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A

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH;
1578 - 1618

PREPARED FOR AND PUBLISHED IN THE NEW ENGLAND
HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER
FOR APRIL, 1862.

AND NOW REPRINTED WITH ADDITIONS.

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE,

FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.



BOSTON:

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1773

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH.



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TO

SIR FREDERICK MADDEN, KNT.,

F. R. S., F. S. A., &c. &c.,

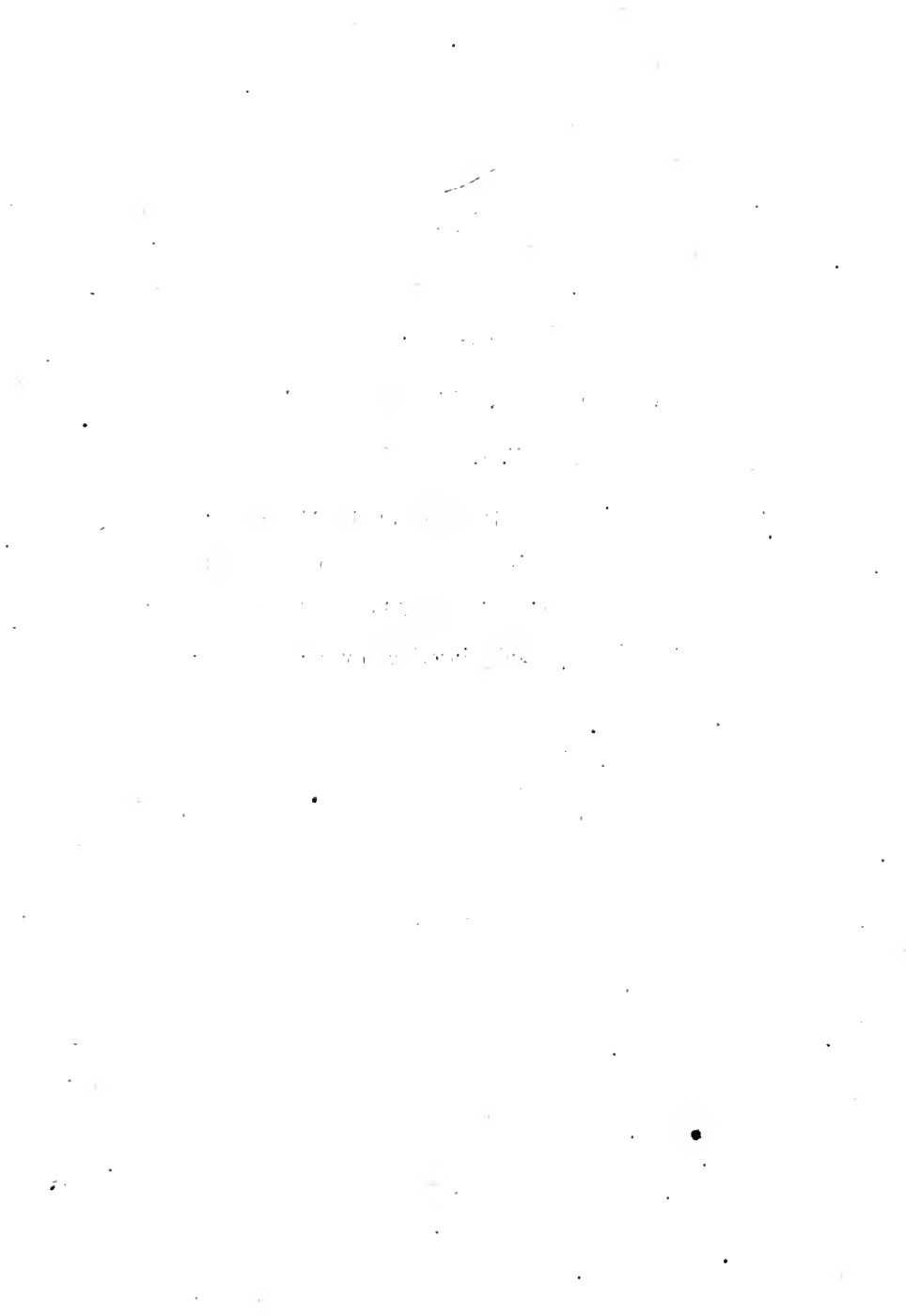
The kind and obliging Principal of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, this brief attempt to illustrate some points in the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, is most respectfully inscribed by the

AUTHOR.

Boston, U. S.,

February,

1862.



M E M O I R
OF
S I R W A L T E R R A L E G H .

BORN, 1552; BEHEADED, 18 Oct., 1618.

Few memories of any period have received more attention, than that of Sir Walter Raleigh; and few periods of the world's history afford such a constellation of names as that of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This can hardly fail to be admitted, if a brief survey be taken of even a portion of what has been written under the titles of Lives and Memoirs of the men of that time.

Among the notables of the Elizabethan period stands prominent Sir Walter Raleigh (as he uniformly wrote his name, but *Rawley* as everybody pronounced it). It will not be hazarding much, it is presumed, to pronounce the prominence of that Knight as rather an undue or factitious one, and to venture the opinion that much of his fame is owing to his tragical death.

Notwithstanding the great amount of materials for a Life of Raleigh, and the extensive memoirs which have been published of him,

almost nothing is known of his early years.* Respecting these materials a remark is thought to be necessary. William Oldys drew up a very elaborate Life of Raleigh which he prefixed to "the eleventh edition" of the *History of the World*, published in 1736, in two volumes in folio. Before this time nothing like justice had been rendered to the memory of the "wandering knight." This edition of the *History of the World* was brought out in a style of magnificence then rarely equaled. With that work was issued a portrait, done in the highest style of the art, bearing this inscription: "From a picture in possession of William Elwes, Senr., Esqr., formerly belonging to Lady Elwes, eldest daughter of Sir Walter, grandson of Sir Walter Raleigh." It was executed by G. Vertue, 1735. By a reference to the pedigree of Raleigh in this Memoir, it will be seen that "Lady Elwes" was Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Elwes, Kt. Respecting the work of Mr. Oldys it may be further remarked, that it has been the foundation of all the Lives of Raleigh since its publication, or all of much account. Its author was a true antiquary, and has deserved well of historians as well as antiquaries, however slightly biographers have passed over him.

The next work of importance upon Raleigh, was published by Dr. Thomas Birch, M. A., F. R. S. This is in two handsome octavos, and was issued in 1751, fifteen years after the work of Mr. Oldys. The character of Dr. Birch as an antiquary and historian, is too well known to need special notice here, but it may not be out of place to remark, that his Life of Raleigh is much less valuable than that by Oldys. He entitles his volumes: *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*,

* Lord Bacon has indeed preserved one anecdote of Raleigh's college days, but it is too frivolous for serious biography.

