours for meals and rest, that we generally were inclined to sleep when the victuals was served up, and to eat when we were retiring to rest. We took no notice of this, till we had been undeceived by the return of the sun.

After we had cruised two months in these latitudes, the season required that we should return to *France* with
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our prizes. In this long run we had frequent and violent gales of wind, which parted some of our prizes and us; some were cast away, some were re-taken by the enemy, and we carried 15 into the river of *Nantes*, together with an *English* ship laden with sugar, which we took on the way; after which we returned to *Brest*, there to lay up our ships.

At my return hither, I obtained leave of the king, to build two ships of 54 guns each, called the *Jason* and the *August*, together with a corvet of 8 guns, called the *Fly*. I commanded the *Jason*, M. de Marques the *August*, and M. de Bourgneufgravé the *Fly*.

These ships being in a readiness I sailed, and fixed my cruising station off the islands of *Scilly*, which are much frequented by the *English*, as they are the land their merchant-men and fleets generally make. Being arrived there I found an *English Guard-de-Coast*, of 72 guns, called the *Revenge*,

venge, who came to take a view of me within cannon-shot: and tho' I was three leagues off from my consorts, I nevertheless stood for this ship with my sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, intending to board her; on the other hand the enemy steered towards the island of *Scilly*, and I never could come up with her any nearer than pistol-shot; we sailed so exactly alike that we fought three hours without losing or gaining an inch upon each other, and ran the *August* and the *Fly* out of sight. But still I pursued her, and fought her so briskly, that to avoid my boarding her she ran into the harbour of *Scilly*, and I was obliged to tack to rejoin my consorts.

A few days afterwards the *Fly*, being separated from us in the night, was met by this same ship, the *Revenge*, and taken by her: she had been reinforced by the hands belonging to the *Falmouth*, an *English Man of War* of 54 guns, on purpose to find out my consort and I, and to fight us,

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at least the commander of her boasted as much to the captain of the *Fly*, when he was taken.

In the mean time, we one night made a fleet of 30 sail standing out of the channel, and kept sight of them till day-light shewed us, that they were convoyed by an *English Man of War* of 54 guns, called the *Coventry*. I made the signal for the *August* to run into the midst of the fleet, and advanced myself towards the *Man of War* to board her. A little too much heat made me shoot a-head of her, and miss boarding her the first time, but I tacked upon her, and carried her in less than half an hour. Twelve other *English* ships of this fleet were taken, the rest escaped by the favour of the night.

In carrying all these prizes to *Brest*, we saw two large ships with a corvette, who bore down upon us before the wind, and brought to about a league to windward of us. I presently knew my poor *Fly* with the *Revenge*
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and the *Falmouth*. This fight raised my blood, and altho' I was weakened in my ship's company, and pestered with so many prizes, I without hesitation set all my sails to the wind to join them, and give them battle. Then, far from making good their boast, they betook themselves to a shameful flight, and we chased them, till night coming on, it was necessary that I should turn towards my prizes, and conduct them to *Brest*.

Whilst I lay here, I obtained a farther permission from the king, to build a frigate of 26 guns, called the *Valeur*, designing to bestow the command of her on my young brother, whose activity and bravery gave me great hopes of him. While this frigate was on the stocks, I put out to sea again with my two ships, and two frigates of 20 guns that joined us. In company with them, I took three *English* prizes, in sight of the *Lizard*: I had hoised out my long-boat, manned with two officers and 60 of my best hands, in order to secure

our prizes, when all on a sudden two large *Men of War* appeared off the *Cape*, and came down upon us at so prodigious a rate, that I had hardly time to take a part of my boats-crew in again, or to prepare myself for a fight. I nevertheless made the signal for it, and stemmed with the largest of the two ships, called the *Rochester*, of 66 guns, designing to board her. The enemy perceiving this, and that I was within pistol-shot of her, ready to come in yard-arm and yard-arm with her, let fly her broad-side at me, laden with double round and partridge, together with a volley of her small arms, all which tore to pieces my head-sails, which being now destitute of yard-arms, bow-lines and sheets, flatted to the mast and took me a-stays. Whilst I was in this posture, she had time to repeat her broad-side, with which she raked me fore and aft, and killed and wounded me a great number of men: all my masts were now disabled, and my main-top-sail-yard being cut in

two

two, unfortunately fell upon my main-sail, and tore it down so on each side that I could not work my ship. As soon as we had fallen round off, all I could do was to return the enemy my broad-side, and put before the wind to repair my damages; but in doing this I was obliged to range very near to the second ship, with whom my consort cannonaded far enough off. We exchanged our broad-side, and our small arms with her as we passed by, and then kept on with the wind ast to join the *August*, that we might return to the charge as soon as we had got into some order again. I wish I could not say, that my consort far from sustaining me, or waiting for me, added to the canvass he had abroad, to avoid both me and the enemy's two ships. These, one on my star-board, the other on my lar-board side, fought me very briskly for above an hour, and I fired at them from both my broad-sides. While I was in this posture I would never so much as set our small sails, not consent

that they should cut away the long-boat, we had in tow, that we might not betray any weakness in sight of the enemy, nor intimidate my consort, who did not overflow with courage upon this occasion, and who crowded all the sail he could to get the faster from me. In the mean time, by a very particular favour of providence, my ship without a main-top-sail or small sails, and with a long-boat in tow, out-went the *August* with all sails standing; and at length, having to no purpose made my signal to speak with her, I was obliged to fire one of my fore-chase, which made her clew up her sails. The enemy seeing us now joined, put before the wind, and gave over the fight, having first, each of them, fired a broad-side at my consort; a sufficient indication of the value they had for her conduct. I pass over, as lightly as I can, the ingratitude of this gentleman, whom I had saved but the very year before from a squadron of *Dutch*. I should
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not even have mentioned it, were I not obliged to justify myself, in that I did not take these two *English* ships, who should not have escaped me, had I been tolerably supported. The behaviour of the two frigates was not a whit more commendable than that of the *August*; far from keeping so near to me, as to have been able to have poured any men into me, in case I had boarded the enemy, as I intended they should, they went off to a distance with our prizes, to see fair play between us.

After this action I hastened to *Brest*, there to cashire the captain of the *August*, and to procure the command of her for some officer of better inclination; but he was so powerfully protected by the principal officers there, that I was forced to let him continue in his command during the rest of this campaign: wherefore I went out in company with the king's ship, called the *Proteus*, commanded by M. de *Roche-feuille*, a captain of great reputation, chusing

chusing rather to act under the orders of a gallant man, than to command such people, as I could not depend upon. We ended this cruise in the chops of the channel, without doing any thing worthy of notice, and came back to refit at *Brest*.

The *Jason* and the *August* were fresh careened there, this last commanded by the Chevalier *de Nesmand*; and the *Valeur* being compleated, my young brother took on him the command of her. We fixed our station on the isles of *Scilly*, and the coast of *England*; and there we fell in with two *English Men of War*, the *Elizabeth* of 72 guns, and the *Chatham* of 54, who steered down upon us to give us battle. We spared them half the way. I undertook to board the *Elizabeth* on the lar-board side, and our broadsides and small arms were discharged at yard-arm and yard-arm. In the height of the smoak her fore-top-mast came down, which the great fire of both the ships prevented me from seeing,

ing, so that I could not shorten sail soon enough to grapple her, but stretched a pistol-shot a-head of her much against my will: the enemy made the best use she could of this accident, and coming under my stern, gave me her star-board broad-side, which she had not yet fired: I came round upon her at the same time, and answered her with mine, and kept her under the continual fire of my small arms, and steered so as not to miss boarding her the second time. The captain of the *Elizabeth* in vain endeavoured all he could to avoid me; I stuck so close to him, that he could not help being grappled, and all my officers and people being drawn up in a readiness to enter her, her ship's company took a sudden fright, ran from their quarters, and not daring to sustain the charge, her colours were struck, after a fight of an hour and a half.

In the beginning of the engagement, the *August* and *Valeur* discharged their broad-sides at the two enemies, and per-

perceiving me wholly intent upon the *Elizabeth*, they went to board the *Chatham*, but they missed their aim; for the captain of this last ship had kept so much to windward of his consort, as to be able to chuse whether he would be grappled or no; and the more, because his ship went better than theirs, and consequently he might fight at what distance he pleased: as soon as he saw the *Elizabeth* given up, he crowded away to save himself. Observing this as I lay board-and-board with the *Elizabeth*, and knowing that I by far out-failed my consorts, I left the prize to their care, and chased the *Chatham* myself, for I knew her to be an excellent ship. I did my utmost to get up with her, but never could any nearer than musquet-shot; for she was so lucky as to be neither disabled in her masts or rigging by the several broad-sides I gave her, and having chased, and fought her 'till we came in sight of *England*,
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the night only made me forbear, that I might rejoin my consorts.

The next day there arose a storm, which dispersed us from each other, and put the *Elizabeth* in great danger of being lost upon the coast of *Brittany*. This storm being over, I joined the *Elizabeth* and *August* once more, and we sailed together for *Brest*. In our way, we spied two privateers of *Flushing* to lee-ward, who impudently lay by for us; I ran down upon them, and having out-stript my consorts about two leagues, I got the length of the head-most of them, who lay braced to about musquet-shot from each other. I thought it would be best to give this ship my broad-side, and a volley of small arms, as I passed by her, she being the stoutest of the two, having 40 guns mounted, and called the *Amazon*. I was in hopes thereby to have disabled her, in some respect or other; so that leaving her to the *August*, who was coming up with all the expedition she could, I might join and take
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her consort, who had 36 guns: but the first being not much disabled by my fire, they both turned tail, the one one way, the other another, so that I was left to my choice which to follow. I cast my eye upon the strongest, commanded by a resolute *Corsair*, who defended himself like a lion for near two hours: it is true, that during the little time I took, in making up to his consort, he had been dextrous enough to gain a musquet-shot to windward of me, and so put it out of my power to grapple him: too great a confidence had even prevented me from making the necessary preparations to board or be boarded: in the mean time, he had the boldness to edge down upon me in the midst of the fight, and to get his sprit-sail-yard fore and aft to board me, or make me give way. Upon this I stopt my fire in general, and in haste dispatching a couple of serjeants, to bring up pole-axes, cutlasses, pistols and grenadoes, I haled my mizen abroad, and clapt my
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my helm a-lee to favour his intention of boarding me. This when he saw, it cooled him, and he flew up to the wind again; so that he only struck against my cat-head. In this posture I gave him a volley of small arms, and a broad-side of my great guns, laden with partridge. This fire was succeeded by three others, so warmly repeated, and as we lay almost at yard and yard-arm, that all his masts fell by the board, and he was shaved as smooth as a punt. This brave officer did not submit 'till the very last extremity urged him. I often observed him, during the fight, with his cutlafs in his hand, running upright fore and aft his ship through a storm of musquet-balls, which tore his hat and his cloaths: and indeed it was a real pleasure to me to treat him with all the distinction his great worth deserved; I am even sorry I have forgot the name of this courageous person, whom I might have made known to the public.

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The *August* having for a considerable time chased the other privateer, but to no purpose, returned to me with the *Elizabeth*, and we all four arrived a few days afterward in the road of *Brest*.

The *Valeur*, commanded by my young brother, being parted from us by the storm, which took us the day after we had possessed ourselves of the *Elizabeth*, met a privateer of *Flushing* also, as strong as himself in men and guns. My brother gave him battle, and having brought down one of his top-masts and boarded him, became master of him after an obstinate defence. He was busied in repairing the damages both he and his prize had sustained, when two others of the enemy's privateers of 36 guns each, allured thither by the noise of guns, came thundring down upon him, forced him to let go his prize, and chased him into the harbour of *S. John de Luz*, where he took shelter. A little while after, he sailed out from thence, and took

took a good *English* ship bound from *Barbadoes*, and laden with sugar and indigo; he was conducting her to *Brest*, where he reckoned to find me, but in his way thither, he had the misfortune to meet with another *Flushing* of 44 guns, who fell on him, to make him quit his prize; but notwithstanding the *Valeur*'s crew was much weakened, and she besides not half so strong in cannon as her enemy; my brother stood the assault, and was twice successively boarded without moving, and behaved with so much courage and conduct, that if we believe his ship's company, he had certainly carried the *Crosair*, if, in the last shock, he had not been mortally wounded by a ball, which tore all his hip. This unfortunate wound he received just as the *Flushings* had left their upper decks, and that part of the *Valeur*'s people were entering the enemy. This dismal accident drew them back into their own ship again, and was the cause that they put off from this ship, who did

dare so much as to renew the charge, or take advantage of the confusion this misfortune had caused: so that my poor brother after having secured his *English* prize, came expiring to *Brest*. I ran on board of him in the utmost hurry and dejection of mind; and laying him upon mattresses, carried him ashore in my own boat, and saw that he had all possible help administered to him. My care and my affection could not rescue him from a mortal wound; he died a few days after, with great constancy and perfect resignation.

It was thus that the cruel fates snatched two brothers from me, one after another. The noble spirit I had observed in them both at so tender an age, gave me infinite expectations, and their bravery would have been of great assistance to me in all my enterprizes: I loved them tenderly, and was the more grieved at the death of this last as it awakened in my mind the sorrowful remembrance of the first, who died in my arms; the sad recollection
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of this, notwithstanding the length of time, and all the suggestions of reason, pierces my heart even to this day.

At this time 17 large *Men of War* rode before *Brest*, under the command of the marquis *de Coetlogon*, at that time lieutenant-general or vice-admiral, and upon news that the *Englifs* had assembled together their *Guard de Coasts*, and of them had formed a squadron of 21 sail of *Men of War*, who stopped up the entrance of the channel, this admiral, valorous, and zealous for the service of the king, burned with a desire to go out and fight them. This honourable occasion suspended my affliction, and made me hasten the cleaning of my two ships. My activity in getting this done, soon enabled me to offer my service to the marquis *de Coetlogon*: I assured him that as I thought it my duty, so it would be a very sensible pleasure to me might I serve under his command, upon an occasion wherein I hoped to make myself worthy of his favour, and that I

would wait on him as much, and as long as he should judge proper. These offers were received with great tokens of esteem, and acknowledgment, but this good disposition was rendered fruitless, by a council of war which was held on this affair, by the marshal *de Chateaurenaud*, in which the enemy was pronounced to be of superior force, and the result was, that part of the squadron should return into harbour. This resolution was communicated to me by the marquis *de Coetlogon*, who seemed to be much mortified thereat, and I was very much so thro' the concern I had at heart for the glory of his majesty's arms, which certainly would have prevailed upon this occasion. This I say by experience, having had the misfortune, some time afterwards, of falling into the midst of the *English* squadron. The ships that composed it, altho' more in number, were inferior in strength to those under the marquis *de Coetlogon*. It has been the fate

fate of almost all the councils that have been held in the navy, to resolve on the most dishonourable and most disadvantageous side of the question. In truth, in all actions of great danger and doubtful success, it is for the commander in chief to decide without the advice of a council, and to run the risque of his fortune be it good or bad; otherwise nature who abhors distraction, suggests to the counsellors so many plausible reasons upon the misfortunes to be dreaded, that the majority carries it.

