

# British Yachts and Yachtsmen – The Restoration Period

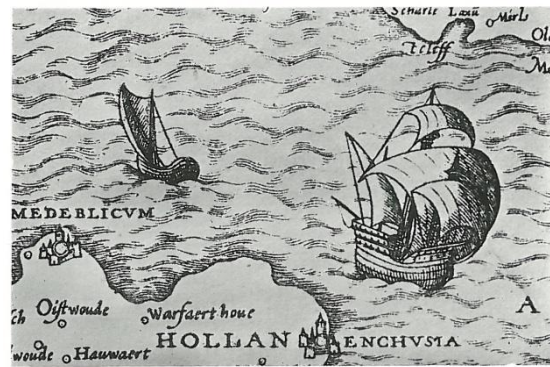
## Chapter II

### THE RESTORATION PERIOD

It has often been said that yachting history begins with the Restoration of Charles II., and it is indeed certain that the date of the home-coming marks an epoch. As has already been shown, the seeds of the sudden growth were sown in the dark ages; but there was small visible development before 1660, when the young plant shot up with great rapidity. From this time onward it begins to be possible to associate names with progress and with events, not as fully as we could wish, but to an extent which contrasts favourably with the obscurity of the preceding age. But there is still a considerable period to be traversed before the story ceases to tell of British yachts rather than of British yachtsmen.

Popular opinion has it that the history of the Restoration yachts is all plain sailing. That the Dutch gave the *Mary* to the King; that the King and the Duke of York used her as a model, and proceeded to multiply the type; that a yacht race took place upon the Thames, and that presently war came and stopped the development of a promising sport - for all this, and for a good deal more of like nature, 'Pepys' Diary' stands responsible. Without denying a very considerable value to this quaint and popular work, the author may be allowed to point out that, as regards yachting, Pepys was in 1660 at a great disadvantage. To form a true appreciation of what the movement actually meant, a knowledge of the sea and of ships was above all things necessary; and we have no reason whatever to suppose that Pepys at this date had acquired any technical knowledge. He learnt a great deal in the years that followed, and within limits may be regarded as an authority on naval and maritime affairs; but his period of authority was not yet, and at the Restoration he spoke of the sea and of ships with guileless irresponsibility. For facts within his own personal experience he is as good a witness as is to be desired, but when, in the earlier days of his connection with shipping, he expresses an opinion on a matter of which he could not have full cognizance, he must be content to submit to cross-examination. When he says that he slept on cushions in the cabin of one of the yachts, and laughed till he was fit to burst when the snoring of his companions woke him, we believe him and envy him his frame of mind; but when he speaks of yachts as being entirely a new thing, it becomes necessary to inquire more closely into the details of the matter.

And, indeed, there are fairly numerous difficulties to be overcome. Was the name 'yacht' so entirely new in England in 1660? Was the thing itself quite a novelty? If so, in what did the novelty consist? In the form of hull? In the rig? Or in the luxury of the appointments? To most of these questions the answer is at least a partial negative. The name 'yacht' was not then for the first time heard in England. All through the early part of the century yachts had accompanied every great Dutch fleet that put to sea; yachts had served as advice boats to the fleet with which Tromp destroyed Oquendo



1.—DATE 1558. SHOWING TYPICAL RIG FOR MEDIUM-SIZED SHIP OF THE PERIOD, AND BOAT WITH SPRITSAIL.  
From a Dutch chart of 1558 in C. H. Coote's Collection.

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in the Downs; yachts scouted for every fleet that fought against us under the Commonwealth. The name was well known to every man who took an interest in sea affairs, but it had as yet no reference to pleasure-sailing.

Was there, then, any novelty in the hull or rig? As far as we can decide from existing evidence, there was not. The hulls of the first yachts seem to have followed normal lines of development, and as to rig, there was no essential difference between the early yachts and the fore and aft rigged coasters - no more, in fact, than there is between the cutter yacht of the present day and the East Coast oyster boat. It would be impossible to point to any one detail as essential to a yacht, or to name any feature of rig or hull that was not already present in England in existing types of ships. The yachts were fore and aft rigged, but fore and aft rigs were common to Northern Europe in Elizabeth's time. Some of them had gaff sails and jibs; but gaff sails and jibs were in common use in coasters at the very beginning of this reign,<sup>1</sup> and cannot have been introduced with lightning rapidity. Then, as now, the sailor-man was conservative. Leeboards, as we have seen, were common throughout Northern waters in 1634, and probably much earlier; and the Dunkirk prizes taken under the Commonwealth had already shown us what was known across the water as to the way in which to build a fast-sailing ship.

The truth would seem to be that there was little that was novel about the ship herself; but the idea of owning a private sailing vessel was new to England, though doubtless not new to those courtiers who had shared Charles's exile in Holland, and certainly not new to the King himself. The Dutch neatness of equipment, too, must have been a revelation to men who had always been accustomed to look upon life afloat as a time of inevitable hardship; the royal interest in the details of nautical affairs was also a new departure; and, finally, there came the word 'yacht' itself, new to the non-seagoing public, and seeming to summarize and, as it were, to hall-mark these various new tendencies. The word instantly became popular, and its use survived the short era of pleasure-sailing. When the yachts were turned over, as they very soon were, to perform the various minor naval duties appropriate to small craft, they carried their name with them, and it may be said with a reasonable degree of truth that for nearly a century a yacht ceased to be a pleasure boat, and that a pleasure boat was not a yacht. This statement would not indeed be strictly true, but it is true that from about 1670 onwards the term 'yacht,' when it occurs, should always be understood to mean a navy tender unless there is distinct reason to suppose that such is not the case. The yachts of the end of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century corresponded rather to the *Victoria and Albert* and the *Enchantress* than to the *Britannia* or *Sunbeam*.

It appears to be well established that the yachts of 1660 differed from other contemporary small craft chiefly in the luxury of their fittings. It was not the rig that made the yacht, for spritsails and gaff-sails flourished side by side, and a yacht might have a jib or no jib, might have a square topsail or a stump mast; but the essential feature lay in fitting the whole of the interior for the accommodation and comfort of passengers, in the carving and gilding, in the neatness and space below deck, and last, but not least, in the luxurious cooking appointments. It is true that the germ of the cutter rig belongs to this period, but so, too, does the germ of every existing fore and

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<sup>1</sup>State Papers, Domestic, Charles II, vol. cix., 73 I.

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aft rig. It is not true, however, to say that the *Mary* represents the furthest point to which this rig can be traced back, for not only was the rig of gaff mainsail with foresail and jib fairly common, but there is, on the other hand, no sure evidence that the *Mary* was rigged in this way.

The first stage of Charles II's journey home, from Breda to Delft, was made in a yacht, and that considerable importance should be attached to the event will appear from the following description of it:<sup>2</sup>

‘The yacht on board of which the King sailed had been built for himself by the Prince of Orange, but now belongs to the Board of Admiralty of Rotterdam, and it was without doubt the finest of the little fleet, which consisted, without other ships, of thirteen large yachts, which the persons of rank use in the rivers and on the sea, to pass from one province to another, for necessity as well as for pleasure.

‘The King found his yacht so convenient and comfortable that he remarked, while discoursing with the Deputies, that he might order one of the same style, so soon as he should arrive in England, to use in the River Thames. The Burgermaster of Amsterdam, taking occasion to do a considerable service to his fatherland, said to the King that lately a yacht had been built in Amsterdam which was almost of the same size, and at least as handsome, and he took the liberty of presenting it to His Majesty, praying him to do a favour to the Magistrate by accepting it.

‘The King did not absolutely accept it, but at the same time did not refuse, so that the yacht was bought, which the Board of Admiralty has now received from the East India Company, and has been brought to an excellent state for giving pleasure to the great King, and, to give it greater brilliancy, the Magistrate has had the interior of the cabins decorated and gilded, while some of the best artists have been engaged in making beautiful paintings and sculptures with which to embellish it within and without.’

With the exercise of some tact, the King's retinue was distributed satisfactorily among the thirteen yachts, in all of which every possible luxury was present:

‘Each yacht had her own steward, cooks, and officers who were in charge of the pantry, kitchen and wines, and those yachts which had not suitable kitchens on board were accompanied by other vessels, wherein stoves for the kitchen had been provided, also ovens for baking, and there had been made great provision of so great a quantity of all kinds of food, game, confitures, and wines, and all the tables were so fully served, that the stewards of the English lords, though accustomed to abundance, were astonished thereat, and confessed that they could not conceive by what means twenty or twenty-five great dishes for each table could be prepared on board the yachts and with the motion of the water.’

During the passage the yachts stopped at Rotterdam, and Mr. Clark<sup>3</sup> gives a reproduction of Verschuring's picture of the event, which shows all the yachts save one rigged with a spritsail and forestay-sail only. The remaining one has a gaff mainsail with a very short gaff. All the masts are stump masts, and, though many of the yachts show bowsprits, there are no jibs set. Nearly all, including the yacht in which the King was, have leeboards.

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<sup>2</sup>Arthur H. Clark, ‘The History of Yachting,’ 1904, pp 51 et seq., quoting from an account published by Adrian Vlackett, 1660. This is not in the British Museum Library.

<sup>3</sup>‘History of Yachting’, p.54

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From Delft Charles went by land to Scheveningen, where he found the fleet sent from England to receive him. The elder Van der Velde is reported to have been present on the occasion of this embarkation, and his picture of it has therefore a high value as a piece of evidence.<sup>4</sup> In it there are shown at least three undoubted yachts, their hulls the miniatures of great ships of the period, with low head, high poop, and a profusion of carving and gilding. They are not rigged with spritsails and stump masts, like the yachts that escorted Charles in Holland, but with long gaffs, lofty pole masts, square topsails, and jibs running on stays; that is, they were as near to the modern sloop or cutter idea as that age was destined to reach. One of the most important points for consideration, however, is that they are one and all flying English ensigns and pennants.



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Messrs. GEO. BELL AND SONS.

THE HOME-COMING OF CHARLES II., MAY, 1660.

W. Van der Velde.

There is, however, an obvious discrepancy. England had no yachts before the *Mary*, yet here are, at least, three big yachts, as we would call them, under English colours employed in escorting Charles back to his kingdom. The *Mary* was Dutch, and the *Mary* introduced developments of rig (so goes the popular belief); but here are craft, seemingly English, of earlier date, and showing a sail plan which, in view of subsequent history, we recognise as being more highly developed than that which found most favour among the Dutch yachts of the period. What, then, is the solution of the riddle? Did Van der Velde paint the thing that was not, or were the craft in question Dutch or really English? As to the first proposition, if Van der Velde is not to be relied on, then there can be no faith in pictures. It may be accepted as practically certain that craft like those depicted were present on that occasion, or, at least, if they were not present, they existed, and might have been expected to be there. For two reasons they were not Dutch. In the first place, the Dutch were extremely jealous of their maritime rights, and would not have been likely to disguise their yachts under English bunting; and secondly, they had no great yachts rigged in this fashion. Vlackett's account quoted above<sup>5</sup> says that there were thirteen large Dutch yachts in all; Verschuring's picture, to which reference has been made, shows that they were very different in appearance from these.

