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Joseph Robson Tanner

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Bibliotheca Pepysiana

Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) was a student of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and bequeathed his personal library of 3000 volumes to the College on condition that the contents remained intact and unaltered; they remain there, in his original bookcases, to this day. This descriptive catalogue was published in four volumes, each with a different editor, between 1914 and 1940. Volume 1 lists the 114 manuscripts in Pepys's collection – some dating back to the middle ages – relating to maritime and naval matters, a subject of particular interest to Pepys, who was employed by the admiralty. They fall into three main categories: official documents of his own time, other official and unofficial documents that he collected as material for his projected 'History of the Navy', and books and papers that appealed to him but are not directly relevant to naval history. This volume remains a valuable resource for researchers in naval history.

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Bibliotheca Pepysiana

*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of
Samuel Pepys*

VOLUME 1

PART 1: 'SEA' MANUSCRIPTS

JOSEPH ROBSON TANNER



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The Illustrations, consisting of photographic facsimiles, will be issued in a portfolio as a separate Part.

Part II will contain Mr. E. Gordon Duff's catalogue of *The Early Printed Books*, and the general Introduction.

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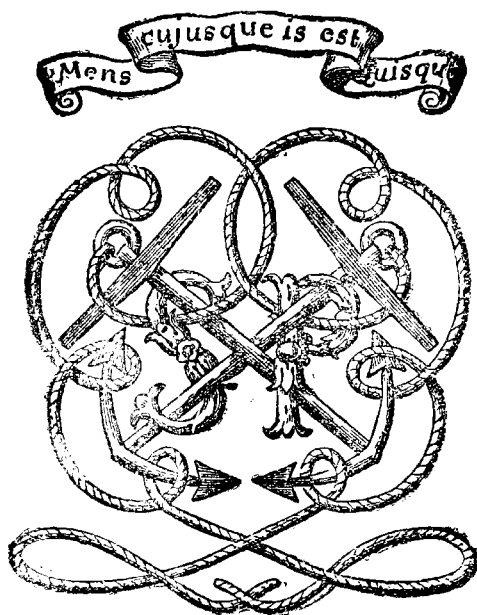
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A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE
OF THE LIBRARY OF
SAMUEL PEPYS



PART I. — “SEA” MANUSCRIPTS

By DR. J. R. TANNER.

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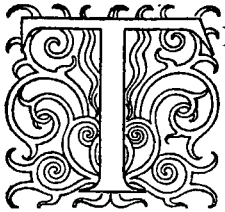
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“SEA” MSS.

INTRODUCTION



THAT part of his Collection which Samuel Pepys classified as “Sea” MSS. consists of one hundred and fourteen volumes, the contents of which cover a wide field of naval history. The leading motive of the collector is probably to be found in his projected “History of the Navy.” Early in his career he thought of writing a History of the Dutch War, “it being a thing I much desire, and sorts mightily with my genius.”¹ Later on the design expanded into a complete naval history,² and at the time of his death he was supposed to have been engaged on it for many years.³ His correspondence with Evelyn and Sir William Dugdale⁴ suggests that it would have included in its scope the antiquities of the Navy and possibly the history of navigation, as well as administrative history; and this view is supported by his selection of “Sea” MSS. for his Library. The manuscripts may be roughly classified in three groups:— (i) Official documents of Pepys’s own time, the presence of which in the Library may be explained by the predatory

(1) *Diary*, 13 June, 1664.

(2) *Diary*, 16 Jan., 1667–8; 15 and 17 Mar., 1668–9.

(3) “This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious, and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy. . . . He had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia* as he called it; but how far advanced, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister’s son . . .” (Evelyn’s *Diary*, 26 May, 1703.)

(4) Wheatley, *Pepysiana*, pp. 185–7.

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habits of retiring officials in his day; (ii) other official and unofficial documents—many of them acquired or copied at some expense—brought together deliberately in order to serve as material for the projected “History of the Navy”; (iii) books and papers which specially appealed to Pepys’s characteristic curiosity, and have only an indirect bearing upon naval history. The line between the last two classes cannot be sharply drawn, as few of the “Sea MSS.” are merely curious, and irrelevant to the history of the navy as Pepys himself interpreted it.