To pass this over, the marquis *de Coetlogon*, not being his own master so far as to gratify his martial inclinations, desired me no longer to delay my departure. I sailed out with the *Jason* and the *August*. Two days afterwards being in the chops of the channel, we, in the night saw that a ship stemmed with, and passed between, us. We tack'd upon her, and kept close in with her; and at day-break I was within musquet-shot to windward and a-stern of her,

her, and the *August* was within the same distance and to lee-ward. I presently knew her to be the *Chatham* of 54 guns, who escaped from me when the *Elizabeth* was taken. The captain of her knew my ship also, and all at once put before the wind: we did the same, and keeping him between us, his urgent situation obliged him to begin the fight with the *August*, who on her part cannonaded him smartly. The apprehension I was under, that this ship would get from me again, had made me order all my people to lye flat on the deck, that I might come up the swifter with her, and board her at once without standing to cannonade. I was almost at the point of putting this in execution, when the man at the mast-head cried out that he saw several ships making toward us, with all their sail. I took my prospective, and, knowing them to be the *English* squadron, I instantly tacked, and made the signal to the Chevalier *de Nesmond* to do the same;

same; but he not being able to distinguish my signal for the smoke, it was some time e'er he minded it. As soon as he perceived it, he tacked and left the *Chatham* in such distress that she was obliged to put herself upon the career. We made the best of our way with all the sail we could spread, but this squadron which consisted of the best ships in *England*, and all fresh cleaned, visibly gained upon my consort whom I did not care to forsake, and the affair seeming to be serious, I advised him to throw his anchors, his long-boat, his spare-masts and yards overboard, in short, to spare nothing to save the king's ship.

All this was to no purpose, the enemy who brought the first of the wind with them, were, at 5 of the clock, within cannon-shot of us. I now saw too late, that I could be of no assistance to my consort against such a number of ships, who each of them sailed better than him, and that it would be madness to lose two ships instead

stead of one. With this regard, I made a signal to him to keep near to the wind, for I had observed that to be the best of his going; for my part I stood away a little larger: my thought in this was, that the enemy would not divide for fear of the marquis *de Coetlogon* who might fall upon them, and so had room to hope that one of us might save himself, and perhaps both, if the enemy should keep their eye upon the *Jason* alone, who was an excellent ship. But they took such measures as quite disconcerted my scheme; six of them were sent after the *August*, and the remaining fifteen chased me. One of them, called the *Worcester*, of 60 guns, overhauled me at an extreme rate, so that I had hardly time to prepare myself for the fight, and to see that every one was in his post, before she came upon us. The hurry with which all my people prepared for the approaching action, had made the gunners of my lower tier forget to lash up the ship's
oars

oars to the carlings of the upper deck, and they threw some of them overboard. Now my curiosity tempted me to ask the name of so surprizing a ship, and before the fight began I hailed her by an interpreter. The answer I received was followed by a general fire of her great guns, and small arms given almost at yard-arm and yard-arm with me. Every one of these shot hulled me, and the sea being very smooth, I should have had a great slaughter of my people, had I not taken the precaution of making them lye flat upon their bellies, officers and all, with orders to rise up on the first signal I should give them, and cry out *vive le roy*, and point their guns leisurely one after another. This was executed successfully, I had but two men killed and three wounded, and with only my first fire I killed near 100 men on board the *Worcester*: this caused such a confusion on board of her, that she put before the wind, and did not return again to the charge
for

for three quarters of an hour ; but as she was sustained by several other ships, witnesses of her conduct, she continued to cannonade me upon my quarter, without ever daring to come along my side again. During this it fell calm, and the enemy after having harassed me till midnight, surrounded me on all sides and left me to rest: they thought it impossible I should get clear of them, and that at day-break they should take me with more ease, and less danger. I myself was so thoroughly convinced of this, that I called together all my officers, and declared to them, That not seeing by what means we were to save the king's ship, it would be very necessary to maintain the honour of his arms to the last extremity ; that our best way of proceeding would be to stand the fire, of all the ships that inclosed us, without returning a shot, and then make boldly up to the admiral, and board him ; that I myself would lay the *Jason* on board of him, and that I would perish rather than

than suffer the king's colours to be struck by any other hand than that of the enemy.

Messieurs *de la Faille*, and *du Bourgneufgravé*, my chief officers, were charmed with my resolution, and all unanimously declared they would die sooner than forsake me. When I had given out my orders in such a manner as to make this scene as great and as glaring as possible, I thought I was easier, and would therefore repose myself; but I could not shut my eyes, and returned again to my quarter-deck, where, with a heavy heart, I looked upon the ships that encompassed me about; among the rest, the commander in chief, remarkable for the three lights in her stern, and another in her main-top. In the midst of this melancholly occupation, about half an hour before day, I thought I perceived the horizon to blacken upon my star-board bow, and that the blackness increased by little and little; and therefore concluded that the wind was

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coming from that quarter; and as I had clewed up my courses for the calm, I set them again without any noise, and trimmed the rest of my sails so as to receive the breeze, which I hoped was coming towards us: it came indeed, and finding my sails in a readiness to receive it, suddenly gave me way. The enemy who slept in surety, and did not mind to take the same precaution, were all taken a-back, and lost a considerable time in trimming their sails to stand after me; this gave me a start of them of about gun-shot: from that first instant the wind came on stronger and stronger, and my ship sailing best in a leading gale, the enemy had no longer the same advantage over me as they had before. The *Worcester* came once more within musquet-shot of me, and cannonaded me upon the quarter; but I corresponded so smartly with her, that every broad-side made her sick of it. Thus we went on till noon and the wind still increasing, I sensibly left the

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the greatest part of the Squadron, and even the *Worcester* began to fall a little a-stern of me. It is certain that we looked on ourselves as people arisen from the dead, after expecting to be buried under the ruins of my poor *Jason*. I fell on my knees to return thanks to God, and held on my way for the first port in *France*; for I had been obliged to throw all my anchors, except one, over-board, together with my spare yards and top-masts, that I might save the king's ship.

The next day after this deliverance, I saw a *Flushing* of 20 guns, called the *Peacock*, and chased her till we came in sight of *Belle-Isle*, took her, and carried her to *Port-Louis*. I there found three others of the king's ships at anchor under the island of *Groué*, viz. the *Elizabeth* my prize, the *Achilles* and the *Faithful*, under the command of M. de *Riberté*, who only waited for a fair wind to carry him to *Brest*. I took care to furnish myself with a best bower-anchor, and a spare top-

maft at *Port-Louis*, and as I had given a rendezvous to the Chevalier *de Nesmond*, in case we should escape the enemy's squadron, I thought it my duty, not to leave one of the king's ships any longer exposed to the power of the *English*, and the rather because she did not go well, and that their cruisers had got the way of sailing two or three at least in company. However, some who did not wish me well, taxed me with foolhardiness, and blamed me highly, for putting out to sea again, with a ship so shattered as the *Jason*: indeed her upper works were pretty much out of repair, and her poop was all open; but on the other hand she did not leak much, and her masts were well enough; so that her poop's being open could only be an inconvenience to me who always preferred my duty to any convenience.

I sailed out with the three king's ships that were bound for *Brest*, and parting with them off *Penmarrk*, I
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went strait to my rendezvous. I there cruised a fortnight, but saw nothing of the *August*, which I did by no means approve of; but instead of her I met a *Flushing*, the *Amazon*, whom I took a little while before, and was now fitted out by one of my friends to join me. Being in company we took two ships from *Curaco*, one of which she carried to *St. Malo*, and I the other to *Brest*. When I arrived there, I heard that the *August* was taken, of which misfortune here follow the particulars.

I have observed before, that the *August*, after having obeyed the signal for her to keep near the wind, was chased by six ships, detached from the *English* squadron. One of them came up with her and fought her, about the same time that I was attacked by the *Worcester*. The Chevalier *de Nesmond* defended himself in my sight very vigorously, and it falling calm, he shipped his oars which he had kept (we had each of us 30) to get off from

the enemy ; in this he was favoured by the calm which lasted all night, and at day-break next morning he was about 5 leagues distant from those who had chased him ; but the wind coming on they were up with him again at three of the clock the next afternoon, and fought him, one after another, brought his masts by the board, and finally took him the next day.

The *Valeur* shared the same fate ; she sailed from *Brest* a few days after us, under the command of M. *de St. Auban*, who had orders to join me at an appointed station, but she had the misfortune to fall in the way of the *Worcester*, who came up with her, disabled her, and took her.

These two ships thus taken, I had none but the *Jason* left, all the rest belonging to *Brest* were employed by the king ; and therefore I put to sea again with her only. I first took an *English* vessel in the mouth of the river of *Lisbon* ; from thence steering for the *Straits-mouth*, I fell in with
two

two *English* frigates, the one of 30 guns, a warrior, the other of 26, a *Merchant-Man*, and they resisted me three quarters of an hour; but as soon as they saw me on the point of boarding them they struck. As I was carrying these ships to *Brest*, I, in the latitude of *Lisbon*, took a ship laden with powder, for the enemy's forces, and finally a fifth off *Cape-Finister*. I carried all these prizes into *Brest*.

The next year I fitted out the *Jas-son*, and the *Flushing-Caper*, called the *Peacock*, of 20 guns. I conferred the command of this last upon M. *de la Faille*, who had served under me in quality of lieutenant, and second-captain, and always with the greatest warmth and fidelity. The *Hercules* also, of 54 guns, commanded by M. *Druis*, lieutenant of a *Man of War*, had orders from court to join me in the road of *Brest*: and I received a letter from the king, who ordered me to throw myself into *Cadiz*, at that time threatned with a siege, and to serve there

there with my three ships, under the command and orders of the marquis *de Valdecagnas*, captain-general and governour of the place. His majesty had been so good as to promote me to be captain of a *Man of War* at the last promotion, which was a fresh incentive, and redoubled my zeal in his service.

In the mean time the *Hercules* not coming to *Brest* so soon as expected, I sailed to *Port-Louis*, where she was, and in my way met a *Flussinger*, the *Middleburgh*, of 36 guns; I attacked her, took her, and carried her into *Port-Louis*. We there found the *Hercules* at anchor under the isle of *Groué*, and, after seeing the *Middleburgh* safe into harbour, we all three sailed away for *Cadiz*.

When we came into the latitude of *Lisbon*, about 15 leagues in the offing, we made a fleet of 200 sail, bound from *Brasil*, and convoyed by 6 *Portuguese Men of War*, from 50 to 80 guns. This fleet took up a
vast

vast space of the sea, but observing a cluster of 20 *Merchant-Men*, together with one of the *Men of War*, about 3 leagues to windward and apart from the body of the fleet, I thought we might speciously enough accost them under *English* colours, and have time to board both the *Man of War* and some of the *Merchant-Men*, before they could be succoured by the fleet.

The *Peacock* was at this time four leagues from us, but the time was too precious to wait for her, and it was improper to give the enemy any mistrust of us, by temporizing any longer. I only said to the captain of the *Hercules*, that we would fall on that cluster of ships, and that I would board the *Man of War*, whilst he took as many of the *Merchant-Men* as he could. Accordingly, we hove out *English* colours, and stood for the *Man of War*, as she lay braced to a-head of us; and at last clewing up my courses, and showing my white ensign, ranged
up

up under her lee, and gave her my broad-side. The enemy in a surprize answered me with but five or six guns, and, the continual fire of my small-arms preventing her from filling her head-sails, I had time to tack under my top-sails, and to lay her aboard upon the broad-side; I was upon the very point of grappling her, when the *Hercules* came up with all her sail, under my bow-sprit, and unnecessarily firing her broad-side, came so near me, that, to avoid the danger of coming all three foul of each other, I was forced to give my ship stern-way, and afterwards wear round. Being by this accident disappointed, so far as to miss laying fast hold on the enemy, who made no farther resistance, I thought it would not be amiss to leave her to my consort's care, and the rather because I failed best, and could come up faster with the *Merchant-Men*. Now from the first shot that passed between the convoy and me, all the *Merchant-Men* bore down upon the
body

body of their fleet, and on the other hand, the enemy's *Men of War* came flying to their relief, infomuch that I was within gun-shot of these last, before I came up with one of the *Merchant-Men*: and to crown the matter, my consort, instead of boarding the ship I left to him, and at once entering a good parcel of his men to secure her, amused himself with sending his long-boat on board of her; but the enemy, being now recovered from their first consternation, fired some musquet-shot into the long-boat, to prevent her coming on board: at length M. *Druis* called his boat back again, and cannonaded the enemy so briskly, that he cut her masts in pieces, infomuch that, when he sent his boat on board again, her fore-mast came by the board. During this, I was employed with keeping the other *Portugueze Men of War* in play at a distance, and to stop their course by provoking them all to fall upon me. At length, judging that I had given my consort time
enough

enough to secure the prize, I tacked that way, and got ready an hawser to take her immediately in tow: but was quite astonished, when M. *Druis* told me he had been obliged to quit her, she being ready to sink, and that it was not without difficulty he saved his people again out of her. As he was telling me this the day began to close, and, the other *Men of War* being within musquet-shot of us, there was no applying a remedy to this evil, and I could not help believing what he told me.

I kept in with this fleet all night, and at day-break I saw the ship we had taken the afternoon before, who, far from being sunk, had got up jury-masts, and lay in a line with the rest. Upon this I sent for M. *Druis*, and two of his principal officers to come on board of me, to know from them whether, in withdrawing their people from this ship, they had not at the same time laid hold on the captain or some one of the officers. M. *Druis*
answer-

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answered, that he was in such a hurry to save his people, upon seeing the other *Men of War* draw so near, and thro' the impatience he was under to come to my assistance, that he did not so much as dream of laying hold on any prisoners, and the less, because they assured him the ship would sink in a minute.