The conclusion to which we are driven is that these yacht-like craft which escorted Charles to England were English in fact as in appearance. Naval history tells us what ships formed the escorting fleet, though it does not yet tell us how the smaller craft were rigged. It is reasonable, therefore, to fit the names of some of the smallest vessels that were sent from England to these sloop-rigged vessels; and when we have done that we have, in effect, admitted that a type suspiciously like a yacht in externals existed in England before the Restoration. One of the difficulties that attends an inquiry of this nature is that inventories and detailed descriptions of the various small

<sup>4</sup> Vide Illustration (1\_CharlesHomecoming.jpg)

<sup>5</sup>History of Yachting', p.51

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craft do not seem to have survived, if, indeed, they were ever made. Another drawback of a very real nature is that some of the commonest of modern technical terms did not at that time exist. Among these may be mentioned such words as ‘gaff,’ ‘lug,’ and ‘leeboard.’ The mere fact that the name is not found is no evidence whatever that the thing did not exist. We know now that the early name for a gaff was a half-sprit,<sup>6</sup> a term which shows how the gaffsail was evolved, and we know now that the ‘bilanders’ and ‘plates’ of the Elizabethan era were the prototypes of the modern Thames barge. In the same way it is legitimate to conclude that the sixth-rates of the Commonwealth Navy included in their number certain small craft rigged, as the term came to be about that time, ‘smack’ fashion;<sup>7</sup> and we know that the smack rig became the favourite rig for English yachts. In later years, when the term yacht was applied almost exclusively to vessels set apart for ceremonious usage, the smack rig ceased to be universal, if ever it was so, and larger yachts, rigged first as ketches and then as ships, came into use.

Of the sixth-rates which attended Charles on his journey to England, three are known to have been ketches, and are therefore out of the present story; but five others were of unknown rig, and were small enough to be sloop-rigged. It may therefore be assumed that some of these five, perhaps the smallest of them, were Van der Velde’s models. They were as follows:<sup>8</sup>

### Sixth-Raters Accompanying Charles II on his return to England

Sixth Rate	Keel	Beam	Depth	Draught	Burden	Men	Guns	Built
	Ft. in.	Ft. in.	Ft. in.	Ft. in.	Tons			
<i>Francis</i>	-	-	-	-	90	45		--
<i>Lark</i>	52 0	17 6	8 6	9 6	85	40	8	1657
<i>Lilly</i>	50 0	15 6	5 6	6 6	64	35	6	1657
<i>Martin</i>	64 0	19 4	7 0	8 0	127	60	12	1653
<i>Merlin</i>	75 0	18 0	7 8	9 0	129	50	14	1653

It might therefore be supposed that, if the difference between the smallest of the old types of men-of-war on the one hand, and the new yachts on the other, was in reality as slight as is here suggested, some confusion would be found to exist at times during the reign of Charles II as to what was a yacht and what was not. And it tends to confirm the suggestion when we find that this confusion actually did exist, especially in the case of the *Fanfan*, which is often spoken of by later writers as a yacht. On the official navy list of the period she figures as a sixth-rate.

It would also help to confirm the supposition that there was little that was new in the yacht type if we were to find that any craft which existed before the Restoration was rated as a yacht after it. And this, too, we find to be the case. Pepys, in his list of the Navy as it existed at the King’s Restoration,<sup>9</sup> includes one yacht, the *Minion*, which he also places in his later list of yachts. These lists are compiled entirely from official

<sup>6</sup>Wm. Sutherland, ‘England’s Glory,’ p.62

<sup>7</sup>E.g. *Diver*, smack. Vide Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. i., 264

<sup>8</sup>Vide Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. i., 260, 278

<sup>9</sup>Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. i., 262-4. There is also a list of 1660 in ‘Archaeologia’, xlviii. 167, etc., which confirms this statement.

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sources, and it is therefore quite certain that the *Minion* existed before the Restoration, and that, whatever her rating may have been before it, after it she was seen to be, in point of fact, a yacht, and was rated accordingly. It would be interesting to be able to give full details of this little ship, but, unfortunately, up to the present no more is known of her than is to be learnt from Pepys' list of yachts, which is here given. The *Minion*, then, was, in fact, the first English yacht, and she was, as far as we know, an English-built vessel. Her dimensions correspond fairly well with those of the smacks, which were smaller than hoys, and it is therefore probable that, under the Commonwealth, she was officially styled a smack. The yacht grew out of the smack or hoy type, and not out of the sloop, which, as it existed at this date, was quite unfit for pleasure-sailing. It is curious, however, to notice that a sloop built in 1673 was named the *Cutter*. It will be seen from the list which follows that the *Mary* marks a very great advance in size, that the *Bezan*, also a present from the Dutch, reverts to the small ship idea, and that throughout the reign these two types were pretty faithfully reproduced.

The State Papers have preserved very many mentions of the use of these yachts, and are supplemented to a considerable degree by the diaries of Evelyn and Pepys. The rudimentary newspapers of the period do not seem to have thought their doings worthy of attention. Before passing on to the details of cost and of particular sailings, a few notes as to the identity of the yachts themselves may be offered.

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## THE YACHTS OF THE POST-RESTORATION PERIOD

(From Tanner, Pepysian MSS., i. 294, 295, with Additions from other Sources)

	Name	Where built	Builder	Date	Length by keel (Ft, in)	Beam (Ft, in)	Depth in hold (Ft, in)	Draught (Ft, in)	Burden (Tons)	Men: Peace	Men: War	Guns: Peace	Guns : War	Exits
1	<i>Minion</i>	-	-	-	28' 0"	12' 4"	4' 9"	4' 0"	22	4	4	2	2	Sold as useless, November, 1669
2	<i>Mary</i>	Given to the King by the Dutch		1660	52' 0"	19' 0"	7' 7"	10' 0"	100	20	30	8	8	Cast away near Holyhead, on the Sherrys, 1675
3	<i>Anne</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	1661	52' 0"	19' 0"	7' 0"	7' 0"	100	20	30	6	8	Ordered to be sold, May, 1686
4	<i>Bezan</i>	Given to the King by the Dutch		1661	34' 0"	14' 0"	7' 0"	3' 6"	35	4	4	4	4	Broke up at Deptford, December, 1687
5	<i>Katherine</i>	Deptford	Commissioner Pett	1661	49' 0"	19' 0"	7' 0"	7' 0"	94	20	30	8	8	Taken by the Dutch, August, 1673
6	<i>Charles</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	1662	36' 0"	14' 2"	7' 0"	6' 0"	38	4	20	6	6	Exchanged with the Office of the Ordnance, November, 1668
7	<i>Jemmy</i>	Lambeth	Commissioner Pett	1662	31' 0"	12' 6"	6' 0"	3' 6"	25	4	4	4	4	-

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8	<i>Henrietta</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Christopher Pett	1663	52' 0"	19' 5"	7' 0"	7' 0"	104	20	30	6	8	Sunk in the engagement, August, 1673
9	<i>Merlin</i>	Roderith	Mr. Jonas Shish	1666	53' 0"	19' 6"	6' 0"	7' 4"	109	20	30	6	8	-
10	<i>Monmouth</i>	Roderith	Mr. William Castle	1666	52' 0"	19' 6"	8' 0"	7' 3"	103	20	30	6	8	-
11	<i>Kitchin</i>	Roderith	Mr. Castle	1670	52' 0"	19' 6"	8' 6"	8' 0"	103	20	30	6	8	-
12	<i>Cleveland</i>	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	1671	54' 0"	20' 6"	7' 9"	7' 8"	120	20	30	6	8	-
13	<i>Quinborow</i>	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	1671	31' 6"	13' 4"	6' 6"	5' 10"	29	4	4	4	4	-
14	<i>Richmond</i>			1672	45' 0"	16' 6"	9' 0"	7' 6"	64	20	30	6	8	Ordered to be sold or broke up, April, 1685
15	<i>Deale</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	1673	32' 0"	13' 0"	6' 0"	5' 8"	28	4	4	4	4	Ordered to be sold, May, 1686
16	<i>Isle of Wight</i>	Portsmouth	Mr Furzer	1673	31' 0"	12' 6"	6' 0"	6' 0"	25	5	5	4	4	-
17	<i>Navy</i>	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	1673	48' 0"	17' 6"	7' 7"	7' 1"	74	20	30	6	8	-
18	<i>Katherine</i>	Chatham	Mr. Phines Pett	1674	56' 0"	21' 4"	8' 6"	7' 9"	135	20	30	6	8	Rebuilt, 1720
19	<i>Portsmouth</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	1674	57' 0"	20' 6"	7' 4"	7' 6"	133	20	30	6	8	Made a bomber, June, 1688
20	<i>Charles</i>	Rotherif	Sir Anthony Deane	1675	54' 0"	20' 6"	7' 9"	7' 8"	120	20	30	6	8	Cast away off Holland, November, 1678
21	<i>Chariot</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Phineas Pett	1677	61' 0"	21' 0"	9' 0"	7' 10"	142	20	30	6	8	-



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22	<i>Mary</i>	Chatham	Mr. Phineas Pett	1677	66' 6"	21' 6"	8' 9"	7' 6"	166	20	30	6	8	-
23	<i>Henrietta</i>	Woolwich	Mr. Thomas Shish	1679	65' 0"	21' 8"	8' 3"	8' 9"	162	20	30	6	8	-
24	<i>Isabella Bezan</i>	Chatham	Sir Phineas Pett	1680	46' 0"	16' 0"	-	-	52	-	-	-	-	Ordered to be sold to Sir Phineas Pett, April, 1683
25	<i>Fubbs</i>	Greenwich	Sir Phineas Pett	1682	63' 0"	21' 0"	9' 6"	7' 10"	148	30	30	10	12	Rebuilt 1724; broken up circa 1770
26	<i>Isabella</i>	Greenwich	Sir Phineas Pett	1683	60' 0"	18' 11"	8' 11½"	7' 9"	114	20	30	6	8	-
27	<i>Fanfan (sixth-rate)</i>	Harwich	Sir Anthony Deane	1665	44' 0"	12' 0"	5' 8"	5' 6"	33	18	30	4	4	-
28	<i>Saudadoes (sixth-rate)</i>	Portsmouth	Sir Anthony Deane	1670	50' 0"	18' 0"	8' 0"	8' 0"	86	30	40	6	8	Rebuilt and enlarged 1673
		Deptford	Mr. Jonas Shish	1673	74' 0"	21' 6"	10' 0"	9' 6"	180	45	75	14	16	

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1. The *Minion* is rarely mentioned, and had no officers appointed to her during the remainder of her career. This does not mean, however, that she was not used, but that, owing to her small size, she was commanded by a warrant or subordinate officer, while larger yachts were commanded from first to last, on whatever service they were employed, by naval officers who held commissions as captains.<sup>10</sup> But that the *Minion* was in use is shown by an entry<sup>11</sup> for September 26, 1664, when she was ordered up to Deptford so that the principal officers of the Navy might send her on some message or other. Most of her time, however, seems to have been spent at Chatham, where she probably served, if we may judge by the history of the other smaller yachts, as a tender at the disposal of the Navy officials. In a list of the Navy for 1664<sup>12</sup> she is entered as ‘a pleasure-boat at Chatham,’ and is not included on the list of yachts or ‘yaughes,’ as this paper has it. The inference seems to be, and it is borne out by a great number of references, that the term ‘yacht’ did not then imply of necessity a pleasure-vessel. But if there was any difference between the types, the ‘pleasure-boat,’ whether she was built as such or was merely a converted smack or sloop,<sup>13</sup> was more in accord with the modern idea of a yacht than the royal yachts were.

