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our own people. The value of statues in public places, in keeping us familiar with historical events in which the distinguished personages they represent participated, will be readily admitted. Under our republican system this is of especial importance; for upon these memories being kept fresh depends, in a measure, its preservation. It also behooves us to show due sensibility for public service by commemorative monuments, and Boston owes a debt unpaid to these great characters selected as representatives of Massachusetts in the past at the Capitol. Appropriate places can be assigned for both, and we trust in time room will also be found in our malls and squares for John Adams and James Otis, Hancock and Paul Revere; for Pepperell and Wolfe; for Dudley, Endicott, and Bradstreet; for William Blackstone; for Samoset, Hobomok, and Massasoit, and many more not yet sufficiently honored.

He made the suggestion of taking seasonable measures to procure duplicates for Boston of these statues for the National Gallery, on his own motion, and without consultation with the artist, committee, or representatives of the personages to be commemorated. Such a proposition could emanate only from the public; and as one of the public, believing it eminently worthy of consideration, he ventured to bring it to the notice of the Society, which had an especial interest in the increase and preservation of our State and National monuments. But this is with no view that the Society should take any formal action, but that its members who think well of the suggestion may, as individuals, further it, as they have opportunity.

SEPTEMBER MEETING, 1873.

A stated meeting was held on Thursday the 10th instant, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Recording Secretary read the records of the preceding meeting.

The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library for the past month.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter of acceptance from Professor William Gammell, LL.D., of Providence, R.I., who was chosen a Corresponding Member at the last meeting.

The President read a letter from the Rev. Thomas Hill, of Portland, Me., saying that he had been a citizen of that State

since July last, and noticing the fact that thereby he had ceased to be a Resident Member of this Society.

The following resolve was passed:—

Whereas, The Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., late a Resident Member of the Society, has already paid the commutation for his annual assessments during his life; therefore

Voted, That the future regular publications of the Society be sent to Dr. Hill, as they shall be issued.

The President read the following letter from the Hon. C. J. Hoadly, of the Connecticut State Library:—

HARTFORD, August 26th, 1873.

DEAR SIR,— I have sent, in a parcel addressed to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a copy of vol. 7th of "Colonial Records of Connecticut," 1726–35; and of the "Journal of the Constitutional Convention of Connecticut," 1818, designed for the Massachusetts Historical Society.

In the volume of "Proceedings," 1860–62, pp. 64–80, 165–171, are printed the briefs in the case of *Phillips v. Savage*, relating to the Massachusetts law regulating the settlement of intestate estates. Has the Massachusetts Historical Society a copy of the Decree of the King in Council in that case? If not, I could supply one from a copy sent to Governor Talcott, probably by Mr. Jeremiah Allen, of Boston, which I found among some papers in the Connecticut Historical Society. It would make about four printed pages.

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES J. HOADLY

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D., Boston.

The President said he had already acknowledged the letter, with the assurance that the paper would be most acceptable.

The President read a letter from Mr. Frank M. Etting, of Philadelphia:—

PHILADELPHIA, August 27th, 1873.

Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, President, &c.,
Massachusetts Historical Society.

DEAR SIR,— The above photograph represents the Old Liberty Bell restored to its original framework, and installed in the vestibule of Independence Hall. A sketch of its history is attempted in the enclosed. In order to give this interesting relic of Revolutionary days a conspicuous place, it became necessary to shorten by about two inches the *beam* from which the bell depended in 1776; and I would not that even this fragment be lost, but venture to hope it may be of sufficient interest, from its associations, to find a place in your invaluable museum.

I am, sir, most truly and respectfully yours,

FRANK M. ETTING.

A slip from the "American Historical Record" of January, 1873, and one from another publication, giving a history of the "Old Liberty Bell," accompanied the piece of wood; and the thanks of the Society were ordered.

The President noticed the decease of a Corresponding Member, the Hon. Henry Black, of Quebec, as follows:—