I understood by his discourse that this misfortune arose from the Plunder the sailors had got, and that those rascals, seeing the prize unmailed on the one side, and her consorts coming up to rescue her on the other, were afraid of falling, together with their booty, into the hands of the enemy, and to prevent it had cried out, that the *ship was sinking*, and that *there was no time to be lost, if they intended to save them*. Upon the whole it appearing to me, that M. *Druis* had been imposed on, I was willing to give him an opportunity to make amends for this mistake by a glaring action; and therefore ordered

N him

him to board the *Portugueze* commadore. I took upon me to cover him from the fire of the other ships whilst he made this attempt, and told him that to succeed in it, it would be best for his people to lye along upon their bellies, and not fire a single shot till his grapplings were thrown fore and aft on board the enemy, advising him to name half of his officers, a third of his small arms, and two men from each gun to enter the enemy, so that every post might, nevertheless, be tolerably well manned: farthermore I told him, that I would order M. *de la Faille*, in the *Peacock*, to lay him on board, as soon as he saw him grappled to the *Portugueze* commadore, and throw all his people into him, to supply the want of those who should enter the enemy, and by that means put him into a capacity of fighting as before; in fine, that if all these precautions were observed, I was morally certain, he must carry that great ship, who was pestered with goods between

tween decks, and whose crew made up of different nations was but little inured to war. At the same time I made it appear to M. *Druis*, that if I did not take this task upon myself, it was because the part I was to act in covering him, was not only the most difficult of the two, but also the most dangerous, but that I reckoned he would do me the same service, as soon as he had mastered his antagonist, and that he would cover me, when I, in my turn, should board some others.

All these precautions being taken, and the necessary orders given out, we bore down upon the *Portugueze Men of War*, who waited for us in a line, to windward of their fleet. We stood their first broad-sides without returning a shot, and M. *Druis* boarded the commadore, of 80 guns, with all the boldness and bravery imaginable, and threw his grapplings into her, and poured his whole broad-side, charged with double and round, into her hull, which together with his small arms,

and grenadoes, threw death and terror into this great ship: it is certain she had been taken, if M. *Druis's* skill had been equal to his intrepidity; but the commadore had filled her head-fails, set her sprit-sail and her fore-sail, and put her helm a-weather just before she was grappled. So these two ships thus lashed together, and both under way, the lashings or grapplings broke, and the ships were clear of each other before there was time enough to execute this design. I was a pistol-shot to lee-ward, and called out to them as loud as I could to brace about their sails, but in the hurry and confusion of such an attempt, I was not heard; besides, I had my hands full with the commadore's two seconds, who did not spare me. In the mean time, perceiving that my consort had been disappointed, and that the great ship was in such disorder that she hardly fired any more, I endeavoured to board her but without success, being a little too much under her lee. On the other
side

said M. *de la Faille*, who held himself in readiness to pour his ship's company into the *Hercules*, observing that the enemy had got loose, kept his wind, and steered as clear as he could of the enemy's ships, the least of whom was infinitely an over-match for him.

The *Hercules* being disabled stood off to recover herself, which as she was doing, she received the broadsides of the two ships, which did her more damage, than she had sustained by boarding the commadore. In this posture was I left, in the midst of the enemy; my sails and rigging were cut and tore in pieces, and the wind falling, my ship would hardly steer: but luckily for me the *Portugueze* were as unactive as myself, under all these disadvantages, being very heavy ships. One of them was not able to put about so as to stand after the rest, and lay muzzled a good distance from her consorts. I contrived to bring my head round towards her, by the help

of my oars, with design to fetch to windward of her, and board her; but my ship was in such a trim, that it was impossible for me to range nearer than pistol-shot to lee-ward of her; and as I had a great number of killed and wounded, and my ship had been roughly handled, I gave her my broadside as I passed by her, and then held on my way to keep out of the reach of the other ships, who cannonaded me without ceasing. As soon as I had got quite clear of the enemy, I made the signal for the *Hercules* and *Peacock* to come up to me; they did so, and M. *Druis* acquainted me with the reasons of his losing the hold he had on the enemy, and that he was not in a condition to renew the fight, having many killed and wounded. I answered, that we would make the last effort, and that the enemy being in a worse condition than ourselves, I was resolved to pursue them to the last. I then instantly bore down again upon

upon the enemy, and the *Hercules* and *Peacock* as soon made sail after me.

We began to see the coast of *Portugal*, and the wind freshning, the whole fleet pushed forwards to get into the river of *Lisbon* before night. My ship sailed so well, that I got two leagues a-head of my consorts, and, just as the day was closing, I joined the *Portuguese Men of War*, who kept a-stern to cover their fleet; but they were so sick of the fight, and so greatly disordered, that they forsook the *Man of War* we had taken the day before. It was now dark, and as I was going to lay my broadside to her's, and had got my boat out, and every thing ready to secure her, when we heard the surffal upon the rocks called *Arcathophas*, about musquet-shot to lee-ward of us: the unmaisted ship, near whom I was, struck upon them, and then run a-shore between the fort of *Cascais* and *St. Julian*. I had scarce time to get upon the

the other tack, to avoid perishing among the breakers.

Thus, by a continued series of misfortunes from the beginning to the end of this action, I lost one of the finest opportunities of my life. Providence, who designed me for farther labours, would not allow me to be enriched by the capture of this ship; but at first granted that she should be slightly forsaken, and afterwards that she should strike among the breakers the instant I was going to take her a second time: it seems as if the supreme being manifested his will, even in the midst of the engagement; three bullets, one after another, went between my legs, my coat and hat were shot through and through in several places by musquet-balls, and I was slightly wounded by some splinters; wheresoever I directed my foot-steps, thither the bullets followed me. I must own that their importunate repetition urged me to be serious, and to say thus within myself, *All thy endeavours are to*

no purpose, the danger which followeth thee so closely ought to remind thee, that it is in vain thou strivest with the decrees of providence. But as such thought often appear ridiculous to certain minds, I was not thereby prevented from pursuing the enemy with as much obstinacy, as if I had been sure of success.

After this unhappy accident, I rejoined my consorts, and we shaped our course for *Cadiz*, in obedience to the king's orders. The marquiss *de Valdecagnas* seemed to be very glad of our arrival, and committed the *Puntals* to my care. I went in thither with my ships, and posted the gunners and sailors, who were wanted to play the artillery of the two forts at the entrance, setting the rest of our ship's companies to put the battery of *St. Louis* into some order, which was not yet finished: farthermore I took care to have soldiers ready at hand to man the boats, whenever there should be occasion, and upon my own credit
(the

(the governor not caring to be at the expence) I manned and fitted up a ship, which I converted into a brander, and stationed her in that entrance of the *Puntals*, which might be the more easily forced: in a word, I omitted nothing that could secure the place committed to my charge.

In the mean time, I heard that there was not provision for above a fortnight in *Cadiz*, although the governor had used it as a pretence to extort very large contributions from the merchants; and I thought it my duty to represent to him, in pressing, but respectful terms, the necessity there was for taking in a supply without delay, that he might not be constrained (for want hereof) to surrender the city to the enemy's fleet, which had already reached the coast of *Portugal*. My repeated remonstrances gave him offence, and indeed he laid hold on the first opportunity to mortify me; and that, even contrary to the form and the reverence due to the king; but that you may judge of this matter

matter for yourself, I will give you a recital of the case.

At this time, or thereabouts, news was brought from *Lisbon* to *Cadiz* concerning my last action with the *Portugueze* fleet; whereby it was said, that the marquiss of *St. Cross*, who commanded the fleet, had been killed, and also the greatest part of his officers and ships companies, or wounded; that 5 of his *Men of War* came into *Lisbon* very much disabled, and that the sixth ran a-shore between the forts of *Cascais* and *St. Julian*, but that part of her goods had been saved. It was added, that this last ship, in her way from *Goa*, put into *Brasil*, and joined the fleet there; that she was worth above 2,000,000 of dollars, and that the plunder the *Hercules* seized was valued at 200,000 livres; that even fourteen *Frenchmen* had in the hurry been left in the *Portugueze*, and that they had been put into dungeons upon their arrival at *Lisbon*. We had also advice by the same

same canal, that the enemy's fleet was gone off the coast, and that there was no likelihood of their undertaking the siege of *Cadiz* thereafter.

Upon this news, I, with the good liking of the marquiss *de Valdecagnas*, removed one ship from the *Puntals*, and being told of six of the enemy's victuallers lying at *Gibraltar*, I offered to go and burn them with the fire-ship I had fitted at my own expence, and I had executed it the easier, there being no *Man of War* to protect them; but the governor of *Cadiz*, whom the king had ordered me to obey, would never allow it, notwithstanding all my repeated entreaties and instances even to importunity.

When our ships came to anchor in the road of *Cadiz*, I ordered (to avoid all broils with the *Spaniards*) that our boats should go armed, and that there should be only an officer in each, to keep the crew in order; but it happened that the custom-house barks, abusing my good will, insulted our boats
several

several times, and searched them, contrary to the rights of the *French* nation. I complained of this to the governor by Mr. *Renaud*, a lieutenant general in the service of *Spain*, then residing at *Cadiz*, and desired that the persons concerned might be punished, and that care might be taken to prevent such outrages for the future, since I neither could, nor ought to suffer any encroachment to be made on the privileges of the nation, nor any affront to the king's ships sent by his own order, to serve *Spain*. The governor disregarded my remonstrance, and two days afterwards a custom-house bark insulted the *Hercules's* boat again, and abused the officer, who would have hindered the search. M. *Druis*, the captain of this ship, came to me at eight in the evening, to make his complaint, and remonstrated to me, That having the honour to command in the road of *Cadiz*, in the service of the two kings, it was my duty to send that instant, and seize
O upon

upon that bark, and call out boldly for justice. I took care to inform myself by the officers, and boat's crew, of the particular circumstances of the insult, and upon finding them to be very weighty and important, I sent away two boats, under the command of M. *de la Faille*, to seize upon this bark, recommending it to him, in the most express terms, to defer using of any violence till the very last extremity required it. She had got in among others, and it was not easy to distinguish her; at last finding her out, he went up to her to seize her; but she immediately turned tail, and fired her pedreroes and small arms into our boat. Two of our people were killed, and two others wounded; M. *de la Faille* had the fore-part of his coat carried off by a pedreroe, but, being resolved to execute my orders, he boarded this bark, mastered her, and brought her on board of my ship. This was not done without bloodshed, for the *Spaniards* firing furiously upon our people, they

they could not be restrained, but killed them three men, and wounded two whom I caused to be dressed by our surgeons,

The next day, I went ashore with M. *Druis* and M. *de la Faille*, to give an account of this disturbance to the governor, and to demand justice of him. Far from giving ear to me, he arrested me in his anti-chamber, and sent the major away with me to prison. M. *Renaud*, informed of the governor's astonishing procedure, went in haste to him to lay before him what might be the consequences of the violent step he had taken; but, finding him in no favourable disposition, he sent away an express to the marquis *de Villadaria*, governor of *Andaluzia*, desiring him to come and make up the matter as soon as possible: accordingly he came the next day to *Cadiz*, and in the council held upon this subject, it was resolved, That seeing the enemy was retired from *Cadiz*, and that there was no farther

need of our ships, I should be restored to my liberty, and might sail away whenever I thought fit; this was accordingly executed, and I was carried on board my ship. I came on board with a heart full of indignation, at the governor's iniquitous procedure, in return for all my cares, and activity, and zeal in the service; which had been such, that had I been personally charged with the place, I could have done no more; but I was comforted with the hopes That the king would procure ample satisfaction for it, as soon as he should be truly informed of my conduct. And in fact his majesty, when the whole affair was reported to him, demanded of the king of *Spain*, That he should remove the marquis *de Valdecagnas* from the government of *Cadiz*, and even the marquis of *Villadaria*, his father-in-law, from that of *Andaluzia*, he having taken the liberty of writing about it, in terms not very full of respect to his majesty.

Impa-

Impatient to leave this ungrateful land, I weighed anchor the next morning, and in my way to *Brest*, discovered a fleet of fifteen *English* ships, convoyed by a *Man of War*, the *Gosport*, of 36 guns, and strait made the signal for my consort to fall upon the fleet, and went myself to board the *Gosport*. The commander of her defended himself very handsomely, and sustained the shock and heat of my boarding as much as possible. M. *des Poissiers*, an officer full of fire, who was my second captain, was killed in this action, and another wounded. We took twelve of this fleet, and carried them into *Brest*.

The king having been pleased to nominate me a knight of St. *Lewis*, I repaired to *Versailles*, to have the honour of being created by the hands of that great prince. He seemed well satisfied with my services, and granted me the *Lis* of 74 guns, the *Achilles* of 66, the *Jason* of 54, the *Glory* of 40, the *Amazon* of 36, and the *Astrea*

of 28. I took leave of his majesty, and returning to *Brest*, I pitched on the following gentlemen to command these ships; the chevalier *de Beaubarnois*, the chevalier *de Courserac*, the chevaliers *de Nesmond*, *de la Faille*, and *Leguelin*. I sailed out, and we stationed ourselves in the latitude of *Lisbon*, to lye in the way of the *Brasil* fleet, which was expected there, but I was not so happy as to see any thing of them, and only took two pretty rich ships bound from the *Straits*. From thence, shifting my station to the chops of the channel, I there took four *English* ships, laden with tobacco, with which I put into *Brest*.

After I had cleaned our ships there, I sailed out again in company with a squadron of 6 ships, commanded by the chevalier *de Fourbin*: I had six also under my command; for M. *de la Mainerie Miniac*, of *St. Malo*, joined me in a ship of 54 guns, tho' the *Astrea* staid behind in harbour.

Being

Being all arrived in the entrance of the channel, I was going to separate from the chevalier *de Fourbin*, and was actually four leagues distant from him, when I saw that he altered his manner of working, and his course. I concluded he had made some discovery, and stretching that way, I made a fleet of 200 sail, which he was chasing, and therefore kept standing towards M. *de Fourbin* to receive his orders; but when I saw he had made the signal for giving chase, I spread abroad all my canvass, and stretched above a league a-head of his squadron. I was not above a good gun-shot from this fleet, when M. *de Fourbin* thought proper (to the utter astonishment of every one) to brace to, and take a reef in his top-sails, at a time when we might have carried top-gallant-sails. A sense of my subordination made me, in spite of myself, imitate him in his way of working, which alone had been sufficient to prevent our destroying this important fleet, laden
with

with troops and ammunition for the armies in *Portugal*. This fleet lay all in a cluster together, to the lee-ward of five large *Men of War*, who waited in a line for us. The *Cumberland* of 82 guns commanded, she was in the center; the *Devonshire*, of 90, was in the van; the *Royal Oak*, of 76, in the rear; and the *Chester* and *Ruby*, of 56 and 54 guns, were a-head and a-stern of the *Cumberland*, as her seconds. They at first took us, as they afterwards confessed, for a parcel of privateers assembled together, and so made no account of us; but when they saw us bring to, and observed the distance between our masts, they perceived that we were good *Men of War*, and therefore made the signal for their fleet, to save themselves as they could.