2. The *Mary* was presumably the identical vessel which the Burgomaster of Amsterdam offered to His Majesty in 1660.<sup>14</sup> There is no certain knowledge of how she was rigged, but it is quite a reasonable supposition that the picture which Mr. Clark reproduces<sup>15</sup> did represent her. The matter is one of interest rather than of importance, for the yacht in question was obviously English, and belongs to this period. If the *Mary* was not at first sloop-rigged, as there represented, it is more than likely that she was so rigged during one of her periodic refits. She was in hand for important alterations and repairs in 1662, including a new mast and a new suit of sails, so that it is reasonably certain that after that date she was rigged with a gaff; which seems to have been universal among English yachts, though the Dutch, as we know, used the sprit very largely. The only serious objection that can be urged against the picture is that the yacht represented seems to be too small, by her freeboard and cabin accommodation, to be the *Mary*, and that the *Mary*, whose draught was 10 feet, would scarcely be likely to have had leeboards. In tracing the doings of this yacht, care has to be taken to avoid confusing her with the third-rate man-of-war *Mary*, or with the *Little Mary*, or with the *Mary* fireship, which was also her contemporary on the Navy List. Sometimes she was called the *Maria*.

3, 5. Of the *Anne* and *Katherine* not much need be said here, as papers referring to their construction appear later<sup>16</sup>. They seem to have been in the main reproductions of the *Mary*, but with 3 feet less draught. They may have had leeboards, though this is far from certain; leeboards, as numerous illustrations show us, were never in great favour with English yachts, which were accustomed to work in waters where a reasonable draught of water was not inconvenient.

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<sup>10</sup>Tanner, Pepysian MSS, vol.i., 316-434

<sup>11</sup>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic

<sup>12</sup>State Papers, Charles II. vol. cix., 94.

<sup>13</sup>The rig of sloops of this period is not certain. Certainly they were nothing like modern cutters, being long and narrow.

<sup>14</sup>Vide above, p.39.

<sup>15</sup>‘History of Yachting,’ p.60.

<sup>16</sup>At p. 53

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4. As to the *Bezan*, two or three questions arise. Her name is a Dutch word, *bezaan*, meaning a mizen sail, and is etymologically the same word as the English *mizzen*, the Spanish *mesana*, and the Italian *mezana*. The inference should therefore be that this yacht was rigged with a mizzen - that she was, in fact, approximately what we would now call a yawl or ketch. It must be remembered, however, that in the seventeenth century, and, indeed, till the beginning of the nineteenth century, a ketch was not a fore-and-aft rigged craft. As the *Bezan's* draught was very small, and she was Dutch built, it may be assumed that she had leeboards. The smaller English yachts seem to have been built to imitate at least the dimensions if not the lines of this vessel, and there was a tendency to use the name *Bezan* as a sort of surname to tack on to the official names of these small yachts. There is a consequent difficulty that it is not always possible to be sure what vessel is meant when the term 'Bezan' is used. For instance, the *Charles*, built in 1662, is frequently called the *Charles Bezan*, and a *Bigane* (sc. *Bezan*) was on the Navy List at the beginning of the next century, although the original *Bezan* had long since gone to the ship-breakers.

6. *Charles* was the name of the Navy List, but not of common use. *Little Charles*<sup>17</sup>, *Charles Bezan*,<sup>18</sup> and *Charlot* or *Charlotte*,<sup>19</sup> were used almost indifferently, and serve to distinguish her from the *Charles* and *Royal Charles* or *Charles Royal*, first-rates.

7. On June 11, 1662, 'Dr. Pett's brother showed (*i.e.*, to the Royal Society) a draught of the pleasure-boat which he intended to make for the King.'<sup>20</sup> Probably this refers to the *Jemmy*, and obviously it implies at least some variation from the lines of the Dutch *Bezan*. Commissioner Pett was a Fellow of the Royal Society.

11. *Kitchin*, as her name implies, was rather a tender than a yacht. She represented no new idea, for we have seen<sup>21</sup> that kitchen boats were used in Holland before the Restoration, and were there brought under the notice of Charles; and in England the *Roe*, a ketch, had already been detailed for similar service, and was spoken of as the *Roe Kitchen*.<sup>22</sup>

14. The *Richmond* was originally a privateer belonging to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lenox,<sup>23</sup> and cruised very successfully, chiefly in the Straits of Dover, during the Second Dutch War.<sup>24</sup> The Duke of Richmond was in high favour with the King, and obtained many presents and grants from him, amongst others being the right to have the *Lenox*, as this yacht was then called, kept in repair for him by the Navy yards. After the war this vessel was hired into the Navy,<sup>25</sup> and was stationed at Holehaven - a place better known to yachtsmen than to naval officers nowadays - to inspect vessels coming up the Thames. At this time she was officially the 'Lenox yacht,' though futile efforts had been made to change her name to *Dover Castle* when

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<sup>17</sup> *Vide* below, p.52

<sup>18</sup> When building she was always spoken of as the 'Besano yacht'. *Vide* Calendar of State Papers, November 15, 1661; February 1 and March 15, 1662.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, February 18, 1664.

<sup>20</sup> Birch, 'History of the Royal Society,' vol. i., p.85.

<sup>21</sup> Above, p.40.

<sup>22</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol.i., 321; and compare Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, June 14, 1661.

<sup>23</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, November, 1668.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*, 1666-1667, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol.i., 367, 378.

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she was cruising out of Dover. Indeed, it is a peculiarity of this vessel that her original name clung to her to the end of her days. By eloping with ‘La belle Stuart,’ with whom the King's roving fancy was much taken,<sup>26</sup> her owner risked forfeiting the royal favour, but did not do so, it is said, because the King found that the elopement and marriage did not prejudice his own interest with the lady. In 1672 he was at Copenhagen as Ambassador, and wrote thence<sup>27</sup> to stretch a point, and to suggest that ‘keeping his yacht in repair’ should include lengthening her by 5 or 6 feet. ‘She is so short that she will not sail when it blows a fresh gale.’ The yacht was, in fact, lengthened,<sup>28</sup> but the owner died in December of this year, and the Navy bought her from his executors.<sup>29</sup> She was renamed *Richmond*, and was usually so called, though the old name of *Lenox* continues to crop up from time to time. It is interesting to notice that in December, 1672, the Governor of Dover had a privateer *Lenox* cruising in the Channel.<sup>30</sup> Presumably he had named her in memory of the old *Lenox*, which refused to be called the *Dover Castle*.

It is also curious to notice that this vessel, which had been a privateer, and was nominally a yacht, was called a hoy<sup>31</sup> by the dockyard officials who had charge of her. At times, too, she was called a pleasure-boat while still in private hands. As she was in hand for lengthening before the question of buying her into the Navy arose, it may be taken for granted that the dimensions in the table<sup>32</sup> include the enlargement.

18. No yachts were ‘rebuilt’ during this reign, though on more than one occasion a new ship was built to bear the name of a former yacht which had perished. The only exception to this rule was the *Saudadoes*, but she was officially a sixth-rate, and was not on the list of yachts. The second *Katherine*, however, was subsequently rebuilt, and lived to an abnormal age in consequence. But it must be remembered that ‘rebuilding’ was a very thorough process, and involved pulling the old ship to pieces, and subsequently working any of her material which was found to be sound into a new ship built under the same name, though not necessarily of anything like the same dimensions.

25. The *Fubbs* also was subsequently rebuilt, and remained on the Navy List for nearly a century. As everyone knows, ‘*Fubbs*’ was a pet name for the notorious Duchess of Portsmouth, and this yacht was not the only one named after a favourite. The origins of the names borne by the yachts are for the most part so obvious as not to need comment.

27. *Fanfan* is often stated to have been a yacht, and to have been built for Prince Rupert. The evidence of the Navy Board papers disproves this statement;<sup>33</sup> and shows that she was, in fact, a man-of-war, though a small one. Her armament, it may be noticed, consisted of four 4-pounders, whilst no yacht carried anything else but 3-pounders. The confusion helps to prove that there was no distinctive yacht type. The

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<sup>26</sup> There was a nautical distinction about this lady. She sat as a model for the *Britannia* on the coinage.

<sup>27</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, July 2, 1672.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, February 9 and 17, 1673.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, October 20, 1672.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, December 17, 1672; January 19, 1673.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, February 9 and 17, 1673.

<sup>32</sup> Above, p.44.

<sup>33</sup> For this item of information, and for other useful hints, the author has to thank Mr. M. Oppenheim.

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*Fanfan* presumably looked like a yacht, and in 1665 and the following years was employed in much the same way as the *Mary* and other undoubted yachts. The mistake, therefore, is explained as easily as it arose.

28. There was more reason for calling the *Saudadoes* a yacht, though the Navy List never did so. She was the ‘Queen's little ship,’ and was launched on April 14, 1670, by the Queen, who ‘gave her a Portuguese name and fired a gun.’<sup>34</sup> English writers of the period made free with the Portuguese name, and it is not easy to say what its exact form was. Officially it was as here given. The man in the street preferred to call her the *Sodalis*, a name which would have been more appropriate to one of the King's pleasure-boats. Perhaps in reality she was named *Saudade*, which means ‘longing,’ ‘yearning,’ ‘home-sickness,’ and would have come prettily from a Princess who was in exile from her native land. It may be added that in August, 1670, the Queen paid a visit to Lisbon in this little vessel,<sup>35</sup> which, at any rate before she was enlarged, was smaller than a modern Queen would be likely to choose for a voyage across the Bay of Biscay.

The question of the cost of these yachts is far from being unimportant, especially if we are right in supposing that the extravagance of the pastime went a long way towards ruining it. It is true that in 1665, when war had broken out with the Dutch, the gallants of the Court elected to go to sea in the great ships and to fight the enemy; and this being so, it is obvious that yachting as a popular pastime must have stagnated terribly. But the war did not last long, and, save for the lack of money which accompanied and followed it, we might have expected to find that the return of the courtiers to Whitehall was marked by a recrudescence of water-parties. Yacht-racing, in fact, might have stood a chance of being established; but the case was far otherwise. After the first few years of the reign the yachts were turned over to the Navy to earn their bread, and mentions of pleasure-parties become few and far between. ‘Pepys's Diary,’ for instance, extends only to 1669, but even this short period is long enough to carry us beyond the days when he thought yachts worth a mention. His last entry touching on the subject belongs to September, 1666, when he used the *Bezan* as a pantehnicon in which to move his household goods from Deptford to London.