The Honorable Henry Black, who was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1840, died on the 16th ult., at Cacouna, one hundred and twenty miles below Quebec, during a temporary visit for the benefit of his health. He was a son of James Black, of Jedburgh, Roxburghshire, Scotland, but was himself born in Quebec, on the 18th of December, 1798, and had thus nearly reached the seventy-fifth year of his age. A lawyer by profession, he was appointed, in 1836, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court for Lower Canada, and continued to discharge the duties of that office until his death,—an unbroken term of thirty-seven years. He was repeatedly solicited by the Government of Canada to exchange this position for a seat on the Queen's Bench, and, so lately as 1866, he was offered the Chief-Justiceship of the Superior Court. The Attorney-Generalship and the Solicitor-Generalship of Canada were also tendered to him, at different periods of this long term. But he adhered resolutely to the Admiralty Court, and he has left behind him a valuable volume of "Reports" of his decisions in that Court, edited by his relative, the Honorable George Okill Stuart, which are referred to as authority in English and American courts, on important questions of maritime law. He was well known, judicially and personally, by our own Mr. Justice Story, by Chancellor Kent, and by other eminent jurists; and he was highly esteemed as a friend by not a few of our best citizens, who had made his acquaintance during his repeated visits to Boston. Some of us had enjoyed his genial hospitality in Quebec. During a brief service, as the Representative of Quebec, in the Canadian Parliament, in 1841, he was eminently influential in carrying through the Codification of the Criminal Law,—now forming the criminal law of the whole Dominion.

Judge Black received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University in 1846; and some years ago was made a Companion of the most honorable Order of the Bath, by the Queen.

He was a man of great integrity, independence, and purity of character, and an earnest member of the Church of England. Having never been married, he owed the chief comforts of his domestic life to a devoted niece, who is the wife of a grandson of the late Governor John Brooks, of Massachusetts, whose

name has been already given in connection with his Reports, a son of the late Archdeacon George Okill Stuart, who was a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1801.* This connection, doubtless, led to those occasional visits to New England, which were always welcome to his friends, and which afforded them the opportunity of appreciating his sterling qualities of mind and heart.

The President called attention to a copy of Mr. A. T. Perkins's new book, entitled "Copley's Life and Paintings," which the author had presented to the Society.

Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., of England, was elected an Honorary Member.

Mr. APPLETON exhibited a French caricature, obtained in Paris, which has this inscription: "Vente des deserts du Scioto, par des Anglo-americains. Le Citoyen Mignard signale aujourd'hui des Compagnies anglaises qui vendent des terres imaginaire dans les États-unis; pour mieux leurrer les dupes, ils arrangent des Cartes geographiques, convertissent les rochers deserts en plaines fertiles, montrent des chemins fraiés sur des roches inabordables, et proposent des actions pour des terrains qui ne leur appartiennent pas; l'ouvrage du C^{en} Mignard se vend 15 sols, et se trouve rue Taranne, No. 24." He read a short paper illustrative of the caricature, as follows: The Scioto Company was founded in 1787 or 1788, and Colonel William Duer and Rev. Dr. Manasseh Cutler seem to have been the principal originators. In 1788 Joel Barlow went to Europe as agent of the Company, with proposals and maps. A map is seen hanging on the wall in the caricature, and a small fac-simile may be seen engraved in Howe's "Historical Collections of Ohio." The proposals contained, at great length, statements similar to those alluded to on the caricature. They are partially quoted in Volney's "View"; and the author, who visited in 1796 Gallipolis, the principal town of the settlement, writes as follows: "In France, at Paris, . . . the picture was too brilliant, and the inconveniences too remote, for the bait not to take effect. The counsels, and even the example, of people possessing wealth, and supposed to be intelligent, added to the persuasion. Nothing was talked of in the Parisian circles but the *free* and rural life to be led on the banks of the Scioto. At length the publication of Mr. Brissot's travels, who just at this time returned from the United States, completely established the common opinion; and purchasers became numerous, chiefly

* The Hon. George Okill Stuart has since been appointed by the Crown the successor of Mr. Black, as Judge of the Admiralty at Quebec.



Vente des deserts du Scioto, par des Anglo-américains

Le Citoyen Mignard signale aujourd'hui des Compagnies anglaises qui vendent des terres imaginaire dans les Etats unis, pour mieux fuercer les daps, ils arrangent des Cartes geographiques, convertissent les rochers deserts en plaines fertiles, montrent des chemins frans sur des roches inabordables et proposent des actions pour des terrains qui ne leur appartiennent pas. L'ouvrage du C^e Mignard se vend 15 sols. A se trouver rue Turanne N^o 24.

chez Depouille Rue des Mathurins N^o 10. Jacques aux deux Filistres N^o 10.