Impatient with the slow advances *M. Fourbin* made towards the enemy, and observing it to be near noon, I filled all my sails, and made the signal for all the ships of my squadron to speak with me, one after another. I ordered

ordered the chevalier *de Beauharnois* to board the *Royal Oak*; the chevalier *de Courserac* to board the *Chester*; *la Moinerie Miniac* to board the *Ruby*; and as I intended to board the commodore, I ordered *la Jaille* in the *Glory* to throw a part of his people into me, thereby to re-inforce me, and put me in a condition to help those, who should dare to attack the *Devonshire*. But as it would not have been right, wholly to have neglected the interest of my owners, I appointed the *Amazon*, who was the best frigate I had, to run into the middle of the fleet, unless she saw some of us stand in need of succour.

These orders being given, I bore down upon the enemy, and received the *Chester's* broad-side, one of the *Cumberland's* seconds, without returning her a shot, and then the fire of the *Cumberland* herself, whom I was so happy as to board very advantageously; for I got her bow-sprit end into my main-shrouds, and raking her fore
and

and aft with all my fire, her decks were, in an instant, strewed with dead bodies: immediately *la Jaille*, my faithful camerade, came up to board me, but not being able to do it, by reason of the manner in which I had boarded the *Cumberland*, he had the boldness to board her on the broadside; though indeed, he broke his bow-sprit upon my poop, at the same time the *Cumberland* broke hers in my main-shrouds. Then those of my people, who were appointed to enter the enemy, strove who should be foremost, but very few of them succeeded in the attempt, because my bow-sprit being broke, made it dangerous to board her as I lay; but the sieurs *de Bloye* and *du Menai*, officers of the *Glory*, entered some of the first, at the head of other valiant men, and, making signs to me to cease firing, the *English* ensign was struck. I gave over accordingly, and preventing any more of my people from jumping on board the prize

prize, and pushing off from her, I went to assist those who might want me.

The chevalier *de Beauharnois*, in the *Achilles*, advanced to board the *Royal Oak*, and was at the point of carrying her, when by an unhappy accident some cartridges of powder took fire in his ship, and blew up her decks, with the loss of above 100 men. This disaster obliged him to put off, to extinguish the fire, and recover his disorder, which gave the *Royal Oak* time enough to slip away with her bow-sprit broken.

The chevalier *de Courserac*, in the *Jason*, boarded the *Chester* also, and his grapplings broke, and he failed in the attempt. Then the chevalier *de Nesmond* took his place, but he did not keep hold on the enemy, and she got clear of him also. The chevalier *de Courserac* came upon the *Chester* a second time, boarded her, and took her. This, when the chevalier *de Nesmond* saw, he stretch'd away for the middle of the fleet, and took several
of

of the *Merchant-Men*. M. de la Moirerie Miniac in the *Moor*, boarded the *Ruby* at the same time, and just at the instant comes up the chevalier de Fourbin with all his sails standing, and runs his bow-sprit end into the *Ruby's* stern, pretending she had struck to him, although he had not thrown one man into her; this claim did not contribute much to his honour.

As soon as I had got clear of the *Cumberland*, I surveyed the state of the fight, and my first thought was to run after the *Royal Oak*, who was making off in a wretched condition, and I should very easily have taken her. But I saw that the chevalier de Touroure, in the *Bloquac* of 50 guns, had dared to attack the *Devonshire* of 90, and that followed by the *Salisbury*, commanded by M. Dart, he was advancing to board her with wonderful intrepidity: I even observed that the *Bloquac* had carried away her bow-sprit against the stern of that great ship, whose dreadful fire
alow

alow and aloft tore those two poor ships to pieces. This example stung me, and I flew at once to the assistance of that brave chevalier, with a resolution to lay the *Devonshire* aboard on the broad-side. I had already got my sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, and was all ready to grapple and lash her fast, when there burst out so thick a smoak from her stern, that the fear of burning with her made me fight her at the distance of pistol-shot, 'till the fire was conquered. While I waited for this, I, for three quarters of an hour, stood so terrible a fire of great guns and small arms from her (the *Devonshire*) as laid me near 300 men dead on the deck. At length, disheartned to see my people thus knocked on the head one after another, I determined to board her, and I put over my helm accordingly ; but just as our yards came foul of each other, the sieur *de Brugnon*, one of my lieutenants, ran to me, and shewed me, that the fire which had taken in her, was spread to her

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shrouds

shrouds and her sails: I then instantly sent some officers up to the yard-arms to cut away all our rigging, that was foul of the enemy, and shifted my helm, and set what sail I had left to get from her; and were we scarce pistol-shot from each other, when the fire was spread fore and aft of this ship, and raged so violently, that, in less than a quarter of an hour, she was consumed, and all her crew perished in the flames. Three of her hands only were found on board of my ship, without my ever knowing how they came there: they assured me there had perished above 900 men in this ship, who, besides her complement, had 250 soldiers and passengers aboard.

After this bloody engagement, my ship was in such a helpless condition, that it was two days e'er I was able to stir. My hull, my masts, my rigging, my sails, all was cut and torn to shatters; my rudder was wounded also by two bar-shot, thirty six pounders. In
this

this posture I remained, not knowing what was become of the other ships; who had each of them endeavoured to rally again, or else chased after the broken fragments of this fleet. I only knew that the *Royal Oak* had got clear off, M. *de Fourbin* not having judged such a conquest worth his while.

Before I close up the account of this fight, I must remember an action of one of my contre-masters, who was the first that jumped on board the *Cumberland*, over her broken bowsprit, and made his way to the ensign to strike it; accordingly he was cutting the halliards, when he saw four *Englishmen*, who had lain flat on their bellies, make towards him with their cutlasses up: in this unfore-seen danger, he had presence of mind enough to toss the *English* ensign over-board, and throw himself after it, as also to gather it up in the water, and swim to a boat the *Cumberland* had in tow; and, cutting away the rope, hoisted a

sail he found in her, and put before the wind. In this condition, he went on board the *Achilles*, who lay by to lee-ward, to repair her damages. The ensign I here speak of was carried to *Notre-Dame* at *Paris*, with those of the other *English Men of War*; and, upon the report I made of this action to the king, his majesty was pleased to reward this valiant man with a golden medal, and promote him to be master of a ship's company (a post among the *French* of much the same nature with our boat-swain.) His name was *Honorat Tosean*, and sailed afterwards in quality of master under the chevalier *de Fougerei Garnier*, about the year 1712, when he was taken by the *South-Sea Castle*, of 56 guns. The *English*, full of resentment for what he had done on board the *Cumberland*, basely made him undergo a thousand outrages and cruelties, when they had him in their power, and were told he was at that time no better than contre-master. I here
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mention the reward, this brave man received from the king, in order to stir up an emulation, and to let the public see, that this great prince did not leave any worthy action, tho' in the least of his subjects, without taking notice of it by some favour.

All the ships of my squadron, and that of M. *de Fourbin*, arrived in the road of *Brest* two days before me, with the *English* ships, the *Cumberland*, the *Ruby*, and the *Chester*. Several other ships of this fleet were taken by the *Amazon*, or by the privateers, who were in the way to share the advantages of this rout, and were carried into several ports of *Brittany*. M. *de Fourbin*, upon his arrival, dispatched M. the chevalier *de Touroure* to carry the news of this action to the king; and I afterwards heard that this gentleman had done me all the justice with his majesty, that could be expected from a person of his great generosity: I made him an exact requital when I had the happiness of en-

tertaining the king in my turn, with the
 circumstances of this action. In the
 mean time, M. *de Pontchartrain* wrote
 to me on the part of his majesty, to
 acquaint me how well satisfied he was
 with my services, in consideration of
 which, he granted me a pension of
 1000 livres upon his royal treasury.
 I had the honour of returning my
 most humble thanks for this; but at
 the same time begged it as a favour,
 That this pension might be transferred
 to M. *de St. Auban*, my second captain,
 who, having lost his thigh in boarding
 the *Cumberland*, had greater need of
 it than I; adding, that I should think
 myself more than rewarded, could I,
 by my most humble supplications, ob-
 tain the advancement of the brave
 officers who had seconded me: but that,
 if the king deemed me worthy of any
 particular favour, I hoped from his
 goodness, that he would be pleased to
 grant me patents of nobility for my
 elder brother and for myself; inasmuch
 as it was to my brother's assistance I was
 indebt-

indebted for all that was valuable in me, and for the honour I had of being known to his majesty. M. de Pontchartrain found it difficult to obtain me this favour, or rather he thought proper to reserve it *in petto*, imagining that such an object before me might stimulate me the more; but I did not want to be spurred on, and the desire I had of deserving well of the king, was sufficient alone to inflame me more than any recompence whatsoever. And indeed it was purely for the sake of my brother, to whom I was greatly obliged, that I had offered to ask so great a favour, which I did not insist upon. However, I thought it my duty to wait on his majesty to lay before him, *viva voce*, the services of the gallant gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves under my command. And in fact he was so good as to advance several of them; among others, the chevalier de Beauharnois, the chevalier de Courserac, de la Faille, de St. Auban, and others. It

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was then that having had the honour of giving the king a detail of my last fight, I earnestly laid hold on the opportunity of acquainting him with the valour of the chevalier *de Touroure*. I drew him so lively a picture of the intrepidity of that officer, that his majesty, turning towards M. *de Bucas*, asked him if his friend the late M. *Ruiter* would have done as much? He answered, that nothing could be added to the picture I had drawn of the merit and bravery of the chevalier *de Touroure*, and that he was not at all surprized at it, having known two of his brothers in the army, who did by no means fall short of him. M. the marshal *de Villars*, who was present, added upon this, some very advantageous particulars of their services, enough to shew, that valour and loyalty are hereditary in the house of *Touroure*, and, I may also say, modesty; for in my life I never saw a warrior so intrepid, and at the same time more modest than the chevalier *de Touroure*.

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I have with pleasure dwelt upon these circumstances, to evince that emulation between men of honour, does not prevent them from doing each other reciprocal justice, with an inward pleasure, which the falsely-brave are strangers to.

I had so earnest a desire to make myself worthy of the favour the king had bestowed on me, that I hurried away from *Versailles* to go out against his enemies. I obtained from his majesty a greater number of ships, that I designed for an expedition, which I communicated to no body; because the success of it depended pretty much upon secrecy. It was to lye in the way of the numerous and rich fleet from *Brasil*. I had received advice that the enemy had sent seven *Men of War* to meet them, and that they were cruising off the *Western Islands*, where the fleet must necessarily touch to refresh: so it seemed as if I could not miss them there, could I
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but get out soon enough to arrive at those islands before them.

I took leave of the king, and went post to *Brest*, where I with all diligence got ready the following ships, the *Lilly* and the *St. Michael*, of 74 guns each; the *Achilles*, of 66, the *Dauphine*, of 56, the *Jason*, of 54, the *Glory*, of 40, the *Amazon*, of 36, the *Astrea*, of 22. These ships were commanded by M. de Geraldin, the chevalier de Courserac, the chevalier de Nesmond, de Gouyon, Miniac, de Courserac the elder, de la Jaille, and de Leguelin, the greatest part of whom had served under me, in a distinguishing manner. To this squadron I added an *English* corvette of 8 guns, which I gave to a young man, a relation of mine; and engaged a frigate of 30 guns, called *le Desmares*, to come from *St. Malo*, to join me in the road of *Brest*.

We sailed out, and stationed ourselves in the latitude of *Lisbon*; and a *Swedish* ship, who sailed out from
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thence, confirmed to us, that they expected the *Brasil* fleet, and that seven *Men of War* lay for them off the *Western Islands*. We shaped our course that way, and, passing by out of sight of the islands, we stationed ourselves 15 leagues to the westward of them, in the track of the fleet; to the end that neither the seven *Men of War*, or the inhabitants of the islands might know any thing of us, and consequently, that they might not send out any advice-boat to meet the fleet, and direct them to alter their course. When we had thus reached our second station, I sent away the *English* corvette with orders to go round the islands, and to make the seven *Men of War*, and bring me an account of their strength and station where they cruised: and she made them to the westward of the port of *Tercera*, standing on and off, and returned to give me information thereof.

We kept this station for three months together, greatly wondring
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that we saw nothing of the fleet in all this time, and sending the corvette once every fortnight to the islands, we * * * * *

We chased her, but could not come up with her, because of a mist and the night, which came on. I was very uneasy at this, and doubted not but she would give advice of us to the enemy's *Men of War*, and that in consequence thereof, they would dispatch an advice-boat to the fleet, and direct them to alter their course, and stand themselves off the islands, that they might not be liable to our insults; besides, our water began to grow short, and upon that account we should be unable to cruise here above a fortnight longer. This consideration inclined me to call a council of all the captains; and I did my utmost to make them comprehend the necessity we were under of going directly and attacking the enemy's seven *Men of War*, in whom we should find water and provisions enough to

* Here is a Chasm in the Manuscript.

to enable us to prolong our cruise till the fleet should arrive; that moreover these ships would pay the charge of our outset with interest; that it was not to be doubted, but they had advice of us and of our strength by the ship who gave us the slip by the favour of the night; that if we delayed falling on them any longer, I was sure we should not find them; and that we should lose the whole expence of our equipment, and be forced thro' want to return to *France* with our hands empty.

This way of arguing was just and natural, but some *demon*, envious of my good fortune, prevented all the captains, to a man, from entering into it. They thought with M. *Geraldin*, that it would be best to wait for the fleet without stirring from our station; that their arrival could not be far off, the wind being fair for them; that the seven *Men of War* being stronger than us, they would certainly not stir a step for us; and that, let it come to the

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worst,

worst, we should always be in time to attack them ; that, furthermore, the event of battle is uncertain, and that we could not pretend to reduce them without disabling several of our own ships, to such a degree as to render them unfit to keep the sea; and upon the whole they remonstrated, that my owners might have room to reproach me, with having preferred my own glory to their interest upon this occasion. In short, they turned my brain in such a manner, that, not to appear too self-sufficient, I allowed them a few days longer. But, notwithstanding this compliance, I was sensible that, in following their counsel, I exposed myself to an incurable evil. I shall only say, by the way, that this was the first council I ever called in my life, to consult with, whether I should fight or not, and that it shall, most assuredly, be the last.

In the mean time I left an order of battle with each of them, wherein were specified the ships each captain
was

was to board, recommending it to all to hold themselves in readiness for a fight, and to follow me upon the first signal I should make: but every day, I deferred going down to the enemy, seeming a year to me; and, my foreboding faculty giving me no rest, I, at the end of four days, made the signal for fighting, and steered away for the islands. Immediately *M. Geraldin* sent an officer on board of me, to beg I would wait yet three days longer, and my most faithful officers, seduced by the thoughts of the *Brasils* fleet, and the hopes of immense booty, joined their intreaties to his, in so earnest a manner, that I was so weak as to yield to them once more.