But, moralizing apart, there is a good deal to interest us in the accounts of Charles II.'s yachts, and tolerably complete figures for the earlier yachts are here given. Nothing more than a few misleading excerpts has previously been published. The first to be given is a statement of charges<sup>36</sup> for the hulls of the *Anne* and the *Charles*, both built at Woolwich by Christopher Pett:

### Statement of Charges for the hulls of the yachts *Charles* and *Anne*

	<i>Charles</i> Yacht. £. s. d.	<i>Anne</i> Yacht. £. s. d.
For the painting and gilding her	160 0 0	415 3 0
For carving of her ... ..	144 10 0	270 15 0
For the joyners workes of her ...	92 0 0	228 10 0
For the iron workes of her ...	52 18 1	122 8 10

<sup>34</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Additional, 1666-1670

<sup>35</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, August 13, 1670.

<sup>36</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lix., 28.

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For the Brassiers worke of her ...	16 0 0	39 10 0
For the Platerers worke of her ...	28 13 4	81 15 6
For the Masons worke of her ... - - -		63 0 0
For Timber, Plank, etc., and Workmanshipp ...	228 0 0	594 0 0
	722 1 5	1,815 2 4

These totals have formerly been quoted as though they represented the whole cost of the vessels. They were, in fact, only the beginning. The yachts had now to be rigged and ballasted, and, after the fashion of the age, had to be supplied with guns.

Pett's account for the rigging<sup>37</sup> would be more interesting if he had descended to particulars of blocks, spars, etc., and had enabled us to be certain of the rig of the yachts. Some, we believe, had gaffsails, others may have had sprit mainsails; but of such essential points as whether all had jibs, how many jibs were included in a suit of sails, or whether any of the yachts had mizens - of these and similar details we have no certain knowledge.

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<sup>37</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lviii, 22.

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### Pett's account for rigging

<i>Katherine</i>		£ s d
The Standing and Running Rigging of fine Yarne, poiz per est., 21 cwt. at 58s. per cwt.		60 18 0
Cables of 8 in. – 1 7½ in. – 1 4 in. – 1	Poiz per estimacon, 28 cwt. 1 qr. 0 lb. at 56s. per cwt.	79 2 0
Anchors of 5 cwt. – 1 4 cwt. – 1 2 cwt. – 1	at 32s. per cwt.	17 12 0
Blocks of several sorts, value per est. ...		10 0 0
Tard lines, merlins, Fidds, Fidd-hammers, etc., value per est. ... ..		3 0 0
One suite of sailes, value per est. ... ..		75 0 0
		245 12 0
<i>Mary and Anne yachts</i>		
The Standing and Running Rigging, Cables, Anchors, Blocks, Tard lines, Merline, Fidds, Fidd-hammers, etc., each the same with the Katherine ... ..		341 4 0
One suite of sailes to each, value per est.		140 0 0
		481 4 0
<i>Little Charles yacht</i>		
The Standing and Running Rigging of fine Yarne, poiz per est., 14 cwt. at 58s. per cwt.		40 12 0
Cables of 6 in. - 1 5 in. - 1 3 in. - 1	poiz per estimacon, 15 cwt. 3 qr. 0 lb. at 56s. per cwt.	42 2 0
Anchors of 3 cwt. -1 2½ cwt.-1 1 cwt. -1	at 32s, per cwt	10 8 0
Blocks of several! sorts, value per est.		6 0 0
Lines, merlines, Fidds, Fidd-hammers, marline spikes, etc., per est.		2 0 0
One suite of sailes, value per est.		46 0 0
		147 2 0

Inasmuch as the *Mary* was presented to the King all standing, it is obvious that the valuation of her gear is a matter of guesswork; but in all probability the figures for the *Katherine* and *Little Charles* represent a return of sums actually spent.

The next item to be assessed is the cost of the guns, which were brass 3-pounders in every instance.<sup>38</sup> The uniformity simplifies matters. There is extant a warrant 'to pay the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance £372 19s. 7d. for furnishing brass ordnance for two yachts built at Deptford and Woolwich for the King and the

<sup>38</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. i., 237.

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Duke of York.<sup>39</sup> As these two yachts, the *Anne* and *Katherine*, were sisters, and each carried eight guns, it is obvious that £186 9s. 10d. will be approximately the cost of the guns of each. Similarly, the *Charles* carried six guns, which by the same scale would cost £139 12s. 6d.; but as the custom of the time was to place lighter pieces of the same calibre in the smaller ships, it may reasonably be inferred that the armament of the *Charles* cost £120, or less.

Another paper<sup>40</sup> of Christopher Pett's refers to the ballasting of the yachts, and, though it is but a rough draft or memorandum, a good deal can be made out from it. It begins with an unexplained table of names and weights, thus:

Yachts	Tons	cwt.	qr.	lb.
<i>Charles</i>	8	17	1	19
<i>Anne</i>	6	13	3	8
<i>Mary</i>	5	9	1	8
<i>Katherine</i>	29	6	0	9

These figures imply the quantity of ballast delivered out of store for each yacht, as is shown by other official papers of 1661.<sup>41</sup> The *Anne* and *Katherine* were practically sister ships, and it would be reasonable to suppose that their needs would be the same, and so thought Mr. Pett. He added together the amounts issued for the two yachts, and divided the total equally between them, each getting a little short of 18 tons. The other figures were allowed to stand. The memorandum also includes a note of various purchases of lead, the price paid varying from about £16 to above £22 per ton; and there is an entry showing that 23 tons odd of the lead bought was specially cast to Pett's order. The several parcels of lead bought totalled 44 tons 11 hundredweights 4 pounds, and to this Pett added 4 tons of shots<sup>42</sup> which he got free, and 15 hundredweights 'of the *Diver's*, not included,' the *Diver* being a hoy out of which he 'collected' 30 leaden ½-hundredweights. All told, Pett had got together 49 tons 6 hundredweights 4 pounds, which is only 68 pounds less than the aggregate of the quantities set against the yachts' names; and although he got 4 tons 15 hundredweights for nothing, he had to pay £92 odd - which seems a long price - for casting, so that, taken together, his lead cost him almost exactly £20 per ton - viz., £989 2s. 11d. for 49 tons 6 hundredweights. For each yacht twelve leaden scuppers, together with some hundredweights of new pipe and sheet lead, were issued. These were included in the totals given, though they were certainly not ballast. One of the most interesting details which these papers give runs thus<sup>43</sup>:

For the <i>Charles</i> .	Cwt, qr. lb
Old lead cast into the Heele of the Mast	27 0 0
New lead cast into the Heele of the Mast ...	22 2 12

<sup>39</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, July 14, 1661.

<sup>40</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lix., 29.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lx., 21; vol. lxvi., 71.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, June 6, 1661.

<sup>43</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lxvi., 71.



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That is, nearly 2½ tons in the heel of the mast. The explanation comes from Pepys: ‘I saw the King's new pleasure-boat that is come now for the King to take pleasure in above bridge, and also two Gundaloes that are lately brought,<sup>44</sup> which are very rich and fine.’ As Pepys records this item on September 12, 1661, it is obvious that he refers to the original *Bezan*, not to the *Charles*; but the *Bezan* to go under old London Bridge must have had her mast on a tabernacle - Norfolk wherry fashion, it would seem - and as the *Charles* was obviously copied from her, she, too, would have a counterpoise on her mast. The sums charged against the several yachts were: *Katherine* and *Anne*, £324 each; *Charles*, £159 13s. 7d; and *Mary*, £88 10s.

It is not easy to decide whether these figures represent the total amount of ballast carried by the yachts. For the *Anne* or *Katherine* 18 tons seems reasonable, but for the *Mary*, of the same size, less than 5½ tons is very little. But the *Mary* was much deeper<sup>45</sup> than the others, and possibly needed less ballast; perhaps, also, this figure represents a small addition to what she carried already. We know that the *Henrietta*, built in 1663, carried much more ballast than any of these yachts. With 16 tons of shot received from the Tower, and 13 tons of ‘lead’ - meaning, presumably, cast lead - she was still too light, and needed 16 tons more.<sup>46</sup> Pett refused point-blank to be put off with anything but lead. One thrifty soul, frightened, perhaps, at the cost of the yachting craze, and reflecting that money was becoming tighter every day, suggested that the yacht should top up with stone ballast; but Pett answered<sup>47</sup> that if stones were used instead of shot for ballast, the yacht would be damaged, for the quantity of stones required would make it needful to half fill the cabins, and would make her ‘run leeward.’ Nor would he have anything to say to some ‘broken ordnance’ - i.e., scrap-iron - offered from Chatham<sup>48</sup>; even that would take up too much room. So we may presume that eventually the yacht went to sea with about 45 tons (£900 worth) of lead in her.

We are now in a position to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to the real cost of these yachts.

### Costs of the yachts *Anne* and *Little Charles*

	<i>Anne</i>	<i>Little Charles</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Hull	1,815 2 4	722 1 5
Rig	240 12 0	147 2 0
Lead	324 0 0	159 13 7
Guns	186 9 10	120 0 0
Colours	- - -	128 13 6
	2,566 4 2	1,277 1 0 6

<sup>44</sup> Presented to the King by the Duke of Venice

<sup>45</sup> *Vide* table.

<sup>46</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, October 2, 1663.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, September 19, 1663.

<sup>48</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, September 22, 1663.

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These figures are very closely confirmed from another source.<sup>49</sup> In these further accounts the entry against the *Anne* yacht runs: ‘The charge in building the said yatch in reference to timber plank ironworke joyning carveing painting plasterers Braziers and Masons worke &c with masts yards cordage sailes anchors colours and other particulers with workmens wages amounts to per estimacon, £2,538.’ This it will be noticed, does not include guns, but does include colours. Similarly, the entry for the *Charles Bezan* is £1,157, not including guns, but including colours. The figures agree remarkably closely, and from them it may be inferred that the cost of the colours of the *Anne* should be about £158. The cost of these ‘colours,’ or sets of flags, seems enormous, but is explained by flagmakers' bills of 1660 and 1661,<sup>50</sup> which show that a set of flags, consisting of ensign, standard, Admiralty flag, and pennants cost well over £100 when made of silk. ‘Sarsnett,’ at from 12s. 6d. to 19s. 6d. per ell, seems unthrifty stuff to make big flags off, but then Charles was not setting up for a thrifty soul.

As the *Anne* without her guns cost £2,538, an explanation is needed for the total of only £1,935, which stands against a precisely similar entry for her sister ship, the *Katherine*. No such explanation seems to be forthcoming. It is very suspicious, however, that the sum agrees exactly with the original estimate.

