

winged figure blowing trumpet. The initial letter T (or) encloses a medallion portrait of the Protector, head and bust. In armour with white collar over it, long fair hair brushed back. Surrounded by ribbon, inscribed 'Oliver, by the grace of God, lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England.' The letter is further ornamented by various flowers and berries in their natural colours, the carnation being the most prominent. Down the left-hand margin of this membrane are the coats of arms of the commissioners, headed by an elaborate shield surrounded by flags and weapons of war, and surmounted by a dragon upon a helmet. The first device upon the shield is the Cromwell lion, and the coat is probably that of Henry Cromwell as commander-in-chief; his name standing first in the commission. The arms of the other commissioners are arranged in pairs, and follow the order in which their names occur in the commission.

In conclusion it is perhaps worth while pointing out that there is amongst the documents described in the calendar for 1649-50, p. 516, 'A Booke conteyning the chardge of the Commonwealth of England for the war of Ireland and other disbursements depending thereupon, from the first of March 1648-9 to the 16th of February 1649-50.' The total sum so disbursed during that period amounted to 585,590*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*, of which, however, 100,028*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.* represented arrears previously due.

C. H. FIRTH.

BLAKE AT LEGHORN.

LUDLOW in his 'Memoirs' (ed. Firth), i. 397, tells us that Blake 'was sent into the Mediterranean to require satisfaction from the grand duke of Tuscany for injuries done to our merchants and for entertaining and harbouring Prince Rupert's fleet, in which expedition he not only procured the satisfaction demanded, but rendered the power of England so formidable, not only to all Italy, but even to the grand seigneur himself, that they expressed a greater readiness to preserve the friendship of the English than ever they had done before.' Later writers profess to know the amount of the money paid in satisfaction, 60,000^l being the sum most in favour. Professor Laughton, in his article on Blake in the 'Dict. of Nat. Biography,' questions the whole story on the ground that it is 'entirely unsupported by exact evidence, and is virtually contradicted by Blake's silence in his extant letters from Leghorn, and his reference to others from the same place as of little importance.'

This argument appears to me to be a very strong one, if not quite conclusive. It is, however, in my power to bring evidence which not only strengthens Professor Laughton's case, but throws light on the way in which the mistake arose. I will first, however, say that Ludlow's own statement ought to have convinced any

serious inquirer that he knew very little about the matter, as Prince Rupert's fleet was never in the grand duke's harbour, and the offence of certain Leghorn merchants was merely that they bought goods taken by Rupert out of an English prize. A more serious dispute was caused by the cutting out in war time by English sailors of one of their ships which had been taken by the Dutch, and which was lying in Leghorn harbour, and therefore in neutral waters.

The most likely source of information on Blake's proceedings would be the despatches written by Gondi, the grand duke's secretary, to Salvetti, his resident in England. These, however, so far as they relate to this period, are not to be found in the archives at Florence, but Salvetti's replies are preserved, and the following extracts from two of them, ^{20 Jan.}_{6 Feb.}, 12 Feb. 1655, taken from the transcripts in the British Museum (Add. MS. 27692 O, foll. 377, 382), will help to clear up the matter.

La confermazione che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima mi fa con il suo dispiaccio . . . toccante la reciproca buona intelligenza che continuava a Livorno fra il nostro serenissimo Padrone et il Signor Generale Blake mi è stata carissima di sentirla, come anche di vedere dalla copia della lettera di questo Signor Protettore scritta a sua Altezza l'espressione in essa fatta di non volere alterare quella buona corrispondenza che sempre passò fra di questa nazione et l'Altezza tua, et così voglio sperare che sia per seguire, non ostante l'imparzialità di alcuni che non lo desiderano, i quali non credo che siano tanti nè tanto poderosi da causare alcuna novità sopra di questo affare.

From this it appears that the good understanding was promoted by the Protector, but opposed by some others not named. Salvetti goes on to thank Gondi for sending him copies of the Protector's letter and of the grand duke's answer, which will serve to confound those che non credono che il Signor Generale Blake sia per contentarsi di apparenze, ma sì bene fare apparire il contrario, avanti che si parta da questa spiaggia: ma questi come appassionati (per non dire maligni) io li lascio gracchiare, sapendo molto bene che la generalità di questa nazione mostra di essere molto affezionata et obbligata al Serenissimo Gran Duca nostro signore.

In the next letter Salvetti again thanks the secretary for sending him news of the good understanding between Blake and the grand duke,

non ostante che le stampe che si gridono questa settimana per Londra dichino il contrario con queste precise parole: Scrivono di Genova con lettere di 18 Gennaro, come il signor Ammiraglio Blake diceva, come non sarebbe partito di Livorno finche il Gran Duca non gli havesse pagato cento cinquanta mila scudi per danni che i vasselli Inglesi havevano riceuto nel suo porto: soggiugnendo nondimeno detta stampa: Questo non viene qui creduto.

As a matter of fact two newspapers, *A Perfect Account* and *Mercurius Politicus*, give substantially the same news, both deriving it from Genoese sources. When we remember that the Genoese were despatching an ambassador, Ugo Fiesco, to Cromwell to urge him to transfer the English trade from Leghorn to Genoa, it is not very hazardous to conjecture that they had invented this story in order to persuade London merchants that it was hopeless to expect a good reception at Leghorn for many years to come. They did not succeed in capturing the English trade, but they were successful in capturing a credulous posterity.

SAMUEL R. GARDINER.

THE DESPATCHES OF COLONEL THOMAS GRAHAM ON THE ITALIAN
CAMPAIGN OF 1796-1797.

PART I.

IN the records of H.M. Foreign Office (Italian States, no. 57) are to be found the despatches of Colonel Thomas Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, from the headquarters of the Austrian army opposed to General Bonaparte. It is needless to say that, despite his lack of regular military training in early life, Graham possessed all the gifts which make a great soldier. The man who at sixty-three years of age could deal the terrible blow of Barossa—where Napier says that the 'attack was an inspiration rather than a resolution, so wise was the decision, so swift and conclusive the execution'—was evidently endowed by nature with a genius for war which no routine can ever impart. In these despatches we therefore find, what has been so much lacking for a well-balanced judgment on these campaigns, the criticism of an able and yet almost unprejudiced eye-witness. His reports are not all of equal importance. Some are evidently based on the gossip at Austrian headquarters: others are full of his own private difficulties in regard to messengers, horses, money, the jealousy felt against him by the commander, or other topics of secondary interest. But I propose to select all the really important passages and to publish them, with occasional footnotes which will show the bearing of Colonel Graham's remarks.

Unfortunately his reports on military topics begin only on 19 May 1796, by which time the Sardinians had been reduced to accept terms from the French, and the Austrians had been driven from the whole of Lombardy (except the castle of Milan, where they had a garrison) back to the line of the Mincio. It is somewhat characteristic of English military and naval organisation at that period that Colonel Graham arrived at the Austrian headquarters several weeks *after* the time when his exertions could be of much