(i.) For the first thirteen years after the Restoration, when Pepys was only Clerk of the Acts, the official documents collected by him refer chiefly to proceedings in which he himself played an important part; but after 1673, when the Clerk of the Acts became Secretary to the Admiralty, and had better opportunities of appropriation, they supply materials for the whole administration of the Navy as far as the Revolution of 1688. The more important of these documents have been described and discussed in the General Introduction to *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, now in course of publication by the Navy Records Society. They include: (1) a collection of the original returns on naval matters called for by Parliament from 1660 to the end of Pepys’s first Secretaryship in 1679 [Nos. 2265–6]; (2) materials for estimating the cost of the Second Dutch War [Nos. 2583 and 2589]; (3) materials for the history of the important episode of the Duke of York’s remonstrance to the Navy Board in 1668, supplying a reasoned criticism of the higher administration of the Navy during the period of the War [No. 2242]; (4) Pepys’s “Report touching the ancient and present Economy of the Navy . . . 17 April, 1669” [No. 2735], and the elaborate and methodical defence of the Navy presented by him to the Commissioners of Public Accounts, 29 November, 1669 [No. 2554]; (5) the materials for a full account of the proceedings of the Special Commission of 1686 [Nos. 1490, 1534, 2823, and 2824], afterwards used by him for his printed *Memoirs of the Royal Navy*; (6) the establishment for the Office of the Ordnance as confirmed

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in 1683 and amended in 1687 [No. 2827]; and (7) registers of ships, guns, officers, and men [Nos. 1340, 2122, 2762, 2940, and 2941], which supply authoritative information upon some points of naval biography and naval equipment.¹ This group of documents also contains collections of considerable importance for the administrative history of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution: (8) *Naval and Admiralty Precedents* [No. 2867], "a collection of naval forms and other papers, serving for information and precedents in most of the principal occasions of the Admiralty and Navy calling for the same," from 1660 to 1688²; (9) *Admiralty Letters* [Nos. 2849-62], fourteen volumes containing the correspondence which passed out of Pepys's office during his two Secretaryships, 1673-79 and 1684-88; and (10) the *Admiralty Journal* [No. 2865], being the minute-book of the Commission of the Admiralty from 1 January, 1673-4 to 21 April, 1679. Of a somewhat different type, but of no less value to the historian of the Navy, are (11) the entries in *Naval Minutes* [No. 2866], a volume in which Pepys made miscellaneous memoranda, many of them notes for his projected History; and (12) the *Navy White Book* [No. 2581], in which he noted abuses in shorthand, and wrote down "matters for future reflection" arising out of the Second Dutch War. (13) *King James II's Pocket Book of Rates and Memorandums* [No. 488] is an interesting relic piously preserved, and on the question of wages it has been quoted as an authority.³

(ii.) The most substantial works in the category of documents deliberately collected to serve as material for the projected History are: (1) the naval discourses of Sir William Monson [No. 2834], John Hollond [Nos. 2193 and 2835], and Sir Robert Slyngesbie [Nos. 2193 and 2871]; (2) copious extracts from naval authorities and historians [Nos. 1266, 2197, 2217, 2363, 2643, 2714] carefully indexed either in the volumes

(1) See also Sir Anthony Deane's Report on the French Navy [No. 2241].

(2) *S.P.'s Day Collection* [No. 2902] contains a selection of important papers in constant use by Pepys during his second Secretaryship, 1684-88, but most of them are transcripts of documents to be found elsewhere among "Sea MSS."

(3) *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* (N.R.S. Publications, vol. xxvi), i. 141.