It cannot be disputed that these figures are very high, absurdly high. For the *Charles* the result is £33 13s. per ton; for the *Anne*, taking her nominal tonnage of 100, it is £27 5s. The result looks even worse when it is noticed that the dimensions of the *Anne*, and of all the larger yachts, do not by the rating rule then in force<sup>51</sup> give a result anything like as high as the accepted figure. For purposes of comparison the *Anne* would have to be rated at about 74 tons,<sup>52</sup> which would make her cost per ton £36 16s. A man-of-war at that date, equipped for sea, cost about £15 per ton, and a merchantman from £7 to £8 per ton.<sup>53</sup>

Some small attempt was made to reduce the cost of later yachts, the total estimate for the *Henrietta* being £1,850 without guns.<sup>54</sup> The original estimate for the *Katherine*, a somewhat smaller ship, was £1,935,<sup>55</sup> and the actual cost, if we may judge by the *Anne*, was about 40 per cent higher. Probably the *Henrietta* also exceeded the estimate, but the reduction intended was to have resulted from hanging the cabins with gilded leather instead of the elaborate carved work ‘on the sides,’ by which we may understand the ceilings and bulkheads.

Apart from the initial cost of the yachts there was the expense of running them, which was not inconsiderable. Wages at this period were low, and even though the men in the yachts did, on some occasions at least, receive higher pay than their opposite numbers in the regular service of the navy, still, the wages bill looks insignificant when compared with modern figures. And there was no racing money to be paid. The standard rate of wages in the navy at this time was, for able seamen, 24s. per lunar month; for ordinary seamen, 19s.; for ‘grommets’ (an intermediate rating),

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<sup>49</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lxii., 46, 47.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lxvi., 73, 74, 75.

<sup>51</sup> Keel x beam x depth ÷ 94 = tonnage

<sup>52</sup> The *Katherine* was rated at 94 tons, but the original estimate made her 80 tons.

<sup>53</sup> Tanner, *Pepysian MSS.*, vol. i., 229, 230

<sup>54</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, June 2, 1663

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, November 3, 1660

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14s. 3d.; and for boys, 9s. 6d. Probably these wages were paid in most instances in the yachts - at any rate, after the first few years - but the following list shows exceptions, and will also serve to indicate the continuous nature of the service of the yachts.<sup>56</sup> It also shows that Pepys's list of the nominal complements<sup>57</sup> of the yachts was far from being respected in times of peace.

### Nominal complements and running costs of the King's yachts

	£. s. d.
For the victuals and wages of 8 officers and 8 able seamen in the <i>Katherine</i> from 16 Mar., 1660, at 40s. wages and 20s. victuals each man per mensem, for 23 months, 1 week, 4 days	1,116 0 0
For the like charge upon the <i>Ann</i> for 12 men from the 19 Apr., 1661, being 22 months and 6 dayes at the aforesaid rate.	801 0 0
For the like charge for the <i>Mary</i> for 11 from the 26 Apr., 1661, being 21 months, 3 weeks, 6 dayes at the aforesaid rate.	726 0 0
For one Mariner .and 5 able seamen on the <i>Charles Bezan</i> from 15 Mar., 1661, being 11 months and 5 dayes at £2 10s. 0d. a man per mensem for victualls and wages.	153 0 0
For the charge for the Dutch <i>Bezan</i> from 17 Sept., 1661, being 16 months, 3 weeks, 3 dayes for 2 men at £2 10s. 0d. a man per mensem.	83 15 0
For the like charge for the <i>Jemmy</i> for 3 men from 13 Nov., 1662, being 1 month, 3 weeks at £2 10s. 0d. a man per Mensem.	13 2 6
For the freight of the ship <i>Golden Starr</i> (burthen 260 tons), hired by His Matie's command for the fetching over 120 Staggs from Hambrough sent to the King by the Elector Brandenburg	200 0 0

The last item has, of course, nothing to do with yachting, save as showing the King's devotion to a rival sport.

We have next to consider that the yachts of today hold no monopoly of accidents. The *Mary*, for instance, though still quite new, was, by September 8, 1662, in hand for a thorough refit, which it was estimated would cost about £400.<sup>58</sup> In point of fact it actually cost £671, and the entry<sup>59</sup> shows that it included 'Repaireing her hull, making her a newe Mast and yard with other workes fitting her with new rigging sailes &c.'

After this the *Anne's* repair at a cost of £66 in March, 1663,<sup>60</sup> seems quite moderate. This sum included 'new Catt heeds the ould ones being to short,' caulking, glazing, joinery, brazier's work, and 'for the making of a new maine mast, the ould one

<sup>56</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol. lxxvii., 16.

<sup>57</sup> Above table.

<sup>58</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol., lix., 28.

<sup>59</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Charles II., vol., lxiii., 46

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. lxx., 28

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being sprung both aloft and alow, per estimate, £26.’ Perhaps the mention of a mainmast implies the presence of a mizen, but it is possible that ‘main’ means ‘lower,’ though as far as we know a pole-masted rig was in favour for yachts. But whatever it may have been, this new mainmast did not last very long, for about two years later<sup>61</sup> a new one had to be ordered. The *Anne* was in hand again for repair in 1668 at an estimated cost of £185, and the *Katherine* at the same time was to be repaired for £138.<sup>62</sup>

Sails, as has been seen already,<sup>63</sup> cost £70 or £75 per suit for a 100-ton yacht. The material used was Holland duck,<sup>64</sup> which was stated to be the best for the purpose. The King certainly was hard to please in the matter of sails. In June, 1661, he ordered<sup>65</sup> ‘a new suit of sails for his new yacht,’ and whether ‘the new yacht’ means the *Mary*, or, as is more likely, the *Katherine*, it is clear that the quarrel was with the fit of the old sails rather than with their wear. This was four months before the race with the Duke of York's *Anne*, and shows that the King wished his yacht to do her best whether she was racing for money or not. It is probable that going for a sail in 1661 implied a race with every craft met, much as it does in the present year of grace, and seventeenth-century hints that this was so are not uncommon. Other mentions of new sails occur - e.g., for the *Anne* in 1665, when ‘blue and white colours’ were also needed.<sup>66</sup> In 1671 we get a hint that extravagance in sails is a thing of the past, French canvas,<sup>67</sup> which was the material in ordinary use, being ordered for the making of sails for the *Mary* yacht. The price of this canvas was about two-thirds that of duck.

However, if sails were dear, boats were tantalizingly cheap. Witness Christopher Pett in a letter to the Navy Commissioners:<sup>68</sup> ‘The boat sent is not fit for the King's new yacht. A shipwright in the town (Woolwich) offers a very pretty boat at five shillings per foot.’ Incidentally, it is pleasant to think that this old-fashioned way of buying boats is not yet dead.

When not on duty the yachts lay tugging at their moorings at Greenwich. They tugged to some purpose, as the officer responsible discovered. ‘New chains and bridles are wanted for moorings. Those of the King's pleasure-boats at Greenwich wear out fast.’<sup>69</sup>

No inventories of the furniture or descriptions of the accommodation of these yachts seem to have survived. We know by the cost that they were luxurious, that gilt leather was introduced vice elaborate carving, so as to economize in internal fittings, and that the *Henrietta* had three copper chimneys, one of which belonged to a fireplace fitted with marble,<sup>70</sup> but beyond this we know very little.

Before leaving this branch of the subject we may refer to the difficulties which lack of money strewed in the path of the constructors from the very beginning of the

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<sup>61</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, May 2, 1665.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1, 1668.

<sup>63</sup> Above, p.51.

<sup>64</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, February 4, 1661.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5, 1661.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, April 16, 1665.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, February 8, 1671

<sup>68</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, October 14, 1663.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, November 12, 1663.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, September 14, 1663.

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reign. Thus, in December, 1660, ‘His Highnesses pleasure yacht’ was delayed for lack of planks and timber.<sup>71</sup> The delay continued, and the yacht was not ready when she should have been; on the day at first ordered for the launch’ the joiners and carvers works are not completed,<sup>72</sup> which is hardly to be wondered at when we find Christopher Pett writing to the Navy Commissioners shortly before<sup>73</sup> that he ‘wishes Thomas Eaton and Richard Swain, workman carvers, for some time employed on the Duke of York's yacht, to be severely punished for contempt if they continue to refuse to work; they know the great necessity there is for them, and that without them the vessel cannot be finished at the time prefixed.’ In the same paper we find that a plumberess was employed, and also that she wanted her bill paid. Another disadvantage incurred in building these yachts was that courtiers ran down to see how the work was progressing, and expected to be entertained. Christopher Pett thought that such expenses ought to be made good to him, and petitioned accordingly.<sup>74</sup>

It has often been noticed that Charles II took a great interest in everything connected with shipping, and that he waxed enthusiastic over the new yachts. It was on August 15, 1660, that Pepys ‘found the King gone this morning by five of the clock to see a Dutch pleasure-boat below bridge’; but it was not till November 8 that Pepys saw more than the outside of her. ‘Commissioner Pett and I went on board the yacht, which indeed is one of the finest things that ever I saw for neatness and room in so small a vessel. Mr. Pett is to make one to outdo this for the honour of his country, which I fear he will scarce better.’ However, by January 13 Mr. Pepys had made up his mind that she ‘will be a pretty thing, and much beyond the Dutchman's.’ It might be supposed that Pepys was not likely to know much more of a yacht at that date than the profusion of carving and gilding told him; but he was presumably quoting his authorities, for on May 21 the King was ‘down the river with his yacht this day for pleasure to try it; and, as I hear, Commissioner Pett's do prove better than the Dutch one, and that that his brother built’ (i.e., *Anne*). It is to be noticed that there is a distinct reference here to a race of some sort, prior to the much-advertised contest of October 1 following. However, as there was no betting on this occasion, it seems best to consider that our forebears looked upon it much as we would do, not as a race, but as a tuning-up spin.

As soon as the *Katherine* was ready, the *Mary* was turned over to the general use. Pepys had his first sail in her on June 13, 1661. The original *Bezan* came over in this summer, and her chief effect was to give a fillip to yacht-building. Just as two improved copies of the *Mary* were made, so two improvements on the *Bezan* had to be immediately put in hand. But the *Bezan* was not so much used by the King as his bigger yacht, unless, perhaps, above bridge, where the *Mary* could not go.

It may be allowable at this point to digress for a while in order to consider the *Jemmy* yacht, which was the second of the *Bezans*. She was smaller than either of the others, and she was quite disproportionately shallower than the *Charles*. The original *Bezan*, whose draught was the same as the *Jemmy's*, may be assumed to have had leeboards; and it seems reasonably clear that the *Jemmy*, if she was to do anything to windward, would need the help of some such contrivance. The question that arises is,

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, December 19 and 28, 1660

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, April 17, 1661.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, March 28, 1661.

<sup>74</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, July 7, 1663.