These three days expired, I made sail for the enemy, but found them not, as I had foreseen. I was in the utmost confusion, and knew not whether the fleet had not passed by in the night, or whether, having joined the *Men of War*, who waited to convoy them, they had not made the best of

their way for *Lisbon*, without stopping at all at the islands. But, to inform myself exactly of these particulars, I resolved to make a descent, and to that purpose I went between the islands of *Fiall*, *Pico*, and *St. George*. In ranging along this last, I observed a harbour, at the bottom of which stood a good pretty town, with some forts that commanded the anchorage. This seemed to me a very proper place to execute my design upon, and I manned all our long-boats, which together carried 700 men, under the command of my second captain, the count *d'Arquin*, whom I ordered to land and possess himself of the town; but, before I sent him away, I ordered all the pinnaces and yauls to put off, and make a sham attack in another part, to give the inhabitants a diversion, and draw some of them down thither: during this, the real descent was made, and those who offered to oppose it were put to flight, and pursued so closely, that
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our people entered with them into the town, which was, by this time, forsaken by all its inhabitants: immediately I sent a great quantity of cask ashore, to be filled with water, corn, and wines, with which the magazines here were well stored.

The prisoners, I caused to be examined, acquainted me, That the seven *Men of War*, having received advice, by the ship we had missed, of our station and strength, had left these parts three days before, and were gone for *Lisbon*; but that the *Brasil* fleet was not yet arrived, and that no body could conceive what kept them back so. This account gave me some glimpse of hope, which soon disappeared; for we were taken between these islands with such a storm, as put some of us in danger of perishing, and all of us under the necessity of gaining the sea. It came on so strong, that I had much ado to get off our people from the town, and was forced to leave our cask on shore, and to steer away for

the coast of *Spain*. Our only hope was, that we should reach *Vigo* soon enough to water there, and come out thence in time to lye in the track of the fleet in their way to *Lisbon*; and I accordingly gave out this rendezvous to all the ships of the squadron, in case of separation; but we were so crossed by the wind, and in such distress for water, that every ship endeavoured to fetch the nearest port. The *Dauphine*, the privateer *le Desmarest*, and the corvette, were the first that parted company, and went into *Brest*. The *St. Michael*, the *Jason*, the *Glory*, and the *Amazon* fetched *Cadiz*, and I got into *Vigo* with only the *Lilly* and the *Achilles*: as for the *Brasil* fleet, they arrived at the *Western Islands* eight days after we had been driven from thence.

It is astonishing that my squadron, consisting of excellent goers, and eight days before-hand with so heavy a sailing fleet, could not, with all our endeavours,

deavours, get first upon the coast of *Portugal*. In fact, the greatest part of this fleet got into *Lisbon*, or into the neighbouring ports, much about the time I was going into *Vigo*. I was there busy a watering, when one of them was driven ashore, about 4 leagues from us, in *Pontevedra*, and was seized on by the *Spaniards*. I left *Vigo* as soon as possible, and took two small prizes, part of this fleet. All the rest were safe in the harbours of *Portugal*. Thus was the expence of this armament totally sunk, and, my provisions being quite expended, I returned to *Brest* with the *Lilly* and the *Achilles*.

M. de Geraldin, who by our separation became commadore of the *St. Michael*, the *Jason*, the *Glory*, and the *Amazon*, getting into *Cadiz*, there took in a supply of water and provisions, and in his way to *Brest* took three prizes, the value of which was not equal to the expences of his refreshment.

freshment. He brought these prizes into *Brest*, where he laid up.

The entire loss of this equipment (in which my brother and I had ventured a considerable part of our small fortunes) put it out of our power to engage any longer in such weighty concerns.

However, I took the sea again with the *Achilles*, and the frigates, the *Amazon*, the *Glory*, and the *Astrea*, commanded by Mess. *de Courserac*, *de la Faille*, and *de Leguelin*. I received advice, that a fleet of 80 sail were shortly to come out of *Kinsale*, under the convoy of three *English Men of War*, of 70, 60, and 54 guns, bound for several ports of *England*. I went and lay in their track, and discovered them in sight of the *Lizard*. The sea ran too high, and the wind was too strong to think of boarding them. On the other hand the enemy were too many for us at great guns, so that we had no hopes of success that way: however, I considered with myself
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that such opportunities did not occur every day; that we ought to lay hold on them as often as they are within our reach; that fortune frequently favours the rashly-daring; and that, upon the whole, the wind might abate somewhat during the action

Having thus reflected within myself, I made the signal for the *Astrea* to fall upon the fleet, and I advanced with the *Achilles*, the *Amazon*, and the *Glory*, to fight the three *Men of War*, who lay by for us in a line, to windward of their fleet. I passed by the ship who lay a-stern of the commadore, giving her my broad-side as I passed, and, holding on my way, boarded the commadore on the broad-side. The sea ran so that I could not enter one man, and we soon broke loose from each other, notwithstanding all the precaution I took. I boarded her to the third time, but could not throw any hands into her: but the fire of my great guns, small arms and
grena-

grenadoes, was given so smartly, that her decks were all covered with dead bodies, and even forsaken; her fore-yard and fore-top-sail-yard were cut. In a word, I disabled her from either working or defending herself.

In the mean time the *Amazon* and the *Glory* fought, on their parts, with the two other *English* ships, but they were too weak-sided to venture at boarding them in such wretched weather; so that the battle went quite against them, the enemy handling them most roughly with their cannon; and it had been very bad with them, if I had not come up to their assistance, by dividing my fire between the two ships they fought with. Nevertheless, the *Glory* was quite disabled, and many of her people killed. M. de la Faille, the captain of her, came under my stern, and begged I would cover him, while he put his ship into some order again. I, on my part, had not been used very tenderly, having had, among others, a shot thro' my powder-room,

room, which disturbed me with very good reason. But, however, I told my consort, that he need only go a musquet-shot to lee-ward of me, and work without fear in repairing his damages. In truth, the enemy were so shattered and beaten, that there was nothing to fear from them, and the *Amazon*, seeming to be in a pretty tolerable condition, I made the signal for the chevalier *deCourserac*, who commanded her, to run into the midst of the fleet: he did so, and secured five good ships laden with tobacco, the enemy not stirring a step to prevent him. I kept within half gun-shot of them with the *Glory*, ready to fall on them if they had offered to budge; and had even the assurance to make fourteen of the *Merchant-Men* of their fleet strike their top-sails to me; and ordered them to keep between the *Glory* and me, designing to secure them, as soon as our shattered boats were in a condition to be hoisted out. But on a sudden there came on
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so furious a squall, that away went one of the *Glory's* top-masts, and I should certainly have overfet had not my top-sail sheets given way in the height of it: so that the fourteen ships, who were just before at my disposal, put away before it for the coast of *England*, scudding along under my bow-sprit, which I was not able to prevent them. The *English Men of War* steered the same course, and, what was the most vexatious of all, the *Astrea*, who at first mixed with the fleet, had bilged her long-boat in hoisting her out, and tho' she had brought to several prizes, she could not clap one of them aboard for the greatness of the sea; so that, not being secured, they took their advantage of the gale, and saved themselves. The gale strengthened in a frightful manner, and parted us all from each other. Two of our prizes got into *St. Malo*, together with the *Astrea* and *Amazon*, a third got into *Calais*, and two were lost upon the coast of *England*. I
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was in the greatest danger of being lost on the same coast, and it was with great difficulty that I fetched the port of *Brest*, with the *Glory*, both in a sad condition.

After we had refitted our two ships, we returned to our cruise in the chops of the channel, where we discovered, just as it was night, a large ship running before the wind, and steering for the coast of *Spain*: I observed her way of working, and what sail she had abroad, and steered as she did. I came up with her about eleven at night, and kept close in with her, shewing a light in my stern to the *Glory*, who did not sail so well as me, that she might not lose sight of me. As soon as day broke, I edged towards this strange ship, who hove out *English* colours, and ran out her stern-chase, consisting of 6 guns, and gave me several discharges thereof, which killed several of my people, and did considerable damage to my masts and sails. When the captain saw me ready

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to board him, he at once braced round his after-sails, and set his mizen, and put his helm hard over, with intention to bring my bow-sprit-end into his main-shrouds, but I observed his way of working, and was as yare-handed as he in trimming my sails, and flying directly up to the wind; whereby I avoided his dangerous intentions, and boarded him on the broad-side, and grappled him in the midst of our mutual fire of great guns, small arms, and grenadoes. This ship was carried in half an hour's time; but by the attempt she had made to get my bow-sprit-end into her main-shrouds, and by what I did to avoid it, it happened that the two ships, in laying their sides to the wind, heeled very much; and, I being to windward, most of my guns pointed into the water; so that my gunners, not giving themselves time to lower their metal, fired into the enemy's bottom. Now, as soon as I had taken her, I put off; but a minute afterwards they came under

under my stern, and told me the prize would founder, if I did not immediately send some help. Upon this I tossed out my long-boat, and sent her away with carpenters, caulkers, and some good officers, to save this ship, who had 60 guns mounted, was span new, and called the *Bristol*.

By this time the *Glory* was come up with me, and was going to send her boat on board the prize; but at the very instant, there appeared a squadron of 14 *English Men of War*, about 3 leagues to windward of us, who came down so fast upon us, that I had not time to take my people out of the *Bristol*, who was in an instant surrounded by the enemy, and sunk down in the midst of them. The one half of the *French* and *English* in her were drowned, the rest were saved by the *English* boats. Among those who were unfortunately lost was M. des *Abrevoirs*, an officer of great worth: the sieurs *de Cussy* and *de Noyalle* saved themselves by swimming. Besides the

loss of these gallant men, I had 70 others killed and wounded in this engagement. M. de Brest, de l'Artemoise, son to the lieutenant-general of that name, a young gentleman full of fire, was killed as he was going to jump into the enemy, and two other officers were wounded. The moment I saw this squadron I put before the wind with the *Glory*. My masts and sails were damaged, my sprit-sail and sprit-sail-top-sail-yards were broke, and my main-top-mast was shot through in two places; my low sails were so torn and cut, that I was obliged to bend others in the room of them in sight of the enemy, who soon came up within gun-shot of us. M. de la Faille, who knew the best of his ship's going, kept right before the wind. For the same reason I kept the wind somewhat upon my quarter. We shared a widely different fate; all shattered as I was, I got clear of the enemy; but they came up with the *Glory*, and M. de la Faille, after having resisted

sisted to the very last, and behaved himself with his usual gallantry, was constrained to bend to so superior a strength. The next day after this fight and this chase, I fell in with an *English* frigate, and took her, and carried her with me into *Brest*, where I laid up.

Much about this time, the king, satisfied with the continuance of my zeal, did of his own accord grant patents of nobility to my brother and myself. They were of the most distinguishing kind, and in them, the services of my brother, and some of my actions, were specified by his own order. I without delay repaired to his majesty, to return him my most humble thanks, and at the same time to make my court to him. This did not prevent me from fitting out the *Jason*, the *Amazon*, and the *Astrea*, under the command of the chevalier *de Courserac*, who acquitted himself very handsomely of his charge, took several prizes, and came to lay up his ships at *Brest*.

I did not stay long at *Versailles*, persuaded that I should make my court more effectually to the king, by going in quest of his enemies, than by playing the courtier, a part I was but ill qualified to act. With this regard I took leave of his majesty, and coming to *Brest*, I fitted out the *Lilly*, the *Achilles*, the *Fason*, and the *Amazon*, commanded by M. the count *d'Arquin*, the chevalier *de Courserac*, *Courserac* the elder, and *Leguelin*.

I received advice, that five *English East India Men*, were expected to put into *Ireland*, under the convoy of two *Men of War*, of seventy guns; and that the immense wealth of these five ships, had caused the admiral of *England* to send out two other *Men of War*, of 66 guns, to meet them. With these instructions I sailed, and fixed my station a little distant from the coast of *Ireland*. I soon fell in with one of the two last mentioned *Men of War*. I came up with her in the *Lilly*, and took her in less than an hour's

hour's time, and before any of my consorts could come within reach. This ship being quite new, and sailing very well, I thought proper to make her cruise with us: accordingly I gave the command of her to *M. de Nogent*, my second captain, an officer of worth and gallantry, if there be any such, and I manned her with a number of officers, soldiers and sailors, sufficient to enable her to bear a part in a fight, in case of need. In this ship also I found the admiral of *England's* instructions, as to what she was to do, and whither ordered.

In a few days afterwards I had sight of her consort, who got from me in the night. All these circumstances, and occurrences together, gave me room to hope that these rich *India Men* would fall a prey to me. In the midst of this I had the misfortune of being taken with a bloody flux, which reduced me very low, and, to compleat my misfortune, we had for a fortnight together such thick hazy
wea-

weather, that the ships of my squadron, losing sight of each other, were obliged to keep company by continued signals of guns, musquets, bells and drums. The *India Men* had the good luck to pass by just at this time, so that we had no sight of them. The inward warnings I had of this tormented me more than my distemper; and as soon as I was recovered, I crowded sail for the coast of *Ireland*, and made cape *Clear* the very day the *India Men* arrived upon that coast. We saw them from the mast-head as they were going into *Cork* and *Kinsale*; and even a *Man of War* of 36 guns, had loitered a-stern, with whom the *Jason* came up within gun-shot, and having fired several broad-sides at her, she ran in among some rocks and shoals, and afterwards into the bottom of a harbour, the entrance of which was unknown to us, and seemed to be very dangerous. All these vexatious disappointments having put us by so fine an opportunity, the

the rest of our expedition was not more prosperous. I took only one prize laden with tobacco, and my provisions being expended I returned to *Brest*, there to lay up.

I was carried ashore in a dying condition, and it was above six months ere I could gather a little a strength: in the end nature got the better of my disease, and I was able to return to *Versailles*, to make my court to the king.

It was there I began to form an enterprize against the city and colony of *Rio Janeiro*, one of the richest and most considerable cities in *Brasil*. M. du Clerc had already made an attempt upon that place with five of the king's ship, and above 1000 marines; but, that force not being near sufficient to reduce so considerable a colony, he was taken prisoner with 6 or 700 of his people, the rest were killed in the assault upon the city and forts of *Rio Janeiro*.

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Since that time the king of *Portugal* had augmented the fortifications, and had very lately sent four *Men of War* and two frigates, with a number of veteran troops, to put that important colony out of all danger of being insulted.