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themselves or separately [Nos. 2846 and 2829]; and (3) Mountgomery's *Book of the Navy* [No. 1774]. The last-named is of special interest because there is reason for thinking that it may have affected English naval policy at a critical point. The treatise was written by Mountgomery for his own amusement; but he showed it to the "principal masters of the Navy," and was by them advised to submit it to "a Parliament Lord," and copies were eventually made for Lords Clinton and Saye and for Leicester himself.¹ Leicester appears to have taken up Mountgomery's scheme for the distribution of the Royal Navy for home defence in three squadrons on the English coasts and to have urged it in the Council; and it may be that some of the difficulty which Drake had in 1587 and Howard in 1588 in getting leave from the Queen to seek the Spaniards in their own waters may have been due to this cause. Leicester's copy is in the British Museum.² The same group includes: (4) copies of the official reports of the Commissions of 1608 [No. 2165] and 1618 [No. 2735]; (5) *Edward Fenton's Book*, 1590 [No. 513]; (6) *Miscellaneous Naval Manuscripts* [No. 2911] of the time of James I; (7) Francis Thynne's "collection of matters touching the Constables of Dover Castle and the Wardens of the Five Ports" [No. 1811]; (8) Sir Anthony Deane's "collections" relating to the Navy of France, 1675 [No. 2241]; (9) Penn's *Naval Collections* [No. 2611], being "a collection of several manuscripts taken out of Sir William Penn's closet relating to the affairs of the Navy"; and (10) a copy of Ryther's edition of Petruccio Ubaldino's Discourse on the Spanish Armada [No. 2806]. There are also (11) various volumes relating to shipbuilding [Nos. 1074, 1338, 1339, 1731, 2501, 2820, 2910, 2934] and navigation [Nos. 1825, 2184, 2185], including *A Catalogue to Mr. Pepys's books on Navigation* [No. 2700]. Of these the most important are a curious and valuable work entitled *Fragments of Ancient*

(1) B.M., Add. MSS. 20042.

(2) Add. MSS. 18035. Other copies are Add. MSS. 20042 and Arundel 22; there is also a 19th century copy of 20042 in Add. MSS. 20043. All these, except Add. MSS. 18035, contain the addition of 1588 as well as the original treatise of 1570.

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English Shipwrihty [No. 2820], and Sir Anthony Deane’s *Doctrine of Naval Architecture* [No. 2910], a book described by Evelyn as “an extraordinary jewel.” There is also a set of sea-charts [No. 2970], and a Survey of the Thames in 1684 and 1687 [No. 2997], with maps signed by the Principal Officers of the Navy and the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House.

In addition to these separate works there is (12) the large and important collection in eleven volumes, entitled by Pepys *A Miscellany of Matters Historical, Political, and Naval* [Nos. 2869–79]. This contains copies of 1438 documents, transcribed from various sources, and ranging from a complete copy, in 114 folio pages, of Sir Philip Meadows’s work on the Sovereignty of the Seas [ix. 2–115] down to “A true Copy of the Great Turke his Stile which he most commonly writeth in His great Affaires” [iii. 56]. It is proposed to catalogue these papers in full in the more elaborate account of the Pepysian Naval MSS. now in course of publication by the Navy Records Society, but considerations of space make this impossible in the present instance. The principle of selection adopted in the text has been to include all papers bearing on the administrative history of the Navy as a modern historian would conceive it, and such other papers as may for any reason be regarded as of special interest¹ or importance. This involves the omission of the greater part of “matters historical and political” and the inclusion of the greater part of “matters naval”; but the omissions are perhaps justified by the fact that a separate volume in the Library [No. 2880] contains the tables of contents of all the volumes of *Miscellanies* re-copied for convenience of reference. The matters included comprise a better copy of Phineas Pett’s Journal than the one commonly known [i. 51]; a transcript of the Commonplace Book of Mr. Bedford, the Register of the Admiralty, containing a large number of papers and precedents relating to Admiralty affairs [vol. iv.]; the defence of the Navy Board in connexion with the

(1) The editor has, with some hesitation, included two papers relating to the Tobermory galleon [*Miscellanies*, iv. 510, 511].