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Had she leeboards, or does she represent a new attempt to find a substitute for them? There is strong evidence that there was something unusual about her design. Pett submitted it to the Royal Society,<sup>75</sup> and the Royal Society took her construction under its wing. ‘To Lambeth; and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brunkard,<sup>76</sup> and the virtuosoes of the town, according to new lines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily, but how it will prove we will see.’<sup>77</sup> It is a pity that the history of the society and its Philosophical Transactions are not explicit about this matter, for we find ourselves reduced to Pepys. And he, like a good navy official, was manifestly jealous of any outside body meddling with the art and mystery of ship-building. –He was accordingly glad when the *Jemmy* did not come up to expectations. On September 5 he ‘saw the yacht lately built by our virtuosoes (my Lord Brunkard and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan to try for mastery; and before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half a mile (and I hear this afternoon that in coming home it got above three miles); which all our people are glad of . . . It being a cold windy morning.’ Subsequently, on March 2, 1663, Pepys sailed in the *Jemmy*, ‘with extraordinary pleasure,’ but offers nothing more that is of service. Evelyn is more to the point when<sup>78</sup> he refers to her as an incomparable sailer.’ It seems probable, therefore, that she could sail, though she was not at her best against the Dutch bezan. Her being newly commissioned might easily account for that failure. It was not until November, 1662, that Sir William Petty proposed to the Royal Society a versatile keel that would be on hinges,<sup>79</sup> or it would be admissible to suggest that this was the secret of the new design; but Petty's proposal shows that the idea of some sort of centreboard was in the air, and, considering that the Royal Society consisted of learned men who must have been well acquainted with Bourne's ‘devise,’<sup>80</sup> it seems fair to conjecture that the *Jemmy* may have had some sort of a centre keel. What we know of the circumstances appears to favour the theory, but unfortunately there seems small chance of proving it, unless chance should bring to light the original design which was submitted to the Royal Society.

With the arrival of the *Bezan*, the fleet of yachts was raised to four, and expeditions began to be made to see it. Pepys and his family made one such on September 14, 1661. ‘Comes a great deal of company to take my wife and I out by barge to show them the King's and Duke's yachts. So I was forced to go forth with them, and we had great pleasure, seeing all four yachts, viz., these two and the two Dutch ones.’ But Pepys had no part in the race of October 1 following, and our only account of the event comes from John Evelyn, who would have been of more service to the present inquiry had he been as well versed in nautical matters as he was in forestry. His entry is: ‘I sailed this morning with His Majesty in one of his yachts (or pleasure-boats), vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company presented that curious piece to the King; being very excellent sailing vessels. It was on a wager between his other new pleasure-boat, built frigate-like, and one of the Duke of

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<sup>75</sup> *Vide* above, p. 47.

<sup>76</sup> William, Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Pepys's Diary,’ August 13, 1662.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Diary,’ June 16, 1666.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Evelyn's Diary,’ November 2, 1662.

<sup>80</sup> *Vide* above, p.29.

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York's; the wager £100 the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King lost it going, the wind being contrary, but saved stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, His Majesty sometimes steering himself. His barge and kitchen-boat attended.'

The vessels in question were the *Katherine* and the *Anne*, and the race would seem to have been two races in one. The *Anne* won on the beat down to Gravesend, earning £50; and the *Katherine* won on the run home, making the royal owners quits. A 'frigate-built' vessel meant one less highly charged - that is, more nearly flush-decked - than the 'great ship' type; thus the entry would seem to imply that the *Mary* had a lofty poop, and that the *Katherine's* freeboard aft had been cut down by comparison with the earlier model.

The scene shifts, and we hear less in future of royal racing than of a judicious combination of business and pleasure by officials. All the smaller yachts were used for business purposes, and we practically never hear of them, either from Pepys or from the State Papers, save as carrying Mr. Pepys, or Sir William Batten, or Commissioner Pett, on their several occasions. Pepys began his connection with the yachts, with the exception of one short sail, which he himself had forgotten, on February 20, 1663, going with Pett to join the *Charles*. They found her aground, 'it being almost low water,' and had to be content to return in her, from Woolwich to Deptford, when the water flowed. 'I could have been sick if I would, wrote Pepys, the wind being fresh, but very pleasant it was, and the first time I have sailed in any one of them.' Pepys' next yachting trip was in the *Jemmy*,<sup>81</sup> and shows that after all his sea stomach was not abnormally weak. 'We went down four or five miles (below Woolwich) with extraordinary pleasure, it being a fine day and a brave gale of wind, and had some oysters brought us aboard newly taken, which were excellent, and ate with great pleasure. There also coming into the river two Dutchmen, we sent a couple of men on board and bought three Holland's cheeses, cost 4d. apiece, excellent cheeses.' It is not only Pepys' zest in life that makes his narrative live; there are innumerable modern touches in the incidents of his story. When Dutchmen come into the river today they sell Dutch cheese to all and sundry, though not for 4d. apiece; and if we cannot buy oysters newly taken off Erith, yet we know that we have but to go beyond the limits of the port of London in order to have them brought aboard.

The King's interest now centred in the project for the *Henrietta*. 'Meeting the King, we followed him into the park, where Mr. Coventry and he talked of building a new yacht, which the King is resolved to have built out of his privy purse, he having some contrivance of his own.'<sup>82</sup> The interest did not confine itself to this unexplained contrivance - the privy purse suggestion may have been thrown out to reconcile the officials, for we hear no more of it - but it took the King to Woolwich a few days later to inquire for the keel piece.<sup>83</sup> The yacht was built very quickly, and was afloat four months later.<sup>84</sup> There is queer entry about her before she was actually finished, showing that she was lying afloat, 'with all her colours flying,' when a boat which passed close alongside refused to strike to the colours. The yacht's crew thereon confiscated the boat and called upon her crew to pay forfeit. They in return lodged a complaint,

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<sup>81</sup> 'Diary,' March 2, 1663.

<sup>82</sup> 'Pepys's Diary,' May 4, 1663.

<sup>83</sup> 'Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, May 19, 1663.

<sup>84</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, September 25, 1663.

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presumably explaining that they knew that the King was not on board. In the result the yacht's crew were ordered to restore the boat, and to make no such demand in future without authority.<sup>1</sup>

When the demands made on behalf of the royal standard were so emphatic, it is not remarkable that the claim to hoist that flag was strictly looked to; and so we find the Admiralty, eleven years later, refusing to admit the right of the King's natural sons, the Duke of Monmouth, etc., to wear it unless they had the royal permission to do so.<sup>85</sup>

The larger yachts continued in constant use by the Court till the outbreak of war, when they were employed with the fleet. None of them came to grief in the second war; but in the third Dutch war the *Henrietta* was sunk - during the action of August 11, 1673;<sup>86</sup> and the *Katherine* was captured in the same battle. The *Katherine* returned to English hands. 'It is true,' wrote Pepys,<sup>87</sup> 'that the [old] *Katherine* yacht is come home again, given as they say by the Prince of Orange to Alderman Backwell, and on his account fitted and sent home, where she now remains so, His Majesty not being concerned in her nor likely to be.' Alderman Backwell, therefore, was a genuine yacht-owner, though we have no account of how he used the *Katherine*. A new *Katherine* was promptly built for the King, and was launched in his presence on April 24, 1674. The estimated cost of her hull was £1,550, 'calculating the said estimate by the dimensions which His Majesty hath pitched upon with Mr. Pett.' She, too, was ballasted with lead, though the *Merlin* was receiving some iron ballast at this same date.<sup>88</sup>

The smaller yachts, meanwhile, continued to carry Pepys and his friends, the larger vessels coming but rarely into the Diary, and then for some special cause. For instance, on June 2, 1666: 'Came up the river the *Katherine* yacht, Captain Fazeby, who hath brought over my Lord of Alesbury and Sir Thomas Liddall (with a very pretty daughter and in a very pretty travelling dress), from Flanders.' Knowing Pepys as we do, we may be sure that this item of news would have been withheld had the daughter not been pretty, or had the dress been unbecoming. But of journeys made in the smaller yachts there are several interesting accounts.

On September 3, 1663: 'To Sir W. Batten, who is going this day for pleasure down to the Downes. At my lady's desire with them by coach to Greenwich where I went aboard with them on the *Charlotte* yacht. The winde very fresh, and I believe they will be all sicke enough, besides that she is mighty troublesome on the water.' And so it turned out. Lady Batten was put ashore at Queenborough, vowing that she would never go to sea again. Again, on August 17, 1665: 'After dinner we down by boat to Greenwich to the *Bezan* yacht, where Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lord Bruncker<sup>89</sup> and myself, with some servants, embarked in the yacht, and down we went most pleasantly. Short of Gravesend it grew calme, and so we come to an anchor and to supper mighty merry, and after it, being moonshine, we out of the cabin to laugh and talk, and then, as we grew sleepy, went in, and upon velvet cushions of the King's that belong to the yacht fell to sleep, which we all did pretty well till 3 or 4 of the clock,

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<sup>85</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. ii., 1859.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 1954, November 18, 1674.

<sup>88</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. ii., 229.

<sup>89</sup> All fellow officials.



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having risen in the night to look for a new comet which is said to have lately shone, but we could see no such thing.

'18 August. Up about 5 o'clock and dressed ourselves, and to sayle again down to the *Sovereigne* at the buoy of the Nore, and thence to Sheerness. Thence with great pleasure up the Meade-way, our yacht contending with Commissioner Petts, wherein he met us from Chatham, and he had the best of it.' It would be interesting to know which the contending yachts were. Pepys, seemingly, was in the *Bezan*, though it is possible that he meant *Charles Bezan*; but there is no hint even in the State Papers of what vessel Pett had. Perhaps he had the *Minion*, which we know to have been stationed at Chatham. If that is so, then the English-built vessel, the oldest and smallest of her class, was the champion of the small class of yachts.

A month later Pepys was again bound to the fleet on business, and again brought up for the night near Gravesend. '18 September. By breake of day we come to within sight of the fleete, which was a very fine thing to behold, being above 100 ships great and small. Among others, the *Prince*, in which my Lord Sandwich was. When we called by her side his Lordshipp was not stirring, so we come to an anchor a little below his ship, thinking to have rowed on board him, but the wind and tide was so strong against us that we could not get up to him - no, though rowed by a boat of the *Prince's* that came to us to tow us up; at last however he brought us within a little way, and then they flung out a rope to us from the *Prince*, and so come on board; but with great trouble and time and patience, it being very cold.' Then, after business, 'Sir W. Penn stayed to dine and did so, but the wind being high the ship (though the motion of it was hardly discernible to the eye) did make me sicke; so as I could not eat anything almost. . . . And so to our yacht again. No sooner come into the yacht, though overjoyed with the good work we have done to-day, but I was overcome with sea-sickness so that I began to spue soundly, and so continued a good while, till at last I went into the cabbin, and shutting my eyes my trouble did cease that I fell asleep, which continued till we come into Chatham River where the water was smooth, and then I rose and was very well.'

