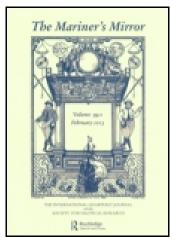
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RALEIGH'S "ORDERS."

BY DAVID HANNAY.

THE Orders issued by Sir Walter Raleigh to his squadron at Plymouth in May, 1617, before he sailed on his last disastrous voyage, were accounted a model of "godley, severe, and martiall government." They were published in 1618 in a pamphlet— "Printed for H. G., and are to be sold by J. Wright, at the Signe of the Bible Without New Gate." The Pamphlet bears the title, "Newes of Sir Walter Raleigh" and purports to have been written by one of his captains and to have been sent back for publication from "the River of Caliana on the coast of Guiana." It was reprinted in Mr. Force's "Tracts" and elsewhere.

The "Newes" throws some light on the real, but unavowed purpose of the voyage. Whatever Raleigh may have thought fit to tell King James, and Mr. Secretary Winwood, it is very clear that his partisans did not think that he was in search of a mere mine in some part of Guiana, not occupied by the Spaniards, but of "the great Empire of Guiana itself," ruled by "the great Emperor Inga." But our present game is what the anonymous author rather happily describes as "these Lawes, Articles and Especiall Commandments." The "Orders" are made up of several elements. They include directions to hold daily prayers. prohibitions of the use of bad language, and of outrages on women, all of which had been common form from the middle ages (and very indifferently obeyed) in armies no less than fleets. Divine service was to be read in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper, and a psalm to be sung "at the setting of the watch." The formulæ would have applied to a garrison or to troops in the field as well as to a ship's company. Then we have the rudiments of a signal book.

" If you discover any Saile at Sea either to windward or to lee-ward of the Admirall or if any two or three of our Fleet shall discover any such saile which the Admirall cannot discerne; if she be a great Shippe and but one, you shall strike your maine top-saile and hoist it again so often as you shall judge it to be roo Tunnes of burthen, or if you judge her to bee 200 Tunnes to strike and hoyst twise, if 300 thrice, and so answerable to her greatnes."

If you see a whole squadron, imitate their course to show us what course they bear, after striking the main topsail several times, and putting out your "ensigne in the maine top." Then there are sailing orders—as that no vessel is to go so far ahead of the Admiral during the day; that she cannot fall behind and follow his light by night. Some of "the especiall commandments" are adapted to the particular purpose of the voyage. When the squadron has reached the West Indies, and men are landed, they are warned not to swim in rivers till they are sure no *allegators* are to be feared, nor to sleep on damp ground under trees, nor to eat over-fat pork or "Turkies" for their health's sake, nor to "force any woman bee shee Christian or Heathen upon paine of death."

But perhaps the most interesting of Raleigh's orders to us are those which show the still transitional character of the fighting crews of his day.

Here the mediæval distinction between the shipmen and the soldiers is clearly recognised. But Raleigh will have none of the fixed difference of function between them, which was so prevalent in, and so fatal to, the Portuguese and Spaniards.

Soldiers and Saylors, sailors and sailers (all three forms are used) were to pull together, an excellent rule, but not quite compatible with the previous rule that the sailors are to obey the Master and Boatswain, the soldiers the Captain and his Lieutenant.

[&]quot;Thirdly, no man shall refuse to obey his Officer in all that he is commanded for the benefit of the journey. No man (being in health) refuse to wayte his turne as he shall be directed. The Saylors by the Maister and Boatswaine; the landmen by the Captaine, Lieuetenant and others."

[&]quot;You shall cause the land-men to learne the names and places of the ropes, that they may assist the Sailors in their labours upon the decks, though they cannot goe up to the tops and yards.

[&]quot;You shall traine and instruct your Sailers (as many as shall be found fit) as you doe your land-men, and register their names in the Lists of your Companies, making no difference of professions; but that all be esteemed Saylors and all Soldiers, for your troupes will bee very weake when you come to land, without the assistance of your Sea-faring-men."