Kt., Political, Commercial, and Philosophical; together with his Letters and Poems; the whole never before collected together, and some never yet printed; to which is prefixed, a new Account of his Life.

For the next fifty years Raleigh seems to have been somewhat neglected, saving by the general historian of England. But in 1805 appeared two elegant quarto volumes, in which more pains was taken to polish the character of Sir Walter than had been done since the labors of Oldys. These volumes were accompanied also by a fine engraving, apparently copied from that of Oldys. They are by Arthur Cayley, Jr., Esq., who has also deserved well of all readers of history of the age of Elizabeth. But the labored life of Raleigh prefixed to the *History of the World*, published apparently in the lifetime of the Knight,* to which Oldys, Cayley, Birch, and others have been greatly indebted, should not be overlooked. In the title-page is a portrait of Raleigh, engraved by Simon Pass. Of the modern lives of him, it is not necessary to speak. Notwithstanding the researches of all who have yet written, there remain numerous documents in the State Paper Office and the British Museum, untouched by the biographers of Raleigh. Of them much use will be made in this memoir.

As Sir Walter Raleigh has been considered by his biographers, a sort of universal genius, they did not know under what head to class him; for he was a soldier, a sailor, a historian, poet, and a courtier.

* According to the frontispiece, this edition of the *History of the World* was printed in 1614, while the life prefixed records the beheading of the author, in 1618. And then by the colophon the work was printed in 1624. This collation is given to show how publishers sometimes lead us astray, however careful we intend to be.

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Some of them have set him down as a lawyer—probably because he talked like one on various occasions—but though he was for a time in lodgings where lawyers were made, he says himself he did not study the law. Anthony Wood said, in his time, “it still remained a dispute, whether the age he lived in is more obliged to his pen or his sword.” Sir Robert Naunton, his contemporary, has, with as great truth as brevity, exhibited the fortunes of this singularly unfortunate man. He says: “As for the remaining part of his life [after 1576], it was sometimes low, and sometimes in a middle condition, and often tossed by fortune to and fro, and seldom at rest. He was one that fortune had picked up on purpose, of whom to make an example, or to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to show what she could do; for she tost him up out of nothing, and to and fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman, not that he was less, for he was well descended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginnings; and for my Lord of Oxford’s jest of him (the Jack, and an upstart), we all know, it savors more of emulation, and his humor, than of truth; and it is a certain note of the times, that the Queen in her choice never took into her favor a mere new man.”*

The relationship of Sir Walter Raleigh to many remarkable men, particularly to Devonians, as well as the pedigree of his family, are exhibited by the following table:†

* But from a priority of publication, this might be attributed to Winstanley, or to Lloyd. Naunton published his *Fragmenta Regalia*, 1642. Winstanley his *Worthies*, 1600, and Lloyd his *Statesmen*, 1664.

† Compiled in part from an ingenious article in *The Archaeologia (Soc. Antiquarica)* vol. xxxiii, p. 225.

Wimond=*Jane*, dau.
Raleigh of Swarth-
ridge and parish-
of Axminster.
Granville.

John Drake=*Agnes*, dau. of
of Periton, John Kel-
son of John-
of the same
place.
way.

Ohio Gilbert=*Elizabeth*, dau. of John Hill
of Compton.

Thomas Gilbert=*Isabel*, dau.
Esp. 2d son.
and heir of
John Keyn-
ward.

John Drake=*Margaret*, dau.
Esp. of Ex-
mouth.
of John Cole
of Rill.

Sir Thos. Grenville=*Elizabeth* Gilbert.
of Stow, knt.

Roger Grenville=*Margaret*, dau. and coheir of Richard
of Stow, Esp. Whiteleg.

Ohio Gilbert
of Compton,
esp. son and
heir.
Katherine, dau.
of Sir Philip
Champernon,
and 2d wife of
W. Raleigh.

Barrell
of London,
2d wife of W.
Raleigh.

Walton =*Jeanne*, dau.
Raleigh
of Far-
del.
Esp.

John Drake =*Amy* Green-
ville.
Esp. of Ashe-
ville.

Sir Richard =*Mildred*, dau. and coheir. John Beville.
Grenville.
Richard Drake of Surrey, in great
esteem with Queen Elizabeth, d.
1568.

Gerrard =*Sir* Perrard
dau. of Barth.
Drake, knt.
of Ashe.

Sir John
Gilbert,
knt. in a
dun. of
Sir Richard
Chandleigh.
Sir Humph. Sir Abiam
Gilbert, knt. Gilbert, knt. Raleigh.
Walton, killed in S.
America 2^d time.
Carrow =*Philippa* Weston, relict
of Sir Anthony Ashley.

Carrow =*Elizabeth*, dau.
of S^r Nich's
Gilbert,
Theremorton.

Katherine =*Geo.* Raleigh,
esp. son and knt. of
Ford.

John =*Ann*
dau. of Barth.
Fortescue.
21 son, s. p.

Gerrard =*Sir* Perrard
dau. of Barth.
Drake, knt.
of Ashe.

See *objec' List of*
See *Trident MSS. vol.*
Michx, pp. 2278.

Elizabeth
died unm.

Mary
died unm.
Anne =*Sir Philip* Tyrrell
of Buckingham-
shire.

Walton =*Elizabeth*, dau. of
of West-
Horsley
Gloucestershire.

William Rogers of
London.
(only son) in 1701.