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failures of the Second Dutch War [vi. 361, 385, 509]; Sir Anthony Deane's observations on the state of the fleet in 1674 [v. 49]; the papers presented to Parliament by Pepys in 1675, with his general report on the state of the Navy at that date [v. 185]; "Mr. Pepys's heads for discourse in Parliament upon the business of the Navy, anno 1676" [ii. 453]; a large number of documents relating to naval abuses at various times [iii. 355, 503; vii. 145, 158, 183, 270, 273, 361, 382, 388; viii. 632; x. *passim*]; papers relating to salutes and the history of the flag [iv. 237; v. 235; ix. *passim*]¹; and "The Journal of the Green Ribband Club at the King's Head Tavern over against the Temple in Fleet Street from 1678 to 1681" [vii. 465], copied from the original lent to Pepys by the king. There are also to be found in these volumes a number of patents, commissions, and lists of ships, as well as papers relating to shipbuilding, victualling, and finance; also transcripts from the "Black Book of the Admiralty" [iii. 158, 177, 206, 228, 233; iv. 515, 759], and collections of papers referring to the Shipwrights' Company [vi. 243-57; vii. 421-63] and to the Corporation of Trinity House [i. 1, 22; xi. 281, 562-912].

(iii.) The group of books and papers which appealed mainly to the insatiable curiosity of Pepys is not very large. (1) A considerable number of transcripts in the *Miscellanies* are the result of this instinct, and have no bearing upon the history of the Navy. Of this kind are papers relating to Sir William Petty's calculations and experiments [ii. 477, 489; v. 559; vi. 1, 31, 35], and a copy of "A Discourse made by Sir Robert Southwell before the Royal Society, 8 April, 1675, touching Water" [ii. 505]. These suggest that Pepys's scientific interests were entirely genuine, and were not due, as has been suggested, to a desire to commend himself to the king. On the other hand, it is not easy to see why he should have transcribed for his Collection an index to a volume of papers in the Library of the Dutch Church in London [xi. 161] or an account of the proceedings in the famous case of *Godden v. Hales* in support of James II's claim to

(1) See also Lieutenant Graydon's *Collection of Naval Flags and Colours*, 1686 [No. 1608].

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the dispensing power [xi. 249]. (2) Other volumes, although they relate to naval subjects, are chiefly interesting to the collector, as, for instance, the *Libro de Cargos* [No. 2269], a relic of the Spanish Armada; a copy of the "Libel of English Policy" [No. 1461]; *An Ancient Discourse and Description of Milford Haven* [No. 1296], "once the Lord Burghley's book"; and "A Project of a form by an Order of Intrenchment for defence against a landing of any army" [No. 2021], also "directed" to Lord Burghley. Perhaps the famous illuminated rolls containing Anthony Anthony's *Declaration of the Royal Navy of England* [No. 2991] should now be included in this category, although no doubt Pepys himself took a much higher view of their value as an historical authority.¹ (3) The collection of voyages and journals among "Sea" MSS.² [Nos. 1663, 2133, 2349, 2350, and 2543, 2542, 2584, 2610, 2698, 2813, 2826, 2894] includes the Journals of Sir John Narbrough, 1672-3 [Nos. 2555 and 2556], and *A Collection of Sea Journals* made by Richard Gibson in 1684 [No. 2351]. There is also (4) a copy of Balfour's *Practiques* [No. 2208], the earliest text-book of Scottish law; (5) a volume of papers which are of special importance for the early history of America, entitled *Instructions to Commissioners, and Journals relating to Virginia, 1676-7* [No. 2582]; and (6) a late addition to the Collection in the form of a criticism of Admiral Russell's Expedition to the Mediterranean of June, 1694 [No. 2276]. (7) A group of presentation works is also of some interest: Henry Shere's *Discourse touching the Current in the Strait of Gibraltar* [No. 1476]; Bolland's *Mediterranean Journal* [No. 2899]; "Mr. Hosier's method of balancing Storekeepers' Accounts" [No. 1788]; a translation of instructions for the Dutch Courts of Admiralty [No. 2060]³; and Edward Battine's *Method of Building . . . Ships of War* [No. 977]. The last-named was severely criticised by Pepys for its inaccuracies in a letter

(1) No. 2219 is an illuminated abstract of the Rolls, probably made for Pepys before he acquired the originals.