The most quoted of Pepys's sailing expeditions followed very shortly. On October 1: 'We breakfasted betimes and come to the fleet about two o'clock in the afternoon, having a fine day and fine wind. My Lord received us mighty kindly. . . . After supper on board the *Bezan*, and there to cards for a while, and then to read and so to sleep. But Lord ! the mirth which it caused me to be waked in the night by their snoring round me; I did laugh till I was ready to burst, and waked one, who could not a good while tell where he was that he heard one laugh so, till he recollected himself, and I told him what it was at, and so to sleep again, they still snoring.' Truly it is a sad heart that never rejoices.

'2 October. We having sailed all night (and I did wonder how they in the dark could find the way) we got by morning to Gillingham.' Pepys's nautical education was advancing, though his Diary was drawing to a close. As the autumn went on he fell in with strong winds, first of all in an open boat. 'I called for Sir Christopher Mings at St. Katherine's, and so down to Greenwich, the wind furious high, and we with our sail up till I made it be taken down.' For which, no doubt, he was well laughed at by Mings, who was a sailor if ever there was one. The experience of wind was continued on November 2. 'Intending to have gone this night in a ketch down to the fleet, they persuaded me not to go till morning, it being a horrible dark and windy night.' In the

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morning the ketch made a good passage down, and, after concluding his business, Pepys says: 'I took the *Bezan* back with me, taking great pleasure in learning the seamen's manner of singing when they sound the depths.' The explanation here seems to be simply that he exchanged the ketch for the *Bezan*. It is just possible that he might call a ketch a *bezan*, if we are right in supposing that the *Bezan*, like a ketch, had a mizen; but he could never have called the fore-and-aft-rigged *Bezan* a ketch, for a ketch was at that date square-rigged.

The last yachting entry in the Diary has given rise to some misconception. It runs, November 16, 1665: 'I away on board the other ship to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen there to carry me to the fleet. They were Mr. Ashburnham and Colonel Wyndham; but, pleading the King's business, they did presently agree I should have it. So I presently on board, and got under sail; and so sailed all night, and got down to Quinborough water, where all the great ships are now come, and there on board my Lord . . . ' and, after the transaction of business, 'I left him, and so away to my *Bezan* againe. 'John Ashburnham held a Court appointment, Colonel Francis Wyndham a military command. It is a mistake to infer from this passage alone that either had a yacht, for 'to get the pleasure-boat of the gentlemen' stands simply for the more modern phrase 'from the gentlemen.' We see that the pleasure-boat in question was 'my *Bezan*' to Pepys - that is, she was either the original *Bezan*, or one of the other small yachts. It is clear, however, that Colonel Wyndham was a genuine yachtsman, though he may not have been a yacht owner at this date. On August 16, 1683, during the voyage to Tangier, Pepys wrote that off Dunnose 'Colonel Wyndham and some friends from his yacht lay on board. Colonel Wyndham is the only gentleman of State ever known to addict himself to the sea for pleasure and from his own natural addiction.'<sup>90</sup>

Singularly few mentions of private yachts occur during this period. There is, indeed, the case of Jan Griffier, the artist; but Griffier, though long settled in England, was by birth a Dutchman.<sup>91</sup> There is also the case of Roger North; but North belongs to the border-line of this age, and will more properly be mentioned later. Jan Griffier is of more importance, because, being a humble painter, he did not hold the Court idea of pleasure-sailing, which was gilt-edged in the extreme, but preferred a sailing house-boat in which he could combine business with pleasure. We have no detailed account of the vessel with which he provided himself; nor of when he began this manner of life. Probably he bought a smack or small hoy; and, to judge by the date of his birth, it may be assumed that he did not acquire this floating studio till 1670, perhaps much later. He seems to have cruised up and down the Thames from Windsor to Gravesend, and not 'along the coast,' as has been said.<sup>92</sup> His pictures are almost exclusively landscapes, not sea pictures. Having in this way got together a moderate fortune, he returned to Holland to spend it, and from this point the accounts conflict. One account says that he was wrecked on the Dutch coast, losing his all, on his journey home; another says that, having reached Holland, he started again for England at once, but was wrecked at the outset and lost his belongings. Whatever the cause may have been, he remained ten years in Holland before he again sailed for England; and when

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<sup>90</sup> Rev. J. Smith, 'Pepys's Life and Journals,' i., 332.

<sup>91</sup> Born at Amsterdam, 1646; died at Milbank, 1718.

<sup>92</sup> 'Dictionary of National Biography': Horace Walpole, vol.ii., p.129.

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at last he did so, he ran on a sandbank during the passage and remained there for eight days. This, says Horace Walpole, cured him of his taste for the water. It will be seen that the accounts of this yachtsman are very hazy. There is no need, however, to doubt the existence of the sailing studio, for we have at this same date Van der Velde the younger at sea in his own galliot - which, of course, may mean a vessel hired by him - acting as 'our special artist' on the spot, and making sketches of the battles of the Dutch War. Some of these survive, and are very interesting. One is in the British Museum; others are in Lord Dartmouth's collection, and will shortly be reproduced by the Navy Records Society. Van der Velde's galliot is shown ketch-rigged (by the modern meaning of the word), as a galliot should be. This, too, is interesting when we remember that there is at this time no mention of English galliots, and that Van der Velde was settled in England and working for English patrons, presumably in an English vessel.

There are no more of these private adventures to record in this place. Mr. Clark<sup>93</sup> does, indeed, chronicle an incident in which 'Lord Dunblane's pleasure-boat' off Greenwich is mentioned; but Lord Dunblane is, from a yachting point of view, as will be seen presently, an exceedingly unsatisfactory person. We may infer from this mention, which is supported by an incomprehensible reference, that he had a 'pleasure-boat' at this date, but that is all that we know of the matter. The entry is suggestive, however, for if this pleasure-boat was a yacht, as she may perhaps have been, there may well have existed at this date (1682) other private yachts of which we have no hint. The rest of the story of Charles II.'s reign is concerned with the royal yachts, and with the interesting experiments which were made in shipbuilding.

As to the royal yachts, one of the last recorded passages of Charles II. was made in the *Fubbs* round the North Foreland, seemingly about 1680. We are indebted for an account of this voyage to the fact that John Gostling,<sup>94</sup> then minor canon of Canterbury, was the King's guest, presumably on account of his fine bass voice. It appears that the yacht was bound south, and as they hauled to the wind round the North Foreland, they found the wind blowing strong, so that the King and the Duke of York were fain to turn to, to haul the ropes with the mariners. Gostling thought much of it, and considered that their getting safe to land, probably in Ramsgate, was due to a special interposition of Providence. We need not quarrel with him on that account, for on his return to London he confided his adventure to the great musician Henry Purcell, and Purcell, in honour of the event, wrote 'the most remarkable of his anthems,' 'They that go down to the sea in ships,' adapting it to the scope of Gostling's voice. Of what the King and the sailor-men of the party thought we have no trace; probably they had had a similar experience often enough before, as most people have had whose occasions take them round that particular corner against a south-west wind.

We would be glad to have more account of the Queen's water-parties than have been recorded. The *Saudadoes* was built in 1670, and was used like the proverbial new toy. On April 21 of that year<sup>95</sup> we read that the Court was forlorn, 'but the ladies pass their time without any great show of mourning; Her Majesty gives life to all by

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<sup>93</sup> 'History of Yachting,' p.110.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p.113, and 'Dictionary of National Biography.'

<sup>95</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, April 21, 1670.

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frequent divertisement upon the river, in her new vessel the *Sodalis*. They undertake several long voyages, and, falling short of provisions, victual sometimes at Vauxhall, sometimes at Lambeth Palace.’ This is the same vessel that, as has been seen, crossed the Bay of Biscay to Lisbon during this summer, but of her further use there seems to be no information. The ladies, perhaps, got tired of the water; the *Saudadoes* certainly was needed for the navy, and was rebuilt and enlarged to an extent which must have made her cease to be a yacht.

The royal yachts at this time were kept constantly in commission, those which were not being actually used by the King being busily employed in carrying ambassadors, in cruising for fishery protection, or against privateers, and in surveying. Sometimes they had a man-of-war to convoy them, more often they had not; and it was found that an Ostend rover showed small respect to a royal yacht, even with the King of England on board. The *Anne* suffered some such ‘indignity’ in 1674,<sup>96</sup> and orders were issued for the men-of-war on the station to ‘bring in the Ostender.’ Whether they did so or not does not seem to be recorded.

There is extant a petition of the officers and seamen of the *Mary* yacht to the Navy Commissioners for pay,<sup>97</sup> ‘that their families may not be starved in the streets, and themselves go like heathen, having nothing to cover their nakedness. They have 52 months pay due, and neither money nor credit.’ This, of course, has little or nothing to do with yachting proper, and only shows that the *Mary*, which was for long employed on the Irish station, and was, in fact, eventually cast away while serving there, was very thoroughly on the Navy List. The experience of the *Mary’s* men might seem impossible to yachtsmen of this age, but to seamen of the navy in the seventeenth century it was unfortunately the rule rather than the exception.

Apart from isolated cases of yachts being sent to look for suspected sands, we have the testimony of Captain Greenville Collins, whose ‘Coasting Pilot’ was published in 1693.<sup>98</sup> ‘His most excellent Majesty King Charles the Second, who was a great lover of the noble art of Navigation, finding that there were no Sea Charts or Maps of these Kingdoms but what were Dutch, and copies from them, and those very erroneous . . . was pleased in the year 1681 to give me the command of a Yacht for the making this survey; in which service I spent 7 years time.’ It may be worth while to add that the yachts in which he served were the *Merlin*, 1681 to 1683, and the *Monmouth*, 1683 to 1688.<sup>99</sup> If he had any ‘out of school’ adventures, he does not mention them; but we may assume that we would have heard of it if, in the course of his lying in all the ports of the kingdom, he had had such an experience as another yacht captain had some years earlier. ‘Fifteen Ostend captains who went in a bravado in one of their boats to the King’s yacht *Katherine* (at Dover) to be merry with Captain Crow, were overturned near the shore at returning, and 14 of them drowned.’<sup>100</sup> It is a bare mention, but it reeks of the profuse hospitality of that none too sober period.

There is an interesting order of July, 1674, from Pepys to Anthony Deane, then Commissioner at Portsmouth:<sup>101</sup> ‘To repair up hither to receive the King’s commands

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<sup>96</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. ii., 1728.

<sup>97</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, July 27, 1667.

<sup>98</sup> *Op. cit.*, Preface.

<sup>99</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. i., 336.

<sup>100</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, January 27, 1670.

<sup>101</sup> Tanner, Pepysian MSS., vol. ii., 1643.

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touching the building of 2 yachts which the King of France desires to have built for him here in imitation of his Majesty's.' Perhaps the yachts were not built after all, but the order is of value as showing the reputation of England as a yacht-producing country. But it must be remembered that France and Holland were at that time so far from being friends that Louis could not have placed orders for yachts in Holland even if he would.