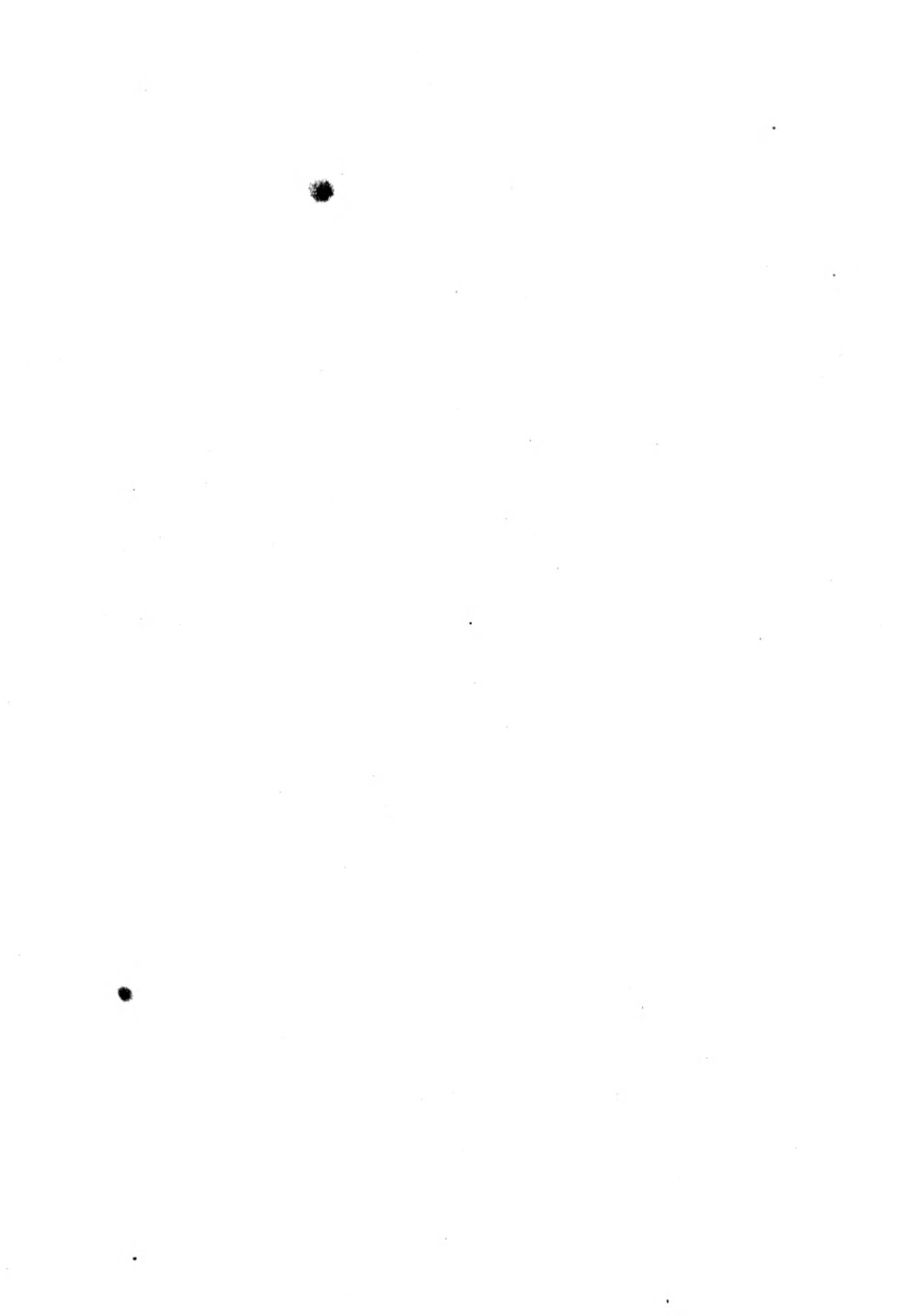
Philipp =*Frances* Grenville of Bucking-
hamshire.

Elizabeth =*Sir John* Elwes, knt.

Philippa =*Oliver* Wicks of Sussex.

Anne =*Wm.* Knigh of Warwickshire.

Walter, Bracknell, Granville, Carrow.
Three duns, chiefly
living in 1595, unm.



In the latter half of the sixteenth century, there were living within and about the county of Devon a truly wonderful race of men. There were the families of the Raleighs, the Gilberts, the Drakes, the Fortescues, the Carews, the Champernous, the Grenvilles, the Gorges, and several others which might be named. With all of these Sir Walter Raleigh was connected by consanguinity, and he sometimes spoke with satisfaction of his affinity "with all the great families in those western parts."

Sir Walter was born in 1552 (6th *Edward VI*), at a farm-house of his father, called Haye's, in the parish of East Budleigh (called Duke's Haye's in Prince's time, because belonging to Duke of Otterton). He was the youngest son of Walter Raleigh, of Fardell a seat but eight miles to the east of Plymouth. By a reference to Prince, and other writers, the pedigree of Raleigh may be carried back many generations, even to the Norman conquest, before which time Smalldridge was in possession of this family. As will be seen by the pedigree annexed, his mother was a daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, widow of Otho Gilbert of Compton, and that Sir Walter was half-brother of the distinguished brothers, Sir John, Sir Humphrey and Sir Adrian Gilbert.

Of the early life of Raleigh there appears to be no account. His grandson, Philip Raleigh, Esq., says his family was "more considerable for antiquity than largeness of fortune, which had been much impaired by the generosity and prodigality of ancestors."* However, he was, by some means, fitted for college, and was entered

* Philip spells the name of his grandfather, *Rahigh*, in accordance with his own. The second edition of his account was printed in 1702, in octavo. It has a preface by the well known Laurence Echard, dated 25th Oct., 1697.

of Oriel, at Oxford, about 1563. There he continued about a year, after which we find him at the Inns of Court. But, remarks Naunton, "his approaches to the University and Inns of Court were the grounds of his improvement, but they were rather excursions than sieges, or sittings down, for he stayed not long in a place." By the close of another year, he is found embarking with his kinsman, Henry Champernon, in an expedition into France, which expedition was for the succor of the Huguenots. About six years of his life is supposed to have been passed in this service, in which, according to Cayley, "nearly thirty battles, sieges, treaties and capitulations" took place. "The school must have been a fine one" for his initiation into the arts of war and diplomacy. He was in that country when the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, took place.

Returning to England in 1576, he immediately entered into the service against the Spaniards in the Low Countries. There, under Sir John Norris, he acted a conspicuous part, and was at the battle of Rimenant, on Lammas-day, 1578, in which Don John of Austria, the hero of Lepanto, was defeated, which defeat he survived only two months.

On his return to his own country, in 1579, he found his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, fitting out an expedition for Newfoundland, of which the Queen had given him a patent. Capt. Francis Drake had returned from the West Indies, with much wealth taken from the Spaniards, and was again upon a secret expedition into unknown seas. No little emulation had been excited among seamen by his adventures. Raleigh seized upon the first opportunity, therefore, to become familiar with maritime affairs. He accordingly

embarked with Sir Humphrey, but, falling in with some Spanish ships of war, was attacked by them and the voyage ruined. Soon after this misfortune he embarked for Ireland. The Pope had sent soldiers there to root out the Protestants, and Elizabeth was determined to sustain them. In this service he fought in many sanguinary skirmishes, thereby came into notice, and received the appointment, among others, of governor of Cork. This brings our history to 1580, at which time Lord Grey was sent over to take the chief command in that country, between whom and Raleigh a dispute arose, of the nature of which history is not very explicit. However, it was probably the cause of Raleigh's quitting Ireland and returning to England, where the fame of his exploits had doubtless preceded him. His return is fixed "towards the close of 1581," at which time all Europe was astir in admiration of the then wonderful achievements of Sir Francis Drake, who had recently returned from his voyage around the world, with immense wealth, and, as Camden says, still greater renown. This mighty undertaking filled the souls of such men as Raleigh, and spurred them on to emulate, as far as they might, the glory of that enterprise. Drake, too, had performed signal service in Ireland, by the means of which he was brought to the notice of Elizabeth; and now the same thing happened to Raleigh. But he was not so fortunate in the Queen's acquaintance as Drake had been, for the latter was not beguiled into a fawning dalliance about her, but only used his introduction at Court for the furtherance of mighty undertakings for the glory of England and the Protestant cause.