The news which brought an account of M. *du Clerc*'s defeat, bore also, that the *Portugueze*, insolent conquerors, treated their prisoners with all imaginable cruelty, that they starved them to death in dungeons, and that M. *du Clerc* had been killed after he had surrendered upon terms. All these circumstances, together with the hopes of sharing immense booty, but above all, the honour which might be acquired in so difficult an enterprise, inspired me with a desire of spreading the glory of his majesty's arms into those remote climates, and of punishing the inhumanity of the *Portugueze*, by the destruction of that flourishing settlement. In order to this I addressed myself to three of my best friends,
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who had all along assisted me with their purses and credit in my expeditions. They were M. *de Coulange*, the present comptroller-general of the king's household, and M. *de Beauvais*, and *la Saudre-le-fer* of St. *Malo*, all three of great estimation and credit. I communicated my scheme to them, and engaged them to become directors of the projected armament. But as it required a very considerable fund, we were obliged to take in three other rich traders of St. *Malo*, who, together with my brother, made, in all, seven directors, before whom I laid an estimate of the officers, ships, troops, ship's companies, provision, and all kinds of ammunition, according to which the charges of this outset (not reckoning the wages to be paid at the end of the voyage) amounted to twelve hundred thousand livres.

M. *de Coulange*, one of the principal directors, came to me at *Versailles*, in order to solicit a formal contract, and to obtain such conditions from the
mini-

ministry, as were essentially necessary for the good event of this enterprize. He stood in need of the greatest patience, and of the utmost dexterity, to remove all the objections that were started; but he surmounted every difficulty by the assistance of his serene highness, the admiral, who condescended to countenance the project, and solicit in favour of it: so that upon the report which that prince and M. *de Pontchartrain* made thereof to the king, his majesty thought well of it, and consented to trust me with his ships and troops, that I might conduct his arms into the *New World*.

This being resolved on, my brother and I repaired to *Brest*, there to fit out the *Lilly* and the *Magnanimous*, of 74 guns each; the *Brillant*, the *Achilles*, and the *Glorious*, all three of 66 guns, together with the *Argonaut* of 46, the *Amazon* and the *Belona*, of 38 guns, but this last was converted into a bomb-galliot, with two large mortars; the *Astrea*, of 22 guns;

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guns, and the *Concord* of 20; this last being a roomly ship, burthen 400 tons, was to attend upon the squadron as a victualler, laden chiefly with water-cask.

To command these ships, I chose the chevalier *de Gouyon*, the chevalier *de Courserac*, the chevalier *de Beauve*, *de la Faille*, the chevalier *de Bois*, *de la Motte*, and *de Leguelin*. The frigates were commanded by M^{rs}. *des Chenais*, *le Fer*, *de Rogon*, and *Bradel Daniel*, all four of *St. Malo*, and related to the directors.

At the same time I fitted out at *Rochefort* the *Faithful*, of 60 guns, commanded by M. *de la Moirerie Miniac* of *St. Malo*, under the pretence of going out upon a cruise, as was his custom; as also the *Eagle*, of 40 guns, commanded by the sieur *de la Mare*, of *Caen*, as it were to go out to the *American Islands*; and at *Rochelle*, I underhand got two small vessels fitted as bomb-galliot or ketches, with each of them two mortars. The *Mars*,

of 56 guns, was equipt at *Dunkirk* and commanded by M. de *Cittés Danicant*, under the colour of going to cruise in the *North Seas*, making use of others to fit out ships for my service.

I applied myself with the utmost diligence to see every thing got ready in good time, the provision, ammunition, utensils, tents, and all the attire necessary for a camp and to form a siege, all with great secrecy and precaution. I took care also to chuse a number of good officers, to see to the manning and fitting out of the ships, and to put themselves at the head of the troops. M. de *St. Germain*, the present major of the *Marine* at *Toulon*, was nominated by the court, to serve as major on board the fleet, and his activity, together with his knowledge, stood me in great stead in the course of this expedition.

Exclusive of all these preparations, and all these ships that were fitting out, and getting ready by my brother
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and I, we engaged two other frigates, belonging to *St. Malo*, (then riding at *Rochelle*) to join my armament, viz. the *Chancellor*, of 40, and the *Glorious*, of 30 guns. The methods we took to hurry on this expedition, were such, and so well concerted, that notwithstanding the great want of stores in the king's magazines, all the ships of *Brest* and *Dunkirk*, were ready for sailing in two months time, reckoning from the day we came to *Brest*. I had received advice, that they were fitting out a strong squadron in *England*, and, not doubting but their design was to block me up in *Brest*, I resolved to be gone from thence with my ships, pestered as they were, and accordingly I sailed out upon the 3d of *June*, 1711; to join the rest of my squadron at *Rochelle*, instead of expecting them at *Brest*, as was my first design; and on the 5th of the same month [three days afterwards] a squadron of 20 *English Men of War* appeared at the entrance into

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Brest,

Brest, some of them ranging under the very batteries, and took two fishermen who informed them of my departure.

Upon the 6th of *June* I arrived at *Rochelle*, where I found the *Faithful*, the two bomb-vessels, and the two frigates from *St. Malo*, ready to attend me. Upon the 9th of the same month I set sail with my whole Squadron except the *Eagle*, who wanted a girdling to fit her for the sea. I gave her our rendezvous, which was at one of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, where I expected to water commodiously, and refresh my people.

Upon the 21st of *June*, I took a small *English* prize, in the way, coming out from *Lisbon*, and I thought proper to take her along with us.

Upon the 2d of *July*, I anchored at *St. Vincent*, one of the *Cape de Verd Islands*, whither the *Eagle* came after me. I found it a very difficult matter to water, and could foresee but little or no likelihood of meeting with any refresh-

refreshment at this place; so I got under sail again upon the 6th, with no other advantage, than the having landed the troops, and shewn them the order they were to observe in making our descent.

I crossed the line [the *Equinoctial*] upon the 11th of *August*, after having struggled with contrary winds for above a month, which were withal so strong, that all the ships of the squadron lost their top-masts one after another.

Upon the 19th, I made the island of *Ascension*, and upon the 27th, being in the latitude of the bay of *All Saints*, I called a council, in which I proposed, That we should take and burn in our way, all the enemy's ships we could lay hold on: and with this view I enquired into the quantity of water on board the fleet; but it was so short, that we had not more than enough to carry us to *Rio Janeiro*; the result therefore was, that we should

make the best of our way for this last place.

Upon the 11th of *September*, we came into soundings, whereupon I made the necessary remarks and observations; after which, taking the advantage of a fresh gale, which arose in the first of the night, I crouded sail with the whole squadron, that we might about day-break be precisely to the westward of the bay of *Rio Janeiro*. It was plain, that the success of this enterprise depended on dispatch, and that we ought not to give the enemy time, so much as to look about them; wherefore I would not stand to give written orders to each ship. In going in I called to the chevalier *de Courserac*, who was acquainted a little with the entrance, to be the headmost ship; the chevalier *de Gouyon*, and the chevalier *de Bauve* to keep immediately in his wake; I kept in theirs, and was now in the most commodious situation, to observe what was transacted as well in the van as in the rear;

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I at the same time made the signal for Mess. *de la Jaille, la Moinerie Miniac*, and afterwards for the rest of the captains, to stand one in the wake of another, according to the rate and strength of each ship: this they executed with such regularity, that I cannot sufficiently extol their gallantry and good conduct. I do not except even the masters of the two bomb-vessels and the *English* prize, who without flinching stood the continual fire of all the batteries: so true is it, that a good example is the parent of great actions. The chevalier *de Courserac* distinguished himself in the most extraordinary manner upon this perilous occasion, both by the working of his ship and by the boldness wherewith he cleared the way for us, being exposed to the first fire of all the batteries.

It was thus that we forced the entrance into this harbour, defended by a prodigious quantity of artillery, and by four *Men of War* and two frigates,
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the king of *Portugal* had sent to protect this place. These ships had brought a spring upon their cables, and laid their broad-sides to the entrance of the harbour to defend it; but neither all their fire, or that of their forts, made any impression upon us; and, perceiving that we should soon be within reach of boarding and taking them, they cut their cables, and ran ashore under the batteries of the town. We had 300 men killed and wounded at this time; and, that you may judge arightly of the merit of this action, it may not be amiss to give you a description of this port and city, and of its fortifications.

You go into the bay of *Rio Janeiro* thro' a gully or strait channel, about one fourth narrower than that of *Brest*, and in the midst it is a large rock, which obliges the shipping to borrow within musquet-shot of the fort which commands the entrance.

On the star-board side you have the fort of *St. Cross*, with 48 heavy pieces

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pieces of cannon, from 18 to 48 pound ball, and another battery of 8 guns without it.

On the lar-board side is the fort of *St. John*, and two other batteries of 48 pieces of cannon, which face the fort of *St. Cross*.

When you are got in, you have on the star-board side, the fort of *Our Lady of the good Voyage*, standing upon a peninsula, and with 16 pieces of cannon from 18 to 24 pound ball.

Opposite to this is the fort of *Ville-gaignon*, with 20 pieces of the same calibre; and beyond it, is the fort of *St. Theodosia*, with 16 guns, which beat upon the beach, where the *Portuguese* have raised a kind of half moon.

Having passed by these forts, you come to the isle of *Goats*, upon which there is a fort of four bastions with ten guns, and on a platform, at the foot of the isle, another battery of four guns.

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Opposite to this isle, at one end of the town, is the fort of *Mercy*, jutting into the sea, with 10 pieces of cannon. There are other batteries on the other side of the harbour, but their names I have forgot; the *Portugueze* having planted cannon, and raised retrenchments wherever they thought we could land.

The city of *Rio Janeiro* is built upon the sea-side, between three hills which overlook it, and are crowned with forts and batteries: the nearest of the three as you go in, belongs to the *Jesuits*, that which is over-against it, to the *Benedictines*, and the third hill, called the *Conception*, to the bishop of the place.

Upon the *Jesuits* hill is the fort of *St. Sebastian*, with 14 guns, and several pedrero's; another fort, call'd *St. James's*, with 12 guns; a third, called *St. Alousia's*, with 8 guns, and a battery of 12.

The *Benedictines* hill is in like manner fortified with retrenchments,
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and several batteries, which play on all sides.

The third hill, or of the *Conception*, is retrenched by a quick hedge, and with cannon at distances all along the front.

The town itself is fortified with redans, and cross batteries; on the side of the plain it is defended by a camp with retrenchments, and a good ditch full of water, within which are two places of arms, big enough to draw up 1500 men in order of battle: here it was the enemy had lodged the body of their troops, consisting of 12 or 13000 men at least, comprehending the 5 regiments newly arrived, but without reckoning a very great number of blacks.

Surprised to find this place in such good order, and enquiring what might be the cause of it; I was told the queen of *England* had sent an advice-boat, to give the king of *Portugal* notice of my armament, and that he, not having any vessel of his own ready,
directly

directly dispatched the same advice-boat to *Rio Janeiro*, and that she arriving a fortnight before us, the governor had had all that time to prepare for our reception.

The whole day being spent in forcing the entrance into the harbour, I, at night, sent the galliot and the two bomb-ketches to begin the bombardment, and at break of day I detached the chevalier *de Gouyon*, with orders to possess himself of the isle of *Goats*, with 500 chosen men: he instantly executed this, and drove off the *Portugueze* so briskly, that they had hardly time to nail a part of their cannon. In their retreat they sunk two of their largest *Merchant-Men*, between the isle of *Benedictines* and the isle of *Goats*, and blew up two of their *Men of War*, that were stranded under the fort of *Mercy*; but attempting to do the same by a third, who lay aground on the isle of *Goats*, the chevalier *de Gouyon* sent away two long-boats under the command of
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M. *de Vaureal*, and *de St. Osman*, who in spite of all the cannon of the place, made themselves masters of her, and hoisted the king's colours on board of her; but they could not get her afloat, she being full of water by the shot she had received.

The chevalier *de Gouyon* having informed me of the advantageous situation of the isle of *Goats*, I went to visit that post, and finding it as he had said, I ordered Messieurs *de la Rafiniere*, *Leguelin*, and *Eliot*, officers of the artillery, to erect batteries there, for our cannon and mortars. The marquis *de St. Simon* I charged with sustaining the workmen with a body of troops I left him, and both the one and the other performed their parts with all possible exactness, tho' exposed to the ceaseless fire of cannon and small arms.

In the mean time our ships being quite short of water, there was no time to be lost in making sure of a watering place. To this purpose I
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ordered the chevalier *de Bauve*, to take the best part of our troops in the *Amazon*, the *Astrea*, the *Eagle*, and the *Concord*, and possess himself of the *Merchant-Men*, who lay at anchor near the place where I proposed to land; therein to lodge the troops he took with him. This order was executed that night with such regularity, that the next morning, we landed without any confusion or danger: it is true indeed, I blinded the enemy by false alarms and attacks in the night.

Upon the 15th of *September* I landed all our troops to the number of 2200 soldiers, and 7 or 800 sailors, trained and armed; forming together a body of about 3300 men, including the officers of all sorts and volunteers. At the same time 500 soldiers, who were down with the scurvy, were brought on shore; and these in four or five days, recovering their health pretty well, were in a condition to incorporate with the rest of the troops.

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This whole body I divided into 3 brigades, of 3 battalions each. That which was to be the advance-guard, was commanded by the chevalier *de Gouyon*, that which was to be the rear-guard, by the chevalier *de Courserac*, and I myself had the center, which the chevalier *de Bauve* commanded under my orders. At the same time I formed a company of corporals, consisting of 60 choice men, together with adis-de-camps, midship-men and volunteers, to attend on me in action, and to all the places where my presence might be necessary.

I also landed four hand-mortars, and 20 brass pedreroes, therewith to form a kind of artillery. The chevalier ---- invented a sort of wooden chandeliers with six feet, to plant in the ground, and on them he mounted our pedreroes firmly enough. This artillery marched in the center, and in the middle of the largest battalion, which

which opened and closed again just as there was occasion. But of this I took care to send word to the king.

All our troops and ammunition being landed, bordered the chevalier *de Gouyon*, and the chevalier *de Courserac* to advance, each at the head of his brigade, and possess themselves of two eminencies, from whence all the country might be descryed, and some of the motions in the town. The sieur *d'Aubreville*, captain of the grenadiers in the chevalier *de Gouyon's* brigade, dislodged a party of the enemy from the wood, where they lay in ambush, to observe us, after which our troops encamped in this order. The chevalier *de Gouyon's* brigade lodged upon the eminence which overlooked the city; that of the chevalier *de Courserac* on the hill opposite to it; and I between them, all three within reach of succouring each other. Lying in this posture, we commanded the sea-side, and our boats watered and brought us ashore what ammunition and provision we wanted. M. de Ricouart,

Ricouart, intendant of the Squadron, took care to send us every thing necessary, and furnished us with the convencencies we wanted to carry on our batteries.

Upon the 15th of *September* resolving, if possible, to cut off the enemy's retreat, and shew them we were masters of the country, I got all our troops under arms, and made them advance into the plain, detaching parties who went within musquet-shot of the town, and killed cattle, and plundered houses without the least opposition on the enemy, all the time, not firing one single shot. Their view was to draw us into their retrenchments, where they defeated *M. du Clerc*. I was well aware of this, and observing that they did not offer to stir, I drew off in good order, and wholly applied myself to the reconnoitre the country; which I found so impracticable, that 15000 men could not have cut off the enemy's retreat, or prevent their carrying their effects into

the woods and mountains. I was perfectly convinced of this, when upon observing a party of the enemy at the foot of a hill, I ordered parties to slide down upon them, to star-board and to port, to cut them off, but they were stopped by a bog, and other obstacles, which obliged them to return back again.