The fighting orders which form another element of the whole are no less worth looking at.

" In case we should be set upon by Sea, the captaineshall appoint sufficient company to assist the Gunners, after which (if the fight require it) the Cabins betweene the Decks shall be taken downe, all beds and sacks employed for Bulwarks ; the Musketiers of every ship shall be divided under captaines, or other officers, some for the fore-castell, others for the mast, the rest for the poope, where they shall abide (if they be not otherwise directed) the Gunners shall not shoot any great Ordnance at other distance than poynt blanke. An officer or two shall be appointed to take care that no loose powder bee carried betweene the decks, or neere any linstocke, or match in hand. You shall saw divers Hogs-heads in two parts, and filled with water set them aloft the deckes. You shall divide your Carpenters, some in the hold (if any shot come betweene wind and water) and the rest betweene the decks, with plates of lead, plugs, and all times necessary laid by them; you shall also lay by your tubs of water, certaine wet blankets to cast upon and choke any fire; the Maister and Boat-swaine shall appoynt a certaine number of sailers to every saile, and to every such company a Maister's Mate, Boat-swaine's Mate, or quarter Maister, so as when every man knows his charge and place, things may be done without noyse or confusion, and no man to speake but the officers ; as for example, if the Maister or his Mate bid heave out the maine top-saile, the Maister's Mate, Boat-swain's Mate, or quarter Maister which hath charge of that saile, shall with his company performe it without calling out to others, and so for the fore-saile, fore top saile, sprit-saile, and the rest; the Boat-swaine himself taking no particular charge of any saile, but over looking all, and seeing every one doe his duty.

"No man shall bord a ship of the enemy without order, because the losse of a ship to us is of more importance than of ten to the enemy, as also by one man's bording, all our Fleet may be engaged, it being a great dishonour to loose the least of our fleet. Every ship being under the lee of the enemy shall labour to recover the wind, of the Admirall indeavour it, and find an enemy to lee-ward of us. The whole fleet shall follow the Admirall, Vice-Admirall, or other leading Ship within musquet shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading Ship after her broadside discovered, she may stay, and trim her sailes, then is the Second Ship to give her side, and the third and the fourth, which done they shall all take [*i.e.*, tack] as the first Ship, and giving the enemy the other side shall keepe him under a perpetual volley. Thus must you doe to the windermost ship of the enemy, which you shall batter in pieces, or force her to beare up and intangle the rest falling foule one of another to their great confusion."

It is difficult to see how anybody can read this passage, and still suppose that the line formation for a fleet was unknown to seamen before the First Dutch War. Raleigh assumes that his vessels will attack in a line ahead first, second, third, fourth, and so on, one behind the other. He had the Armada fight in his mind clearly enough, and assumes that his enemy will be bearing away from him going large in a line abreast. Then he will attack his weathermost end just as the heavy cavalry of the time attacked and tried to breech "a stand of pipes" in the "caracole" attack. An enemy who hauled his wind could baffle the attack at once, for if the enemy were close hauled Raleigh's attack must have been made on his van—that is to say into that part of his line which it was easiest for him to support.

I do not say that Sir Walter's "Orders" were all original. They could not be. "Similar manners will naturally be produced by similar situations." All men who drew up orders for a Fleet

were bound to repeat one another since they were dealing with permanent conditions, and for identical purposes. But Raleigh's "Orders" were counted particularly complete. His renown and his popularity in the 17th century were great. His "model" would always be read with respect. I think that whoever looks at the "Orders" issued in the reign of Charles I., or at the "Laws of War," and " Ordinances " of 1652, will come to the conclusion that the King's officers, and the Admirals and Generals at sea, of the Commonwealth had Raleigh's code in their minds, as the Laws of War of 1652 were repeated with a few significant differences in retail, and in wording, in the Articles of War of 1661, we must include Sir Walter among those who helped to make the law of the Navy.