It is said that Raleigh first attracted Elizabeth's notice by one of those servile acts so much esteemed in those times. The Queen walking abroad one day, and coming to a fenny place, was hesitating

how to pass it. Raleigh was an accidental observer of her difficulty, and hastening to the spot, took off his richly embroidered plush cloak, spread it upon the place, upon which she passed lightly over.* At another time, being in an apartment of the Queen, he wrote upon a window, for her observation, "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall." Under this, when she saw it, the Queen wrote, "If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Whether these were actual occurrences or not, it is quite certain, as Lodge remarks, that they were consistent with the practices of those times, and agreeable to the frivolities of Elizabeth.

If the person of Raleigh is accurately described by Sir Robert Naunton, who knew him well, it is highly probable that Queen Elizabeth used those arts to attract him which she possessed in perfection, and which she did not fail to exercise on other occasions. Raleigh had, says Sir Robert, "in the outward man, a good presence, in a handsome and well compacted person, a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he added the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers both of men and times." In this connection may be noted what another has said: "He seemed to be born to that only which he went about; so dexterous was he in all his undertakings,

* Fuller says Raleigh's clothes were then a considerable part of his estate; but that the Queen rewarded him afterwards with many suits, for his so free and reasonable tender of so fair a foot-cloth.—*Worthies*, III, 419.

in camp, in court, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen."* Thus he was a fit subject for an artful woman, as Elizabeth was, to practice her arts upon. And, although he was doubtless quite as attractive to the female sex as they were to him, he had not the power of repulsion in an equal degree. And thus, in the language of one of his early biographers, "he dallied like a fly in the flame till it consumed him."

Raleigh's long confinement in the Tower had the effect to gain him a high reputation for learning, and, judging from what he has left us, he was one of the best scholars of the age in which he lived. His great work, *The History of the World*, is indeed a great monument to his memory, as it is equally a monument to his want of judgment in the choice of a subject. It is said that he brought the work down to his own times, in another volume, and that before his death he burnt it, because his publisher of the former volume told him it had sold so badly it had undone him. The continuation would doubtless have been of great value to us, if he had but treated of the affairs known to him personally, while few now think of reading his history of the antediluvian world.

Being now, 1582, in the full sunshine of Elizabeth, Raleigh was by her sent to France, with Simier, who was an agent of the Duke of Anjou, for effecting the Duke's marriage with the Queen, and after-

* From the anonymous Life of Raleigh prefixed to his *History of the World*, edition purporting to have been published in 1614, but containing an account of his execution in 1618. The plagiarisms of early authors are very embarrassing to writers who wish to give due credit. The above extract was supposed to belong to quaint Fuller. See his *Worthies*, as cited in the last note.

wards attended Anjou himself to Antwerp. The next year, with the approbation of her majesty, he adventured with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his fatal voyage for Newfoundland, in a ship of his own, and bearing his name. This vessel was forced to return before getting far from the English coast, owing to a contagious disease which broke out among the crew. From this attempt at colonizing Newfoundland by Gilbert, but one ship returned besides that of Raleigh, just mentioned.*

But, with some temperaments, the more difficult the object to be attained, the greater will be the energy brought into action to overcome it. Dazzled by the renown acquired by Drake in his discoveries, Raleigh determined to plant a colony in America. On the fortunes attending that enterprize it is unnecessary to enlarge, as no one can be supposed to be ignorant of them. Suffice it to be said, that in his attempts to colonize Virginia, Raleigh himself never accompanied an expedition. One of his principal men in the enterprize was Arthur Barlow, who had served with him in Ireland, and wrote an account of his voyage to Virginia, which has been many times printed.

The fame of his discoveries, or those made under his auspices, added to that he had previously acquired, occasioned him so much popularity that he was elected to Parliament in 1584, and was soon after honored as "Sir Walter Raleigh." When or where he received the honor of knighthood, does not appear, but it was undoubtedly

* The Queen advised Sir Humphrey to give up his enterprize to others, telling him he was known "for no good hap at sea." He might well have said the same to Raleigh, for in all of his undertakings, save possibly that of 1596, he was unfortunate. Whatever was accomplished, was done without his being present.

conferred during one of his expeditions by its chief commander, as was the custom of the time; though some of Raleigh's recent biographers assert that he was knighted by the Queen, yet they are careful not to state the time or occasion. About this time Raleigh was made farmer of wines in the kingdom, which brought him a large revenue.

In 1585, Capt. John Davis began his voyages to the North West. Raleigh was concerned with this adventurer. The same year, he sent out seven ships under Sir Richard Granville, to prosecute farther his settlement of Virginia. Ralph Lane, afterwards with Drake and Norris in Spain, was sent over as governor. Granville returned with good success, having captured a rich Spanish ship during the voyage. And about the same time a grant of 12,000 acres of land was conferred on him in Ireland, of which the real owners had been dispossessed by the sword.

But Raleigh's colony of Virginia was badly governed by Lane, and poorly provided with the means necessary to make it permanent; and despairing of aid from England, Lane took the first opportunity to abandon the country. The colony was accordingly taken on board Sir Francis Drake's fleet, and landed at Plymouth, in Devonshiro, July 27th, 1586. Thus the country concerning which such glowing accounts had been published, was entirely abandoned; and yet Sir Walter was very high in the Queen's favor, of which he had new proofs, being appointed by her, Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord-warden of the Stannanes in Devonshire and Cornwall. To these was about the same time added the Captaincy of the Queen's guard.

With Raleigh's colonists tobacco was brought into England, and by Raleigh its use was introduced into respectable society, if such

then existed in high places. Connected with its introduction, some anecdotes are told, and among them these. Sir Walter was smoking alone in his private room one evening, and being thirsty, ordered his servant to bring him a mug of ale. The servant having never seen a person in the act of smoking, and opening the door of Sir Walter's apartment, seeing a volume of smoke issuing from his mouth, and supposing he must be on fire inside and had called for ale to quench it, dashed the ale in his face, and running out, gave the alarm that his master was all on fire. At another time, he was conversing with the Queen upon the properties of tobacco, and their conversation happened to lead to the question of the weight of the smoke of a given quantity of the herb; and when Raleigh told her he could determine accurately its weight, she was somewhat incredulous, thinking he was "playing the traveler," and proposed a wager that he could not perform such an operation. Whereupon Raleigh weighed out a pipe of tobacco, and then smoking it out, put the ashes into the scale and weighed it. The solution was easily seen by the Queen. The difference in weight between the tobacco and its ashes was the weight of the smoke! She paid the wager, remarking that "she had known many who had turned gold into smoke, but that he was the first one she had ever known who turned smoke into gold."