No account of any form of shipbuilding enterprise during the reign of Charles II. would be complete without some reference to the projects of Sir William Petty. But it must not be supposed that Petty stands alone, even among his own countrymen. To name only one or two from among the most illustrious of his predecessors, we have William Bourne,<sup>102</sup> the projector of the centre-board, and the exiled Sir Robert Dudley, styling himself Duke of Northumberland, who, in his great book,<sup>103</sup> reviewed and suggested radical improvements upon the whole naval practice of the age. Another noble inventor was the Marquis of Worcester, whose 'Century of Inventions' included various nautical suggestions. But Petty and other projectors of this date differed from all who had gone before in being able to find patronage for their schemes. It might have been well for shipbuilding had Bourne or Dudley had such encouragement, but they lived in times when monarchs were not scientists, and before the Royal Society sprang to life.

In Charles II.'s reign there were two main lines along which development was sought. The first of these consisted in the effort to devise ships that would sail better than any before; the second tried to render ships more or less independent of the winds. Sir William Petty experimented in both directions, but without lasting success in either. As is well known, his maritime inventions involved the principle of a catamaran, or double-hulled vessel. The names given, to his several craft by different persons have caused much confusion, but it is clear that he built four if not five sailing vessels of different dimensions, and that in later life he devised a paddle-wheel, which should give ships 'fresh way at sea in a calm.' In this latter respect he was not alone, Sir Edward Spragge, the Admiral, having made some fairly satisfactory experiments in 1673, and a towboat having been actually built and established at Chatham in 1683.<sup>104</sup> It was double hulled, with a paddle-wheel between the floats, and, though it was built by the Navy Board officials, it is probable that Petty's double-hulled sailing vessels had exercised much influence on the design. Tow vessels of various sorts continued to be used at the great ports from this time till the introduction of steam, and, although mention of them occurs now and again throughout the eighteenth century, no further reference to them is necessary here.

Petty's first sailing vessel was built in 1662 at Dublin. He was encouraged throughout by the Royal Society,<sup>105</sup> which, in its turn, was under the patronage of the King, and there is constant reference to letters from him describing his experiments. Unfortunately, however, these letters do not seem to have been preserved. The Society decided that the best way in which to compare Petty's vessel with existing types would lie in organizing a race between her and all comers. Accordingly a committee was formed, consisting of such members of the Society as were in Dublin, and it was

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<sup>102</sup> *Vide* above, p.27.

<sup>103</sup> 'Dell Arcano del Mare,' 3 vols., fol. Florence, 1646-1647.

<sup>104</sup> Tanner, *Pepysian MSS.*, vol. i., 294.

<sup>105</sup> Birch, 'History of the Royal Society.' vol. i., p.124, etc., and especially p.183 *et seq.*

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agreed to offer a prize of a flag to be raced for in the bay. The competitors were four in all: Petty's vessel, an open barge belonging to the King, a 'large black pleasure-boat,' and a man-of-war's boat. The race was sailed in a strong wind on January 12, 1663, and Petty's vessel won easily, his crew taking down the flag which was set up at the end of the course, and wearing it in the maintop 'as admiral of the cylinders.' Exact details even of Petty's boat are not available. She was of 1¾ tons burden, carried 600 square feet of sail, which was afterwards increased to 720 feet, and, from her description as the 'cylinders,' may be assumed to have had more or less circular cross sections. Birch<sup>106</sup> has an illustration of her at anchor, showing that the two hulls supported a complete deck, which, with its rails, looks strangely like a cattle-pen, and that she had two masts and a bowsprit. It would be most interesting to know how she was rigged. The illustration seems to suggest some approach to a schooner, of which more anon; but, unfortunately, we have only the spars to judge by, and the form of hull shown does not inspire confidence, as it certainly does not agree with the known description. It would also be interesting to have some account of the large black pleasure-boat which was to be found at Dublin as early as January, 1663. How did she come there? And did the Irishmen wait till the Restoration before they began to indulge in water sports?

The committee in their report to the Society give a long account of the race, which may be read in Dr. Birch, or, in an abbreviated form, in Mr. Clark's pages. It must suffice here to say that the boats ran to leeward to the mark-boat, the 'cylinders' establishing a long lead; that when they hauled their wind for the beat home the pleasure-boat did best of the other three competitors, since she was loaded with two tons of ballast. The man-of-war's boat had carried a couple of empty barrels, which she now proceeded to fill, but even this very audacious ballast-trimming did not give her a chance. On the way home the 'cylinders' missed stays - the description of the incident seems to suggest that she may have been a lugger - went ashore, and broke one of her rudders; but she succeeded nevertheless in winning very easily, while the pleasure-boat, the most dangerous competitor, broke her boom, and was out of it.

It is curious to find that when the committee presented their report of the race, and asked the opinion of the Society on the invention, the answer was, 'That the Committee should be put in mind that the matter of navigation, being a State concern, was not proper to be managed by the Society; and that Sir William Petty, for his private satisfaction, may when he pleases have the sense of particular members of the Society concerning his invention.' This is quite typical of the age, and of that which followed it. All through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the jealousy of the Navy Board for professional secrets, and the monopoly of the East India Company, had a very strong effect in forming a rut out of which the art and mystery of shipbuilding emerged with the greatest difficulty. Any improvement must be a matter of individual effort, and any semi-official or corporate attempt to remedy matters would be looked upon as infringing vested interests, if not as endangering the national welfare. Such a body as the Yacht Racing Association, if we could imagine it and its 'politics' to have existed at this early date, would have been promptly muzzled by the threat of divers pains and penalties.

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<sup>106</sup> Birch, 'History of the Royal Society,' vol. i., plate ii.

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Petty's second 'sluice vessel' was much bigger, being of 30 tons burden, though otherwise seemingly on somewhat similar lines.<sup>107</sup> She carried a quite unnecessary load of 5 tons of guns in deference to the prevailing custom, and had a crew of thirty men. The objections that were raised against the former vessel were laid also against her, that her small grip on the water and large surface exposed to the wind would make her ride exceedingly badly, and that she was likely to break up in a gale. There was proved to be reason in both objections, for she broke adrift in Dublin Bay,<sup>108</sup> drove ashore, and was severely damaged; and a successor of hers was eventually lost at sea. She is best known, however, for her sailing powers, which were good, and are well described in an interesting contemporary newspaper account:<sup>109</sup>

'Sir William Petty is become famous' (wrote the Dublin correspondent on 29th June) 'by the success of his new Invention of the double-bottom'd ship, against the Judgement and Resolution of almost all mankind. When first the ship adventured to Holyhead, she staid there many days before her return, and 'tis pleasant to consider how her adversaries insulted, and having first establish't the conclusion that she was cast away, afterwards discourst the several necessities why it must be so. But her return in triumph has checkt the division of some, and becalmed the violence of others, the first point being clearly gained that she can bear the seas.

'There has been much adoe in this Town for these last 9 or 10 moneths, about projecting a new way of Shipping, and the successe of it hath been such as that we have been all in faction about it. Several of the *Vertuosi* have more or lesse approved it, whilst the generality have much denied and reproached it. There have been three several vessels built, and made to saile, all consisting of double Bodies conjoined, each of severall shapes, dimensions and distances: but the last being the first that seems to be of use, Burthen, Beauty and Accommodation, is the first likewise which I thought fit so particularly to give you an account of.

'You must pardon me if I hit not the Sea phrases, but in plain English, the matter is thus. On Wednesday this new Device, which the people severally call the *Invention*, others the *Mercury*, others the *Gemini*, others the *Castor and Pollux*, others the *Zabulon and Naphthaly*, others the *Wit and Money*, etc., returned the second time from Holyhead on Wednesday the 22nd instant about five in the afternoone directly against the Wind. She set out from thence with the *Ossory* Ketch, the most famed of all our three Pacquet Boats, and to which we are most beholding for the speedy transport of our Letters, especially in contrary Winds, but arrived sixteen hours before the said Ketch, whom she ran out of sight and left to Leeward, in a watch or four houres time, whereby we guesse that she outdoes ordinary vessels halfe in halfe.

She undertooke this last Voyage upon a Wager, notwithstanding her Antagonist at the time appoynted (though all full of confidence before) durst not engage against her. Whereby, to speake truth, shee won rather Money than Honour, otherwise then as shee met accidentally means of asserting that too. In her former voyage to Holyhead, she turned in against Winde and Tyde into that narrow Harbour amongst the Rocks and Shippes with such Dexteritie, as many ancient Seamen confessed they had never seen the like. Upon these experiments most gainsayers are now silent, objecting only

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<sup>107</sup> Lord E. Fitzmaurice, 'Life of Sir W. Petty,' pp. 109-113 etc., and 266 *et seq.*

<sup>108</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, September 16, 1663.

<sup>109</sup> *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, August 3, 1663; and *Mercurius Publicus*, August 6, 1663.

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the excessive charge of building her, and of men to Sayle her, and the danger of separation of her bodies in a Storme. But as to charge, let the Author looke to it, and the Passengers to the danger of separation.’

After the race this ship went round to London, Petty giving a banquet to his crew in October before they started, and taking the opportunity of making a speech. ‘The intention was to send them with a vessel to His Majesty, which, though full of ugly faults and eyesores, being built for a fresh-water lough, and to be carried 8 miles on land, was to outsayle any other vessel whatever, and to endure all the hazards of the troublesome passage from hence to London. Wherefore, he advised them, if they did not believe he should answer these ends, they should not venture their lives to make them and him ridiculous.’ The vessel reached London in safety early in 1664, and though the King was inclined at first to poke fun at Petty, he was prevailed upon shortly to lend him the light of his countenance, and to launch what must have been his third, or, if the Dublin correspondent is to be believed, his fourth ‘sluice-boat.’ The name *Experiment* was given to this vessel at her launching. Her history is not clear, but it is known that she perished in a gale of wind in the Irish Channel,<sup>110</sup> when many other vessels miscarried. Some of her crew were saved, but seventeen men were lost with her, the date of this event being seemingly 1665. From that time onward the project slept - not only owing to its own misfortunes, but because Petty had lost money in Irish speculations and by the Fire of London. But nearly twenty years later, in 1683, ‘the fit of the double bottom, as he tells us, did return very fiercely upon him. His new vessel, however, performed as abominably as if built on purpose to disappoint in the highest degree every particular that was expected of her.’<sup>111</sup> We know little of this vessel. Her name was the *St. Michael*, and she was the last of the type to be built. Whether Petty had made radical departures from the previous design we do not know, but it is interesting to note that Pepys, and Sir Anthony Deane with him, were prepared, not only to dispute every claim which he made on her behalf, but to back their opinions to a substantial amount.

A copy of a model of the *Experiment* is given in the ‘Life of Petty,’ and shows that the vessel was designed to look, on the broadside, like an ordinary craft. She seems to have been flat-bottomed, but of her rig we know nothing. The model did not satisfy Sir William Petty, for it showed only one deck, whereas the ship had two; but in general aspect it was no doubt at least approximately correct.

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<sup>110</sup> Evelyn says in the Bay of Biscay, which is unlikely.

<sup>111</sup> C.H.Kull’s edition of Petty’s writings, vol. i., p. xxxiii.