Upon the 16th, one of our detachments being advanced, the enemy plaid a fourneau, but with such precipitation, that it did us not the least mischief. The same day I ordered the chevalier *de Bauve*, and *de Bloye*, to raise a battery of 10 guns, upon a peninsula to play on the reverse of the batteries of the *Benedictines*.

The enemy burnt some warehouses of sugar, and naval-stores, and ammunition upon the sea-side, and blew up the after-part of a *Man of War* who lay against the battery of the *Benedictines*, and at the same time burned the king of *Portugal's* two frigates.

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In the midst of all this a party of the enemy, acquainted with the ground, slipped along the defiles and woods bordering upon our camp, and having offered at some attacks in the day time, surprized three of our centres in the middle of the night, and carried them off without any noise: some of our marauders also fell into their hands, and this gave birth to an extraordinary stratagem which deserves to be related.

A person, named *du Boccage*, a *Norman* by birth, and one who in the former wars had commanded a *French* privateer or two, having since that time entered into the *Portuguese* service, and been naturalized of *Portugal*, was promoted to the rank of captain of a *Man of War*, and at this time commanded the second of those we found at *Rio Janeiro*, and, having blown her up, had charged himself with the retrenchments and batteries of the *Benedictines*: he behaved so well in this station, and pointed his
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guns with such deliberation and exactness, that our bomb-ketches and several of our boats had been very roughly handled by him, and in danger of being sunk. This *du Boccage*, being desirous to distinguish himself, and to win the confidence of the *Portugueze*, who, as he was a *Frenchman*, looked on him with some jealousy, took it into his head to disguise himself as a sailor, with a cap, a jacket, and tarred trowsers. In this trim he was conducted by four *Portugueze* soldiers to the prison where four marauders and three sentries lay, and was put into irons along with them, saying he was a poor sailor belonging to one of the *St. Malo Men*, and that having straggled from our camp, he had fallen into an ambuscade. He plaid his part so thoroughly, under this disguise, that, he got out of the *French* prisoners every thing, that could let him into a knowledge of our strength or weakness; and in consequence

quence of this, the enemy formed a resolution of attacking our camp.

With this intention, they, at break of day, marched out from their retrenchments, with 1500 of their regular troops, who, undiscovered, advanced to the foot of the hill where the chevalier de Gouyon's brigade was encamped: these were followed by a body of militia, who came within half-way of our camp, and lodged themselves under the covert of a wood, to be within reach of sustaining them.

The advanced post they intended to attack was half way up the hill, where there was a house with battlements, which served for a *Corps de Gard*, and had, about 40 paces under it, a hedge shut in with a rail. The enemy, at break of day, drove some cattle before them, and one of our sergeants and four men who were out a plundering, advanced up to seize them, unknown to the officer. They had scarce opened the rail, when the enemy, lying in ambush, fired upon

upon them, killed the sergeant and two men, and pushing forward, marched up towards the *Corps de Guard*. The sieur de *Lieste*, who guarded this post with 50 men, altho' surprized and furiously attacked, kept his ground, and gave time to the chevalier de *Gouyon* to dispatch the sieur de *Bouteville*, aid-major of his brigade, with the companies of the sieurs *Droualin* and *d'Aubreville* to his relief; at the same time he dispatched an aide-camp to me to acquaint me with the attack, and, in expectation of my orders, drew out his whole brigade, to be in readiness to charge. I directly sent away 200 grenadiers through a hollow way, with orders to take the enemy upon the flank, and getting our whole body under arms and in motion, I ran towards the fight with my company of corporals. I came time enough to be an eye witness of the bravery with which the sieurs de *Lieste*, *Droualin*, and *d'Aubreville* kept their ground against all the efforts of the

the enemy. As our troops advanced after me, the enemy retired in confusion enough, and left a number of killed and wounded behind them in the field of battle. I examined the wounded who fell into our hands, and learned from them the disposition of the enemy, as I have before related it, and thought it imprudent to engage with them among those woods and defiles; and therefore made a general halt, for fear of falling into the ambuscade where the body of their militia lay.

The *fleur de Pontlo de Coetlogon*, aid-de-camp to the chevalier *de Gouyon*, was wounded in this action, and 30 of our people were also wounded or killed. This same day (the 18th) the reverie battery of the chevalier *de Bawbe*, and *de Blaye*, began to play upon the batteries, and retrenchments of the *Benedictines*.

Upon the 19th, *M. de la Raffiniere*, who commanded the artillery, gave me to understand, That, upon the 11^e of *Goats*, he had planted 5 mortars, and

216 MEMOIRS of

and 18 pieces of cannon of 24 pound ball, and that they were ready to batter in breach. I then thought it time to summons the governor to surrender, by a drum that carried him the following letter.

S I R,

*THE king my master requiring satisfaction for the cruelties exercised towards his subjects, whom you made prisoners the last year, and his majesty being informed, that after having caused the surgeons to be massacred, whom you had permitted to come on shore to dress the wounded, you have starved to death, and otherwise destroyed, those in your custody, detaining them prisoners, contrary to the cartel settled between the crowns of France and Portugal; I am ordered to make the best use of his majesty's ships and troops, to force you to submit yourself to his discretion, to give me up all the French prisoners, and to raise such a contribution upon
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the inhabitants of this colony, as may be sufficient to indemnify his majesty from the charges of so considerable an armament.

I have deferred this summons till I saw myself in a condition of forcing you to surrender, and of laying your City and country in ashes, if you do not yield to his majesty's discretion, who has commanded me to spare all those who shall readily submit, and repent their having offended him thro' his officers. In the mean time I hear that M. du Clerc, their commander in chief, has been assassinated: I have not as yet made any reprizal upon the Portugueze, who have fallen under my power, it not being his majesty's design to carry on the war, in a manner so unworthy a most christian king: I am ready to believe you a man of too much honour to have had any concern in so shameful a deed, but that is not enough: his majesty requires you to name the authors, that they may be brought to exemplary punishment; so that if

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you

you refuse to obey his will, neither all your artillery or all your numerous multitude shall prevent me from executing his orders, or from laying your whole country waste with fire and sword. I expect your answer; let it be speedy and decisive; or you shall know, that, if I have forbore you hitherto, it has only been to spare myself the fearful horror of involving the innocent with the guilty.

I am, &c.

The governour sent my drum back with the following Answer.

S I R,

I HAVE seen the motives and reasons which have induced you to come from France, into this country. As for the treatment of the French prisoners, it has been conformable to the usages of war, they having wanted neither ammunition-bread, or the other necessaries, altho' they deserved them not; because of the manner in which they

they attacked the country of the king my master, without any commission from the most christian king, for that purpose, being no more than cruisers. In the mean time I have granted life to 600 of them, as they themselves can witness, and screened them from the fury of the Blacks, who were for putting them all to the sword.

In fine, I have not been wanting in any thing which regarded them, having treated them according to the intentions of the king, my master.

As for the death of M. du Clerc, I, at his own desire, lodged him in the best house in the town, where he was killed: now, who killed him: that is more than is certainly known, what care soever has been taken to trace it out as well on my part, as on that of justice; and I assure you, that, if the assassin is found out, he shall be chastised according to his demerits. In all this, nothing has happened, which has not been exactly as I tell you; and as for giving up this place to

you, what threats soever you may vent, the king, my master, having trusted me therewith, I have no other answer to make, than, that I am ready to defend it to the last drop of my blood: and I hope the lord of hosts will not forsake me in so just a cause, as is the defence of this place, which you would possess yourself of, under frivolous pretences. God preserve you.

Sir, I am, &c.

Upon receiving this answer, I resolved to attack the place in good earnest, and went with the chevalier *de Bauve* all along the shore from our camp to the isle of *Goats*, to find out the places, where we might the most easily force the enemy. We observed five *Portugueze* ships at anchor near the *Benedictines*, that seemed very proper to serve as a lodgment for the troops I designed against that post: and, by way of precaution, I ordered the *Mars* to go and lye between

tween our two batteries and those five ships, to be within reach of sustaining them when there should be need of it.

Upon the 20th, I ordered the *Brillant* to go and join the *Mars*, and from these two ships, and from all our batteries I kept up a continual fire, which levelled a part of the retrenchments, and I gave out also the necessary orders for the assault next day.

In the night, from the 20th to the 21st, I sent away our long-boats with the troops designed for the attack of the retrenchments of the *Benedictines*, and with orders to lodge themselves, without any noise, in the five ships aforesaid. This they undertook accordingly, but the enemy discovering them by the flashes of lightning which followed thick after one another, they gave fire upon our boats very furiously. I mistrusted this, and had ordered the *Brillant* and the *Mars*, as also our batteries, to point all their guns before night, upon the enemy's

retrenchments, and to hold themselves in readiness to give fire, as soon as they should perceive a gun to go off from the battery where I was: therefore, as soon as ever the enemy began to fire upon our boats, I fired off the signal-gun myself, which was succeeded by a continual fire from all our batteries and ships, which, together with the thunder and lightning, made this one of the most frightful nights that can be imagined, and threw a general consternation all over the town. The confusion the inhabitants were in was the greater, in that they imagined we were going to give the assault in the midst of the night.

Upon the 21st, at break of day, I advanced at the head of the troops to begin the attack of the quarter called the *Conception*, giving orders to the chevalier *de Gouyon* to slide down along shore with his brigade to attack another place, and sent word to the troops lodged in the five ships, to assault,

fault, at the same time, the retrenchments of the *Benedictines*.

In the midst of these motions, the sieur *de la Salle*, who had been aide-camp to the late M. *du Clerc*, made his escape out of the town, and, coming over to us, told us, That the populace and the militia quite dismayed at the great fire of all our batteries, and apprehending we were going to give the assault in the night, had been struck with such a terror, that from that instant they had begun to depart the town with astonishing confusion; and that the same panic had seized on the regular forces who were also marched off; but that in their retreat they had set fire to their richest store-houses, and left mines under the forts of the *Benedictines* and the *Jesuits*, with design to destroy, at least, a part of us; which he observing had slipped away from them, in the general hurry, to give us notice of it.

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All these particulars, which, at first sight, did not seem to hang well together, but which, however, proved to be very true, made me hasten our march. I met with no resistance, but kept an eye upon the retrenchments of the *Conception* and of the *Benedictines*: at last I marched down to the place at the head of the grenadiers, and took possession of all the forts or posts of any account, ordering them to give the mines vent, after which I quartered the chevalier *de Course-rac*'s brigade upon the hill of the *Jesuits*, to take care of the forts there.

When we came into this deserted town, we found what was left of *M. du Clerc*'s people broken loose from the prisons, and already straggled all over the town, to plunder, what they thought, the richest houses. This sight encouraged the greedy inclinations of my people, and tempted them to disperse. But on the spot I severely punished some of them, and ordered all the *French* prisoners, to be carried

carried and kept on the hill of the *Benedictines*.

These orders given out, I returned to the chevalier *de Gouyon*, and *de Bauve*, whom I had left to command the rest of the troops, to confer with them upon the proper expedients, which might prevent, or at least lessen, the sacking of the town thus open, as it were, on all sides. In the mean time I placed sentries, and lodged corps-de-guards in all the necessary places, and ordered patrouilles to be in motion night and day, and proclaimed it death for any soldier or sailor to set foot in the town upon any pretence whatsoever; in a word, I left nothing, that was practicable, unthought of. But the thirst of plunder prevailed over the dread of punishment. The corps-de-guard and the patrouilles were the first to encrease this disorder in the night-time; so that the next day three fourths of the houses and warehouses were found open, the wines spilt about, the goods
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and furniture scattered up and down in the middle of the streets, and in the dirt and mire; every thing, in short, was in the utmost disorder and confusion. I shot the greatest part of those who had broken through the publick proclamation; but, finding that reiterated punishments had no manner of effect, I resolved to save, at least, something, and to employ the soldiers to carry all that could be picked up to the publick warehouses, where *M. de Ricouart* placed clerks and people of trust.

Upon the 23d, I sent a summons to the fort of *St. Cross*, which surrendered upon terms. *M. de Beauville*, an adjutant, went to take possession of it, as well as the forts of *St. John*, *Villegaignon*, and others, and had orders to nail the cannon of all the batteries which were not compleat.

In the mean time I learnt from several *Black* deserters, that the governor of the town, and the commadore of the fleet, had rallied their dispersed forces,

forces, and retrenched themselves within a league of us, in expectation of a powerful succour from the mines, under the conduct of *Don Anthony d'Albuquerque*, a general in high esteem among the *Portugueze*; so that it was proper to be upon our guard. To this purpose, I lodged the chevalier *de Gouyon*'s brigade in the retrenchments which looked towards the plain, and posted myself with the brigade of the center, upon the eminencies of the *Conception* and the *Benedictines*, to be at hand to assist those who might want it. As for the chevalier *de Couserac*'s brigade, that was already posted upon the hill of the *Jesuits*.

Having thus my mind at ease upon this head, I turned my thoughts entirely to the interest of the king and my owners. The enemy had saved their Gold in the woods, burnt or sunk their best ships, and set fire to their richest warehouses. What remained was exposed to the fury of plunder,

plunder, which nothing could abate. It was impossible to keep the town long, because of the shortness of the provisions we found in it, and the difficulty of penetrating into the country to get a supply. These things being duly weighed, I sent to acquaint the governor, That if he delayed to ransom his town with a round contribution I was ready to lay it in ashes, and to sap it to the very foundations. And that this threat might affect him the more sensibly, I detached two companies of grenadiers, with orders to burn all the country houses within half a league about. This they executed, but falling in with a body of the enemy far superior to them, they had been cut to pieces, if I had not ordered two companies, commanded by the sieurs *de Brugnon* and *de Cheridan*, to follow them, and these, being sustained by my company of corporals, broke thro' the enemy, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight. Their commandant, named *Amaral*, a man much esteemed by

by them, was left on the spot. The *sieur de Brugnon* presented me with his arms and his horse, one of the finest I have ever seen. The *sieur de Brugnon* behaved with distinguishing gallantry in this action, and, sustained by the *sieur de Cheridan*, had forced his way thro' the enemy, with his bayonet at the end of his piece: but this affair being in a way to become more universal, by the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, I ordered two battalions to advance under the command of the chevalier *de Bauve*, who penetrated farther on, and burnt the house which had served for a retreat to the commandant.