In 1586, Raleigh fitted out an expedition to the Azores. Several prizes were taken, in one of which was Pedro Sarmiento, who had been sent by the Spanish government to plant a colony in and to fortify the Straits of Magellan. With him were taken numerous papers of value to the British government. Many of them, of primary importance, are yet extant in the British Museum, but have not

been printed Sarmiento was delivered to Raleigh, and for some time remained his prisoner in England.

Some time in the course of the following year, 1587, he conveyed or assigned his American interest to some merchants of London. The Court seems to have engaged all or nearly all of his attention at this period. Sir Francis Drake had performed the important service of destroying the King of Spain's preparation for invading England, and was now turning his attention again to another Indian expedition, and applied to Raleigh in relation to it. Raleigh wrote to the Earl of Leicester respecting it, and, "with much ado," as he says, "procured the Queen's leave for Sir Francis to visit his Excellency."* But the new preparations of Philip delayed Drake's going at this time to the Indies, as Drake's operations in Spain had delayed Philip in his intended invasion of England. The next year, he furnished a ship and men in the expedition against the Spanish Armada, but nothing appears to show that he went in the expedition himself.† Neither were his services of much account in the expedition under Drake and Norris to restore Don Antonio to the throne of Portugal, as he is not mentioned by either of the commanders in connection with it ‡ After the return of that expedition, a quarrel

* I found the original in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. It is endorsed Oct. 8th, 29th Eliz.

† Yet some of his biographers, particularly Mr. Oldys, give a whole history of that affair, as appropriate to the *Life of Raleigh*. He was captain of the Queen's guard, and, though he doubtless furnished one or more vessels for the fleet, he cannot be supposed to have left the post of guarding the Queen's person.

‡ After Raleigh's return, it is said the Queen presented him and several other gentlemen with gold chains. The gold chains had probably nothing to do with the expedition of 1589.

arose between him and Sir Roger Williams, which grew out of some booty claimed by Raleigh, because brought home in his ship, while the ship itself could not have returned but for the aid rendered by Sir Roger's men. But Raleigh had then too much influence with the Queen and others to allow a less influential man to carry a point against him, although it may have been a just one. Yet it is told that Essex had caused the Queen to become cold towards Raleigh at this time, which occasioned his flight, or retirement into Ireland. But the truth seems to be, that Raleigh went to Ireland to look after the estates which he owned in that country, and to visit his poetical friend, Edmund Spenser, whom he had settled there upon lands which he had previously given him.* From some poetical effusions of Spenser, at this period, it appears that Raleigh was laboring under the Queen's displeasure. However, our Knight soon returned to England, and taking Spenser along with him, introduced him to the Queen. He also encouraged that poet to publish his *Faerie Queen*, which he dedicated to Raleigh.

In 1590, the great scholar and eminent divine, John Udall, was sentenced to be put to death for the exercise of too free a judgment upon the ecclesiastical government of England. Raleigh knew him, and sympathised with his ideas to some extent. He applied to Raleigh to use his influence in his favor, which he did, and Udall was set at liberty. On some other similar occasions, it is said Sir Walter interceded with the Queen successfully, and that at length she in-

* Mr. Southey seems to have formed a very erroneous opinion about Raleigh's visit to Ireland. He says he was banished there, and that there he made the acquaintance of Spenser!

quired of him "when he would cease to be a beggar," upon which he readily replied, "When your Majesty shall cease to be beneficent."

In the course of the next year, 1591, Raleigh was busy in fitting out a great expedition against Spain, in the West Indies. At the same time, he got into trouble by too great familiarity with one of the Queen's maids of honor, named Elizabeth Throgmorton. From a letter of his, preserved in Murden's *Collections*, it is inferable that the lady, perhaps through a friend, had intimated to him that his marriage might be necessary to set matters in a safe way. However this may have been, he protested, in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, that "there was none on the face of the earth that he would be fastened unto."* This was in March, 1592, and his West India fleet was not yet ready for sea, although it had been many months in preparation.

It was the 6th of May, 1592, before the expedition, consisting of fifteen ships, sailed. And it would seem that the Queen had just learned what had happened between Raleigh and her maid of honor. Whereupon she sent a messenger with a letter recalling him.† With this letter, Sir Martin Frobisher overtook him at sea the next day. Raleigh was disinclined to obey the summons; but when, four days after, on arriving near the Land's End, he met a French ship, and learned from an Englishman on board, named Nevel Davis, who had

* Mr. Tytler, *Life of Raleigh*, 129, imagines that they were already married, but offers no reasons for his conclusion. He assumes that they were privately married, but there is nothing to show when or how they were married.

† Had Mr. Southey and the other biographers of Raleigh seen the original letters and documents in the *Lansdowne MSS.*, B. M., their accounts would have appeared to much better advantage.

just left Spain, where he had been twelve years a captive, that there was no hope of any success in the West Indies, as the King of Spain had knowledge of the expedition, and had taken all precautions to frustrate its object, he changed his plan. He therefore gave the command of the fleet to Sir Martin Frobisher and Sir John Burgh, ordered them to cruise about the Azores and the coast of Spain for prizes, while he obeyed the Queen's order and returned to London.

As soon as Raleigh arrived at the Court, he was by the Queen sent to the Tower; and, it is said, the lady also. In the mean time, his fleet intercepted a great Spanish carack and brought her into England; the richest prize, it was reported, ever before captured by Englishmen.* She was named the *Madre de Dios* (Mother of God), commanded by Fernando de Mendoza; was of 1600 tons burthen, whereof 900 were merchandize. She was not captured without a desperate fight, of which there are many accounts in print and original manuscripts, all detailing one of the most bloody and obstinate naval battles ever recorded. There are to be seen in the British Museum the original accounts drawn up by Sir John Burgh, Sir Robert Cross, and some others, all claiming to have been the chief men in the capture. But to Cross evidently belongs the greatest credit.†

* The expedition of which this rich prize was the result escaped the notice of Dr. Berkenhout, in his otherwise neat and perspicuous memoir of Raleigh. See his *Biographia Literaria*, i, 518, &c.