(2) Voyages and geographical papers are also to be found in the *Miscellanies* [v. 291, 351, 415, 487, 503, 603; vi. 271, 333].

(3) See also No. 2061.

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of 5 January, 1685–6, the substance of which is printed in vol. xxvi of the Navy Records Society's Publications (p. 231).

A more systematic enquiry into the origins of the "Sea" MSS. will be attempted hereafter in connexion with the larger Catalogue of the Navy Records Society, but certain identifications have been already made, and are noted below in the text. In the case of many of the transcripts contained in the *Miscellanies* the sources are indicated by Pepys himself. For instance, some of the papers in vol. i and the whole of vol. viii are from Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and most of those in vol. ii are transcribed from Sir Julius Cæsar's Library; and it has been possible to identify some of them among the Lansdowne and Cottonian MSS. A certain number of the papers in the Pepysian Collection are also to be found in duplicate among the Pepys Papers in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian,¹ more particularly: (1) two versions of the *Register of the Ships of the Royal Navy* [No. 2940], one from 1660 to 1675 [Rawlinson MSS. A. 197. f. 1], and the other extending down to 1686 [*ib.* f. 33], and a register of officers [*ib.* A. 199] very similar to the register in the Pepysian Library [No. 2941]; and (2) a collection of papers [Rawlinson MSS. A. 464] bearing on the establishment of the Special Commission of 1686, and including two copies [ff. 76 and 102] of Pepys's "Memorial and Proposition touching the Navy," dated 26 January and presented to the King 29 January, 1685–6,² with a copy of the "Proposition" and the report thereon, dated 30 March, 1686, signed by six of the Officers of the Navy [f. 92].³ (3) The Rawlinson Collection also contains many volumes of Pepys's miscellaneous correspondence, part of which bears upon the history of the Navy during the period of his administration, and throws light upon the problems raised by the "Sea" MSS. at Magdalene.

Although Pepys retained so many of the official documents relating to the period of his administration, duplicates of two of the most important

(1) See also an article by Professor C. H. Firth in the *Mariner's Mirror* for August, 1913, entitled "Papers relating to the Navy in the Bodleian Library."

(2) *cf.* Pepysian MS. No. 1490.

(3) See *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.*, i. 72.

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sets of his papers are in the Admiralty Library in Whitehall. (1) The Pepysian *Admiralty Letters* [Nos. 2849–2862] are from 19 June, 1673, to 21 May, 1679, and from 23 May, 1684, to 5 March, 1688–9. The Admiralty Library contains a series of similar letter-books entitled *Admiralty Letters and Orders* [MSS. 14–18] from 2 January, 1673–4, to 19 May, 1684, and another series entitled *Secretary of Admiralty's Letters* [MSS. 35–37] from 5 June, 1679, to 30 May, 1684. The former series also contains orders and warrants for the whole period, which in the Pepysian series are only entered down to 31 December, 1673; and there is in the Admiralty Library another series entitled *Orders and Warrants* [MSS. 9–12, 48] from 18 June, 1673, to 25 December, 1683. It would therefore appear that, except for the first six months of Pepys's first Secretaryship, the Admiralty documents are much more complete as far as 1684, and include the period 1679–84, during which Pepys was out of office, but that from 1684 to 1688 the Pepysian letter-books are probably unique. (2) Much the same state of things exists with regard to the minutes of the Admiralty Commission. The Pepysian *Admiralty Journal* [No. 2865] is from 1 January, 1673–4, to 21 April, 1679. The corresponding *Admiralty Journal* in the Admiralty Library [MSS. 41–44] is from 28 June, 1673, to 10 May, 1684¹; but in this case the minutes for Pepys's second Secretaryship, from 1684 to 1688, appear to be missing from both Libraries. Other official papers in the Admiralty Library which should be compared with the corresponding documents in the Pepysian Library are the following:— (3) a Register of Officers, 1660–85 [MS. 71], which should be compared with the Pepysian Register [No. 2941]²; (4) A record of various commis-

(1) In the Rawlinson MSS. [A. 193. f. 164] are the shorthand minutes of the proceedings of the Admiralty Commission for November and December, 1673, with a note: "To be entered in longhand in the public minute book thereof"; but in the Admiralty copy there are no entries between 14 November, 1673, and 1 January, 1673–4.