After this skirmish, the governor sent the president of the chamber of justice, with one of his *maestros-de-camp* to talk with me about the ransom of the town; they began with telling me, That the people having deserted them, and carried all their effects into the woods and mountains, it was impossible for them to raise above

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600,000

600,000 cruzades, and demanded a pretty long space of time to bring back the gold belonging to the king of *Portugal*, which had been carried far up into the country. I rejected this offer, and dismissed the deputies, having first shewn them, that I was undermining every place which fire could not utterly destroy.

From the time they went away, I heard no more from the governor; on the contrary, I had advice, that don *Antony d'Albuquerque* was upon the point of joining him with a powerful reinforcement, and that he had dispatched an express to acquaint him therewith. I presently foresaw the necessity of either making an effort before this junction was effected, or of suffering a disappointment. And, I gave immediate orders that our whole force, into which I had incorporated 500 of the late *M. du Clerc's* men, should set out on their march, and decamp in the night-time without beat of drum. This order was executed

executed with such courage and observance, that, notwithstanding the difficulties of the ways, I was, at break of day, in sight of the enemy. Our van-guard commanded by the chevalier *de Gouyon* never once halted, till within half musquet-shot of the eminence upon which they were encamped, and appeared in order of battle. They had been re-inforced by a body of 1200 men lately arrived from the neighbourhood of the island of *Grande*. I drew up all our battalions in front, as much as the ground would allow, ready to give them battle; and took care to secure the eminences and defiles, detaching several small bodies to take a wheel round at a considerable distance, that they might fall upon the enemy's flank as soon as they should understand the charge to have been given.

The governor, quite surprized at this, sent a very knowing *Jesuit* with two of his principal officers, to represent to me, That he had offered all

the gold in his disposal, for the ransom of the town, and that as the case stood, all he could possibly do farther, was to add 10,000 cruzades to it, out of his own purse, and 500 chests of sugar, and what cattle we might stand in need of; but that, after this declaration, I might fight and destroy the colony, and e'en act just as I pleased. Upon this, I called a council, which concluded that, if we should beat these people, far from reaping any advantage by it, we should lose the only hope we had left, to make them contribute, and that we ought not to balance upon their offer. I comprehended this, and consequently I, on the spot, demanded twelve of their principal officers, and the president of the chamber of justice, as hostages, which was done, and they promised to pay 600,000 cruzades within a fortnight, and to supply me with all the cattle I should want. At the same time it was agreed, that the *Portuguese* should have leave to come on board

board our ships, and into the town, to redeem what effects they thought proper for ready money.

The next day, being the 11th of *October*, don *Antony d'Albuquerque* arrived at the enemy's camp with 3000 men, half horse and half foot, and above 600 *Blacks* well armed. This obliged me to redouble my vigilance, and to keep continually upon my guard, and the rather, because the *Blacks*, who came over to us, assured us, that, notwithstanding the hostages, the enemy in general were for surprizing and attacking us in the night. This, however, did not prevent us from carrying all the chests of sugar on board our ships, or from filling the ware-houses with what goods and merchandize we could gather together: but the greatest part of the commodities being fit for the *South Seas* only, it would have been so much trouble lost if they had been carried into *France*. The difficulty was to find ships in a condition to undertake so long a voyage.

We had but one fit to go thither, and she could carry but part of the goods; wherefore, that the rest might also turn to some account, M. de Ricouart and I, thought it proper to send the *Concord* along with her, and these two ships were laden with the utmost dispatch: but over and above there remained 500 chests of sugar, which were put on board the best of our prizes, which every ship of us contributed to equip, and M. de la Ruffiniere had the command of her. The rest of the ships we had taken were restored to the *Portugueze*, as were also the damaged goods, which were made the most of that could be.

Upon the 4th of *November*, the enemy having made their last payment, I delivered up the town to them, and embarked our forces, keeping only the forts of the isle of *Goats*, of *Villegaignon*, and those at the entrance, to secure our departure.

Upon

Upon the 13th, I set fire to the *Portuguese Men of War*, which might have been got afloat again, and to a *Merchant-Man* we could not dispose of. I had,

with great care, caused the sacred vessels, the plate and the ornaments of the churches, to be gathered together and locked up in several large chests, and before I went away, I deposited them in the hands of the *Jesuits*, as the only ecclesiastics who, in this country, had seemed to me, to live morally well, with a charge to deliver them up to the bishop of the place. These learned fathers contributed much to the saving of this flourishing colony, by advising the governor to ransom the town, without which I had levelled it with the ground; which would have been an irreparable loss to the king of *Portugal*, but of no advantage to my armament.

Before I undertake to speak concerning our return, it may be proper
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for me to acknowledge, that the success of this expedition was owing to the valour of the greatest part of the officers in general, and to the bravery of the captains in particular, but above all, to the resolution and good conduct of Mefs. the chevaliers *de Gouyon, de Courserac, de Bauve, and de St. Germain*, major of the squadron. These four officers were of unspeakable help to me, throughout the whole course of this enterprize, and it is with pleasure I confess, that through their activity, their exalted courage, and their advice, I surmounted innumerable obstacles, which seemed to me, to be far above our strength.

Upon the 31st, the whole squadron got under sail for *France*, and the same day the two ships, bound for the *South Seas*, departed also well fitted, and furnished with all necessaries. I brought away with me an officer, 4 midshipmen, and near 500 common men of the late *M. du Clerc's* people: all the rest of the officers had been sent

sent away to the bay of *All Saints*. I had resolved to go and deliver them, and reckoned upon drawing a new contribution from that colony: and I should really have executed this plan, had I not been 'unfortunately' and cruelly crossed by contrary winds for 40 days together, insomuch that we had scarce provision enough left to carry us to *France*; and in such a condition it had been madness to have exposed ourselves to the hazard of suffering farther distresses. This want of provision, made me deliberate whether it might not be adviseable to put into the *American Islands*: but the uncertainty of meeting there with sufficient refreshment, and supply for the whole squadron, suppressed this thought. We were obliged to leave the prize commanded by the sieur *de la Ruffiniere* behind us, because she made us lose too much way, and our condition was such that the least delay might have been attended with
cruel

cruel disasters. The *Eagle* was ordered to convoy this prize into the first port of *France*.

Upon the 26th of *September*, after having suffered contrary winds for a considerable time, we crossed the line, and upon the 19th of the following month we got into the latitude of the *Western Islands*: hitherto the whole squadron had kept company; but we were in these parts, taken by three successive gales of wind, so violent, that we were forced to scud away before it, and were all separated from each other. The great ships were in evident danger of perishing; the I commanded, altho' one of the best in the squadron, could not steer, the wind was so violent; and I myself was under a necessity of standing at the helm for above 6 hours together, and keeping my eye upon every sea which might broach us to. All the care I took, could not prevent all my chain plates from snapping one after another, or my sails from being carried away, or
my

my main-mast from being sprung between decks. Furthermore my ship made as much water as employed three pumps, and my condition was so urgent in the middle of the night, that I was reduced to the necessity of making signals of distress by firing of guns and, shewing of lights in my shrouds. But the best of the ships being in as bad a way as myself, they could not keep near me, so that I had only the *Argonaut*, commanded by the chevalier *du Bois de la Mothe*, who upon this occasion cheerfully ventured his life to keep within reach of relieving me.

This storm lasted 12 days with such violence, that I was upon the brink of being swallowed up in endeavouring to rejoin three of my ships whom I perceived a-head of me. For, staggering down upon them with the foot of my forefall loose, a vast sea canted my stern up into the air, and at the instant a larger than that took me a-head, and, flying over my bow-sprit-end and fore-top, buried all the forepart of my ship
under

under it quite home to main-mast. Her endeavour to throw off this frightful body of water, made our hair stand on end, and gave us a dismal prospect of death in the midst of the great deep. The shake of the masts, and of all the parts of her, was most frightful, and I know not yet by what miracle she got rid of the dreadful oppression. This storm being abated, I rejoined the *Brillant*, the *Argonaut*, the *Bel-lona*, the *Amazon* and the *Astrea*. We lay by several times to take up the rest of the squadron, but had no sight of any of them; and we fix arrived at *Brest* upon the 16th of *February*, 1712. The *Achilles* and the *Glorious* arrived two days after us: the *Mars*, having lost all her masts in the storm, was in great danger of perishing for want of provision; and, after suffering great hardships, arrived at the *Groyn*, and from thence at *Port Louis*.

The *Eagle* and the prize put into the isle of *Cayen*, but the *Eagle* was
lost

lost at anchor there, and her crew went all on board the prize, and came with her into *France*. The *Magnanimous* and the *Faithful* have never since been heard of, doubtless they were lost in the tempest before mentioned. These two ships had near 1200 men on board them, besides officers and young gentlemen of great merit and birth, whom I infinitely regret; among the rest the chevalier *de Courserac*, my faithful companion in danger, who in many of my enterprises had seconded me with most uncommon valour, and who in this last expedition had gained remarkable glory. The tender friendship which had united us for so long a time past, and which was never interrupted by one moment of coldness, has made me mourn his loss equally with that of my brothers. I reposed such a confidence in him, that I had put on board his ship, the *Magnanimous*, above 600,000 livres in gold and silver, besides the goods he was laden

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with: indeed she was the largest ship in the squadron, and, to outward appearance, the most likely to go through foul weather; thus all our riches were divided between these ships and mine.

The return of the cargoes of the two ships I sent to the *South Seas*, added to the gold and other effects brought from *Rio Janeiro*, paid the expences of our expedition, and 92 per Cent profit to my owners: but in the *South Seas* very near 100,000 pieces of eight, in bad debts, were left behind, by the malversation of agents and brokers. Therefore this loss together with that of the *Magnanimous*, the *Faithful*, and the *Eagle*, diminished the profit by one half. These are misfortunes which are not in human prudence to foresee.

The advantages accruing from this expedition are small if compared with the damage the *Portuguese* sustained, not only by the contribution I forced them to, but also by the loss of 4 of their

their largest *Merchant-Men*, without reckoning the prodigious quantity of merchandise and provision which was burnt, plundered or brought away in our ships. The bare rumour of this armament caused a great diversion, and proved a great expence to the *Dutch* and *English*. These last particularly hurried out a squadron of 20 *Men of War* to block me up in *Brest*, and fearing our design was to land the pretender in *England*, they recalled 6000 of their forces in *Flanders*, and put themselves in great agitations to prevent our making a descent upon their coasts; and at the same time dispatched advice-boats and *Men of War* to their chief settlements, with the more anxiety, as they knew not upon what point of the compass we were to steer.

Two months after my arrival at *Brest*, I repaired to *Versailles* to pay my court to the king: he had the goodness to express himself in favour of my conduct, and to signify his

great disposition to procure me a suitable recompense: but as he had at that time a number of old captains of great merit for their services and their birth, his majesty did not think it proper to nominate me chief of a squadron, till the second promotion of general officers, which was two years afterwards, and in the mean time was so good as to gratify me with a pension of 2000 livres upon the order of St. *Louis*.

I was at *Versailles* when his majesty was struck by that mortal sickness which snatched him away from us. My grief upon this occasion is inexpressible. From my most tender years I had conceived sentiments full of love and admiration, both for his person and his virtues. The favour and trust, wherewith he condescended to honour me, would have made me sacrifice my own life a thousand times over to prolong his days. I could not bear so affecting a sight, and the very moment after this great king had

had breathed out his last, I took post for a corner of my province, there to give vent to my sorrow.

The necessary peace which this august monarch left to his people, and which his R. H. *Monseigneur*, the duke of *Orleans*, has continued by a prudent administration, never sufficiently to be extolled, has suspended (for want of opportunities) the activity of my zeal; but as soon as the public good shall give me room to display it, I will make new endeavours to convince the king, great grandson to so high a monarch, that he has not a more faithful subject, or one who desires with greater ardor to serve him faithfully and well.

M A X I M S.

IN closing up these memoirs, I have thought proper to add certain maxims, which have not a little contributed to the success of my different actions and undertakings, to the end

that the king's loyal subjects may in some measure be instructed thereby for the good of his service.

I shall begin with assuring you that my disinterestedness has been of great use to me in winning the hearts of the officers and common men: it is certain, that far from imitating many others in the plundering and stripping the prizes I took, and enriching myself with what did not of right belong to me; I have on the contrary often distributed my lawful due in the gratification of officers, and such men who had distinguished themselves; never promising any reward, or threatening any punishment, which was not followed by a speedy effect.

I have always been careful to keep up an exact discipline, never suffering any neglect of duty, or any breach into good order, or that the orders I had once given should be eluded upon any pretence whatsoever.

Moreover by my manner of ranging and posting my people before a fight,

fight, I have always ordered it so, that they should be under a necessity of behaving well, and under a kind of impossibility of deserting their posts, forecasting at the same time all the accidents which might fall out in an action, and setting things always at the worst that might happen, thereby to be as much before-hand with a proper remedy as possible.

To all these precautions I added a great mindfulness of my people, and never exposed them improperly, of which they were so thoroughly convinced, that they never failed to execute my orders of what sort soever, whether by land or by sea, with great alacrity. Was it proper to come up with, or make away from, an enemy a little faster than ordinary; I never was afraid to send them all down into the hold, because I was certain, that at the first notice I should give them, they would infallibly repair every man to his post. I have even oftentimes made them all on a sudden

sudden lye flat with their bellies upon the deck, with design to save them, and have always observed that they fought with the more heat and bravery after it.

Altho, these several maxims are in themselves pretty valuable, I must confess to my shame that I have sometimes tarnished them a little, by giving way to passions too violent whenever I have thought a duty neglected. This sudden commotion has oftentimes prompted me to some proceedings too hasty, and to some expressions too far beneath the dignity of a commander, who ought to be master of himself, and never exert his authority but with moderation and calmness; but as this vice is in the blood, all my endeavours and long experience have been only able to moderate it, not to suppress it entirely.

Those who shall read these memoirs, and reflect upon the multitudes of fights, boardings and dangers of all sorts, which I have gone through,

through, may be apt to think me a man in whom nature suffers less at the approach of danger than in most other men. I agree that my inclination is of a warlike bent, that the sound of fifes, and drums, the noise of cannon and small arms, that every thing, in short, of the kind, inspires me with a martial joy: but at the same time I must confess that upon many occasions, the prospect of a pressing danger has caused strange alterations in me, nay, sometimes involuntary tremblings in every part of my body. But shame and honour surmounting these base indications, have soon indued me with new strength even in the midst of my greatest weakness of this kind; and then it has been that to punish myself for being surprized by so shameful a dread, I have braved the greatest dangers with the utmost temerity. It has been after this combat between honour and nature that my most lively actions have been
pushed

250 MEMOIRS of, &c.

pushed on beyond my hopes. I have dwelt upon this with no other view, than to excite those to whom the like may happen hereafter, to struggle against themselves in proportion to their weakness in this respect.

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