† He was vice-admiral, and commanded the *Foresight*, one of the Queen's ships. On his return, he was implicated in the embezzlement question, and defended himself in several letters which I have seen. In one to the Lords of the Council, dated Oct. 18th, 1592, he complains that he had been accused of swearing falsely respecting the goods in the carack. To this charge he answers that it was made by those who "never swear true except to serve their own turns." But being now to be

The battle was fought on the 3d of August, and it was the 7th of September when the prize was brought into Dartmouth. No sooner had she been captured than the English mariners commenced an indiscriminate pillage of her cargo, which continued till her arrival, by which several thousand pounds were lost to the adventurers. The ship is reported to have drawn several feet less water on her arrival than when she was taken. The Queen had a large interest in her, she having been a considerable adventurer in the expedition. She therefore had commissioners immediately upon the spot, who took possession of the prize. These Commissioners were Sir Francis Drake, William Killygrewe, and John Bland. Drake immediately

heard and judged by the Honorable Council, he feels safe. He then goes on to make some statements which will in due time correct the past history and affect the biography of Raleigh. He says, seeing he was vice admiral, and commanding one of the Queen's ships, and being more interested by his own adventure than most others, and seeing "goodes being taken out" of the carack "by others, I thought myself and her Majestie's shipp to be so sufficient as any of the rest to answer anything that should be taken, . . . because by my place and warrant I was reported more answerable for the securitie of things then others, . . . and, besides, I was the principall cause of takinge the caracke [Camden endorses this statement]. Yea, had not myne aduise persuaded a contrary resolution, Sir Walter Rawleigh with the whole floete had returned back home agayne without doing any service. As for mine other p'formances in this action, I wish rather they were witnessed [related] by other indifferent [disinterested] men, then reported by myself. Only nowe I will saye this much for myselfe, that I have faithfully served her Ma'tie now this 27 yeares w'hout recompence, and have all this tyme spent of noe man's purse nowe lyvinge but onelye of myne owne: and therefore I hope in this, to be well delt withall. May it please your Lordshippes to consider well my letter of adventure given me from Sr. Walter Rawleigh, her Majestie's Generall of the Fleete; yt maye be I shalbe thought the more excusable, and yf in case (w'ch I think not), through the strictnes of lawe and quiddities of warres, it seeme not to reach home to that w'ch I have done, yet I beseech your L: consider that souldiors are more skilfull in manning arms then in construing termes of lawe," &c.—*Lansdowne Mss.*, B. M., vol. LXX, No. 192.

(Sept. 8th) addressed a letter to the Lords of the Queen's Privy Council, detailing the condition of the prize. Among other things he said: "Divers of the ships that were at the first taking of this carrick had already passed eastward, and some were at Plymouth, with which we have taken as good order as we can for the preservation of all things. But we find such confusion and disorder amongst the men of war [soldiers] and such spoil committed by them, that we know not how to redress it." However, he said "they would do the best they could in that troublesome business." Two days after, the Commissioners held a court for the examination of the prisoners taken in the carack, relative to her cargo. From whom it appeared that there were in the Madre de Dios 8500 quintals of pepper, 900 quintals of cloves, 700 do. of cinnamon, 500 do. of annel, 50 do. of mace, 50 do. nutmegs, 50 do. benjamin, and about 400 chests of other merchandize. Also that there were, probably, in stones, plate, amber and muske, to the value of 400,000 cruzados.* There were, besides, jewels and precious stones to a great value.

The examinations continued three days, viz., to the 11th of September.† The great value of the prize was known to the Queen. Much expense had accrued thus far in securing it, but the man the most interested, and who was to provide for the settlement of the expense which had accrued, was locked up in the Tower. Elizabeth was easily reached with a golden rod. Through Raleigh's means the rich carack had been taken. It was highly necessary that Raleigh should

* An ancient Portuguese coin of the value of 2s. 8d.—*Stevens's Dict.*

† Camden, in detailing the affair of the Madre de Dios, says: "But, though strict inquiry were made by the Commissioners, the dishonesty of the captors was too hard for the industry and care of the Commissioners."—*Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 466.

attend, in person, to the business of the prize. Therefore a plan seems to have been made to secure his attendance at Dartmouth. However, on the 11th of September, Sir John Hawkins wrote to Burghley, stating how necessary it was that Sir Walter should be allowed to attend to the business, and urged him to intercede with the Queen for his liberation for that purpose, adding, that after he had attended to it, he might return to the Tower. This was not all. Sir John well understood her Majesty's golden propensity, and therefore, in the same letter observed, that by Raleigh's being allowed to attend, "myght very myche sett forward her Ma'ties service, and myche benyfytte her poreyon, for I se none of so reddy a dyspocycion to lay the grownd howe her Ma'tie's poreyon may be increasyd as he ys, and can best brynge yt about." Sir John's argument was all-powerful, for in a few days after, Raleigh actually appeared at Dartmouth, and his signature appears to two reports drawn up by the Commissioners and forwarded to Lord Burghley. Sir Robert Cecil doubtless proceeded to Dartmouth with Raleigh. The first report is signed by "Ro: Cecyll, W. Raleigh, Fra. Drake, Willm Kylygrewe, Richd. Carn'den, and Thomas Myddelton." It was dated Sept. 27th. The other was dated a few days later, and signed by the same gentlemen, with the exception of Carmarden.

Sir John Hawkins was not an entirely disinterested party. He sent a ship with Raleigh, the *Dainty*,* of the services and claims of which,

* There is a curious account of this ship in Sir Richard Hawkins's *Observations*, fol. London, 1622. "She was," says Sir Richard, "pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sail, and well conditioned." She was built by him in the river Thames, for a voyage to Japan and the Phillipine islands, and named, agreeable to his request, by his mother-in-law, the *Repentance*. This caused him "to desist from the enterprise, and leave the ship to his father, who took and paid the

he wrote to Burghley in the same letter which has been mentioned as containing an application for the release of Raleigh. "I most humbly desyre," wrote Sir John, "yo^r honours the good service of the Daynty may be declared to her Mat[']ie; she borded the Carrake fowre tymes before any ship cold come vp to her, savyng the Dragon weh wold not bord with her when she came vp. Yf the Daynty had not bordyd so often and so desparately, the Carrak had recoveryd the Island of Flores and biene burnt as thother Carrake was. They report yt for trothe that the Daynty in her bordyng slew both the Captayne and master of the Carrake, w[']ch were sworn to the Kynge never to yeld the ship to Ynglyshe men, but to fyre her rather."