(2) The Admiralty Library also contains a list of "officers recommended for employment," 1673–89 [MS. 73] classified under offices (captains, lieutenants, boatswains, gunners, pursers, carpenters, cooks), with three columns headed "persons," "how recommended," and "how answered." This methodical arrangement is very characteristic of Pepys.

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sions and patents in four volumes, compiled in the 18th century but including those in the Pepysian Collection; (5) Corbett's imposing *Collection of Precedents and Admiralty Matters, circ. 1660-1740*, in 22 volumes, including those contained in Pepys's *Navy and Admiralty Precedents* [No. 2867], but in a much later compilation; and (6) the original Survey of 1684 [MS. 97], signed by Haddock, Tippetts, and Narbrough. It should also be noted (7) that the Admiralty Library is rich in documents for the period 1660-73, where the Pepysian Collection is comparatively poor. It contains the Duke of York's *Instructions*, 4 June, 1660, to 14 March, 1673-4 [MSS. 19-22]; his *Orders*, 6 June, 1660, to 8 February, 1665-6 [MS. 23]; his *Letters*, 4 June, 1660, to 24 January, 1684-5 [MSS. 24-5]; and his *Civil Commissions and Warrants*, 8 December, 1663, to 25 February, 1684-5. It also contains (8) the *Orders of Charles II and James II* to the Principal Officers, 19 May, 1684, to 10 December, 1688 [MSS. 28, 30].

There is evidence in the Admiralty Library that Pepys left his mark upon the succeeding century as well as upon his own time. The prodigious respect paid to his authority by the naval administrators of the next generation¹—comparable only, perhaps, to the weight which Lord Chief Justice Coke carried among the lawyers after his death—led to a number of transcripts being made from the Pepysian MSS. and preserved among the Admiralty records. Thus, (1) in a collection of papers concerning salutes, 1603-1731, some are transcribed from the Pepysian *Miscellanies*; (2) a volume of "Miscellaneous Papers on Naval Matters" includes a copy of *Naval Minutes* [No. 2866]; and (3) an important early 18th century *Naval Collection*, in three volumes bound as two, contains extracts from the *Miscellanies* with an index of all the documents not so extracted, and includes [vol. ii., p. 109] a "Catalogue of MSS.² and

(1) So durable was the tradition that the Commission which reported in June, 1805, spoke of him as "a man of extraordinary knowledge in all that related to the business" of the Navy, "of great talents, and the most indefatigable industry" (Historical MSS. Commission, *Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, pt. ii., p. 153).

(2) cf. Rawlinson MSS. D. 794, which contains a "List of all the official account-books and naval papers and collections belonging . . . to Samuel Pepys, as arranged by numbers upon nineteen shelves."

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printed books relating to naval matters in the Pepysian Library"; (4) volume x of the Byng MSS. consists of copies of various papers in the Pepysian Library transcribed by a later hand; and (5) a register of *Memorials and Reports*, 5 September, 1674, to 19 February, 1688–9 [MS. 39], has entries in Pepys's hand, and the form of it was no doubt devised by him.¹ There is, unfortunately, no trace in the Admiralty Library of Mr. Bedford's Commonplace Book, of which volume iv. of the *Miscellanies* is a transcript.

(1) This records the "Petitioner's Name and Prayer" and the "Answers to the Prayer
by { His Majesty
The Lords
Mr. Pepys."

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ABBREVIATIONS



- B.M.* - - - - - British Museum.
- Bodl.* - - - - - Bodleian Library at Oxford.
- D.N.B.* - - - - - Dictionary of National Biography (the references are to the first edition).
- N.R.S.* - - - - - Navy Records Society.
- S.P.Dom.* - - - - - State Papers Domestic.
- Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* - *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Navy Records Society Publications, vols. xxvi, xxvii, and xxxvi, being the three volumes so far published).