The first dispatch from the Commissioners, after the arrival of Raleigh, is without day of the month, but was probably on the 20th of September; and the last subscribed by him was on the 27th of the same. Drake wrote to Burghley on the 19th, and in his letter says, Sir Walter's coming was "expected presentlie." And the next day we find he had arrived, and was hard at work with the Commissioners examining parties respecting the missing goods of the prize. In their first despatch they say, "wee haue examined all parties without respect, and began with Sr John Gilbert, and Mr. Carew Rawleigh

expense of her," because he believed the name surely boded her ill fortune. But as she lay at Deptford not long after, the Queen, as she passed by in her barge for her palace at Greenwich, observing her, inquired what ship it was, and being informed, said she disliked nothing but her name, and so ordered it to be changed to the *Dainty*. The ill-boding name being removed, and the *Dainty* having made divers profitable voyages, Sir Richard became again possessed of her; and while upon a voyage to the East Indies in her, was captured by the Spaniards. Thus proving, to his satisfaction at least, that a change of name could not, in this instance, change fortune or avert a certain destiny.

by oathe, w'ch Sir Walter Rawleigh would needs have done, that others might not think themselues hardelie dealt withall to be sworne.* Thus from the 20th to the 27th of September, 1592, Raleigh was at Dartmouth. Thence he returned to London, and no doubt settled the matter with the Queen, by marrying Lady Throgmorton, and was finally taken again into the Queen's favor.

Remarks highly reflecting on the honesty and morality of Raleigh have been freely indulged in by Dr. Southey for his conduct respecting the maid of honor, and also for other conduct while in the Tower; conduct more like such as might well be supposed to belong to one of the followers of Robin Hood, than to any man who had ever enjoyed decent society. The reader who desires a nearer view of Raleigh's private character at this period, may consult a letter of Sir Arthur Gorges, his intimate friend and relative, and other documents in the labored life of our knight, by Mr. Cayley.

I have been somewhat particular on this period of Raleigh's life, because it has not before been done, for the reason that the documents had not been accessible to his biographers. A rapid glance is all that will be undertaken in this memoir, at the remainder of the career of Sir Walter Raleigh. It has been seen that the rich carack had not only restored him to the Queen's favor, but it had mended his fortune,† so that he now, according to Lodge, "tilted in silver armor, wearing a sword and belt set with diamonds, rubies and pearls; appeared at court on solemn occasions, covered with jewels,

* *Lansdowne Mss.*, B. M., vol. LXX.

† Notwithstanding the immense spoil made of the cargo by the sailors and soldiers, the adventurers divided £150,000—a sum in those days equal, perhaps, to four times that amount in our times.

nearly to the value of seventy thousand pounds." If such freaks of ostentation and youthful extravagance are common among men, Raleigh at forty did not exhibit any traits of a superior mind to those discovered in the lower orders, by indulging in them.

In two years more, a jealousy and rivalry had begun to cause Raleigh considerable uneasiness. Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Essex, now seemed bent on his ruin; and if Raleigh lacked judgment and decision of character, his rivals were far more deficient in manly uprightness and moral honesty. His extravagance had reduced his estate, and he now turned his mind upon improving it by another expedition at sea. This gave rise to the first voyage to Guiana, in which he endeavored to enlist the Queen. From a want of faith in it, or some other cause, her Majesty declined the offer; but to appease his disappointment, as it is said, she commissioned him admiral in the expeditions of 1596 and 1597. But in these the Earl of Essex had the chief command, and the latter quarreled with Raleigh and was ever after his enemy. Monson, Hakluyt, and the naval histories, are full on these expeditions. To them the reader is referred. But against the power of Essex and Cecil, Raleigh was safe as long as Elizabeth lived, yet his safety hung, says Lodge, by the slender thread that supported her life. This proved to be too true. Yet he saw, by the mad pranks of Essex, that misguided man put out of the way by the loss of his head, but the wily Cecil remained, though but a short time, yet long enough to crush Raleigh. Elizabeth died in 1603. Her successor, James, hardly needed the instigation of Cecil to set him against his hated rival, and he soon deprived him of all emoluments and offices. He was therefore, now, with reason, bitter against this meanest of kings. This led to his

connivance at, encouragement of, or being in some way connected with, a design to depose James, and to place Arabella Stuart on the throne. And although there was not enough proved against him, which in an ordinary civil suit at law in a later age, would have mulcted him in a sum of five pounds, yet he was pronounced guilty of high treason. This was in November, 1603. The prosecution against him was conducted without a shadow of decency. The attorney general, Sir Edward Coke, was more brutally savage, and conducted the case with more barbarity, than will easily be conceived of by any of this distant generation. During it, Raleigh acquitted himself with much discretion and marked ability.

Owing to a deadly disease in London, Raleigh was tried at Winchester. There he remained imprisoned for a time, daily expecting the sentence of death to be executed upon him. At length the King reprieved him and sent him to the Tower. There he remained twelve years. At the end of that time he found means through friends by bribery, to engage George Villiers to intercede with the King for his liberty. He was accordingly liberated, but not pardoned. He now revived his old scheme of the discovery of a gold mine in Guiana. His sad fortune in that enterprise need not be detailed, nor the conduct of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar. Neither will it be necessary only to allude to the attempted escape of Raleigh, on his return from Guiana, and how he failed in it through a singular want of decision in himself. As to the conduct of Sir Lewis Steucly it was that of the false-hearted knave, but Raleigh was his own executioner.

Being returned again to the Tower, the King's judges held "a solemn mockery of a conference," and then insultingly demanded of

the prisoner to say why sentence of death should not be executed upon him in accordance with the sentence pronounced fifteen years before. Thus, on the 23th of October, 1618, he was resented, conducted to Old Palace Yard, Westminster, and there beheaded, at the age of 66 years, or thereabouts.

The visitor to the Tower of London is still shown the apartment in which Raleigh was confined, and where, it is said, he wrote his *History of the World*. His cell is upon the right hand as you pass through the White Tower. Before the door of the cell is a beheading block, and upon it a strange looking axe, calculated to remind all beholders of the summary method once in use for the *advancement* of civilization.

From the limited space assigned for this memoir in these pages, many things of much interest in the life of Raleigh are necessarily passed over. But the chief object of it is attained, which was, from unpublished sources, to throw light on several important points, hitherto resting in much obscurity, or entirely unknown.

The following lines are said to have been found in Raleigh's Bible, written the night before his execution. They are supposed to have been intended by him for his epitaph:

“ Even such is Time, who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with earth and dust;
Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from that earth, that grave and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust.”

S. G. D.

NOTE TO THE MEMOIR OF SIR W. RALEGH.

It is assumed by all the biographers of Raleigh that he was personally engaged in the conflict with the Spanish Armada of 1588; there are documents in the State Paper Office which show pretty conclusively that, if he joined the English fleet, it was not until after the Spaniards had been completely routed, and were flying before the victorious English fleet. Up to the 30th of July there had been four "encounters," and the fire ships had been employed with effect before Calais. On the 31st of the same month, Sir Robert Cecil wrote to his father from Dover, that the Roebuck was that day sent away with a quantity of powder for the fleet. He speaks of the Roebuck as "a ship which Syr Water Rawly built," but not a word about Raleigh.

There had been much impatience manifested throughout England, that the Spanish ships had not been captured, instead of being allowed to fly. But the commanders soon satisfied the fault finders that they were as far away from common sense as they were from the enemy. Notwithstanding, a remonstrance was drawn up by the Queen's Council, to be sent to the Lord High Admiral, fraught with a great variety of censorious questions relative to the conduct of the war. This paper is dated July 31st, and Sir Walter Raleigh's name is inserted in it as its bearer to the Admiral. But for some reason, Sir Walter was not the bearer, but that service was performed by Richard Drake, Esq., the cousin of Sir Francis Drake. The reason of the change is left to conjecture, while it is very probable that Raleigh had left or was about to leave to perform active service. This conjecture is strengthened from several sources.

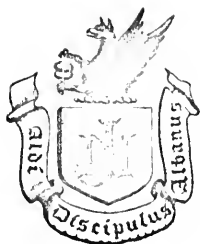
Meteren, who is accurate and full, says, "the most furious and bloody skirmish of all,"* was on the 23d of July; that when the news of it reached England, "ships out of all havens of the realm came flocking" to the victorious fleet, "as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained. In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, &c., with many Knights and gentleman; as Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh,"† &c. This agrees also with Camden's account.‡ Hence the most that can be claimed for Raleigh in the action against the Armada is, that, with a great many others he joined in the pursuit of it subsequently to the 31st of July. The passage in the *Hist. of the World* (B. V, c. 1, sec. 6), where Raleigh alludes to the fight with the Armada, is extracted by Mr. Oldys as proof of the important part acted by him in the defeat; whereas nothing of the kind is intimated; nor does he on any other occasion claim that he took any part whatever in the matter, so far as I can discover. Again, if Raleigh had been the important man against the Armada, as claimed by his biographers, it is extraordinary that he should not

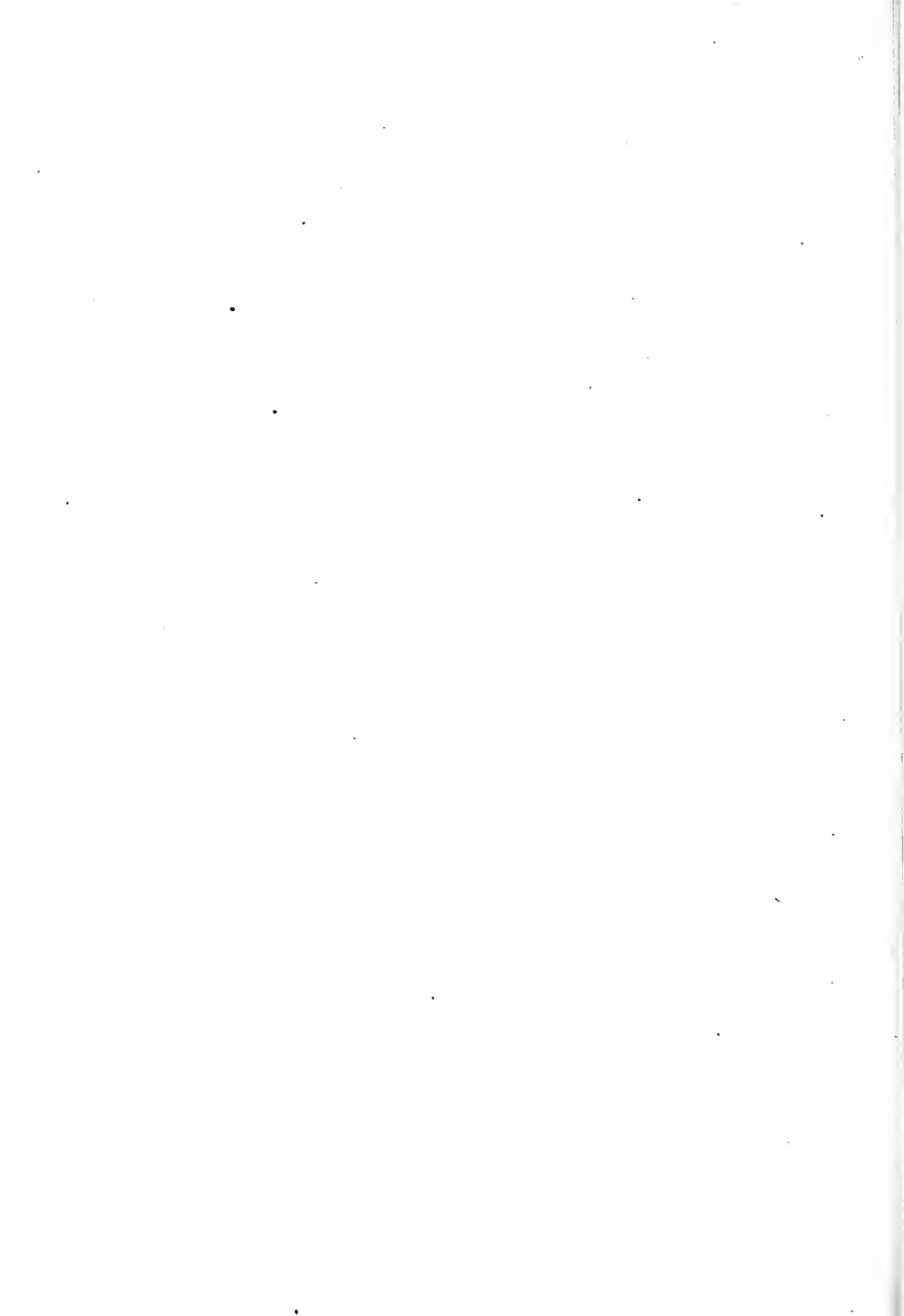
* Haec erat omnium cuentissima pugna in qua Admiralius in medio hostium pugnant, &c.—*Belgic. Histor. Universalis*, edit. 1598, fol. p. 479.

† *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, Regnante Eliz.* edit. 1657, 8vo, p. 568.

‡ Meteren, p. 479. Our author has made rather hard Latin of some of the English names, thus: "Inter hos multi fuerunt magni uomini, viri, vt Comites Oxoniae, Northumbriae, et Combertlandiae, cum multis equitibus et Nobilibus, quorum nomina Thomas et Robertus Cerilij, Wilhelmus Hattomus Walterus Raioleus," &c. His "Henricus Brooti," Sir Henry Brooke; his "Ambrosius Veellougbij," Ambrose Willoughby; "Thomas Wodeus," Thomas Woodhouse, &c.

be mentioned in any of the numerous dispatches of Howard, Drake, Hawkins, or Seymour. And in the grand council of war held on board the Admiral's ship on the first of August, to determine how far the fleet should pursue the Armada, Raleigh was not present, nor do we hear of him at sea. Nor in the list of the ships and their commanders, carefully made out and preserved in the State Paper Office, does Raleigh's name appear.





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