L'original de l'im. des Lett. N^o 236. Bonnaire au 1^{er}.

among people of the middle class, and the better sort of this class, whose morals are always the best. Individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and thought they made excellent bargains in buying land at five shillings an acre. . . . About five hundred settlers, all of them mechanics, artists, or tradesmen in easy circumstances, and of good morals, arrived, in the course of 1791 and 1792, in the harbors of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore," and finally settled at Gallipolis, as before stated. In Howe's Collections, it is said that among the settlers "were not a few carvers and gilders to his Majesty, coach and peruke makers, friseurs, and other *artistes*, about equally well fitted for a backwoods life, with only ten or twelve farmers and laborers." An account of their troubles and sufferings may be read in Volney's work, before quoted. (See the English translation, London, 1804, pp. 355-366.)

On motion of Mr. WHITMORE, it was

Voted, That the Recording Secretary be instructed to report, at the next meeting of the Society, a list of all its committees now existing, with the date of their appointment, the names of the members, the duties assigned them, and the limit of their duration.

Dr. HEDGE presented to the Society, with some remarks upon it, a printed broadside, being the order of exercises at the Commencement at Harvard College for 1767. He thought no copy of this was in the college library.

The PRESIDENT then read portions of a copy of the speech of Sir Walter Raleigh on the scaffold, October 28, 1618, which he had found in the MS. Common-Place Book of his ancestor, Adam Winthrop, the father of the first Governor Winthrop, introducing them as follows:—

It may be remembered that at our Stated Meeting in November last, when we had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. Froude to Boston, I alluded to a contemporaneous account of the Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, which I had found in the Common-Place Book of Adam Winthrop, the father of the Governor of Massachusetts in 1630. I did not suppose that it contained any thing new in regard to that event, and I had many misgivings about offering it for publication. But no one was able to point to the same precise version of that sad story in print; and our Committee of Publication thought proper to include it in our last volume of Proceedings, where it has been read with interest, as I have reason to know, both at home and abroad.

In the same old manuscript Note-book, I have found several other accounts of historical events of a somewhat similar character, carefully copied out from seemingly authentic sources; and, among them, "The Confession and Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh." Sir Walter was executed in October, 1618, when Adam Winthrop was living at Groton, England, at seventy years of age, — a magistrate of the old county of Suffolk, who, a few years before, had resigned the Auditorship of Trinity College, Cambridge, which he had held for sixteen or seventeen years. His son, who twelve years afterwards came over to New England as Governor of Massachusetts, was then about thirty years old. Both of them were thus in the way of taking an intelligent interest in the public affairs of their country, and both might have personally witnessed the execution of Raleigh, had they chanced to have been in London at the time. I find no evidence that either of them was there. Meantime, no newspaper had as yet been published in England. The first regular English newspaper, entitled "The Weekly News," dates from 1622. It may thus not be without interest to inquire, from what original, in manuscript or in print, this account of what is called "The Confession and Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh" was copied, or from what source it was procured.

A new and elaborate Life of Sir Walter, together with his Letters, "now first collected," has been published in England within the last five years, by Mr. Edward Edwards, the author of "Memoirs of Libraries," and other works, which gives a detailed report of Raleigh's speech on the scaffold, in regard to which the author says, in a note, as follows: "In this speech I have very much followed Archbishop Sancroft's transcript, preserved amongst the Tanner MSS., but have collated it with other reports. *No known report can, I think, be trusted exclusively.*" This work was published in 1868. In the following year (1869), Mr. James Augustus St. John, who had previously published a Life of Raleigh, gave a new edition of it to the public, in the preface to which he says, with plain allusion to the Life by Mr. Edwards, as follows: "Since the first publication of this biography, another Life of Sir Walter Raleigh has been laid before the public. This performance must have been produced some years ago, since the author is unacquainted with the discoveries recently made at Simancas and Madrid, which have thrown an entirely new light on the latter portions of Raleigh's Life." Mr. St. John, accordingly, in the last chapter of his volume, in describing the death of Raleigh says: "He made a short speech, the meaning of which

has scarcely been preserved. What we possess under that name it is impossible he should have uttered, unless we assume the letter to James of the 5th of October, together with his examinations, and those of La Chêne, and all his communications with the French authorities, to be forgeries. Had he denied, as he is said to have done, that he ever saw any commission, letter, or seal, from the French King, his admission to the contrary in his own handwriting would doubtless have been produced on the scaffold, to confound and silence him. We must consequently believe, either that the documents referred to were mere fabrications, or that several gentlemen who were present at his death, and heard him deliver his farewell address to the world, either misunderstood his language, or purposely misrepresented it." Upon this ground, Mr. St. John omits any detailed report of the speech, consigning the received versions of it to entire discredit. At the same time he candidly states that the original of Raleigh's letter to the King of October 5th has not been discovered, and that it is only produced in the form of a "retranslation from the Spanish version, to be found in the General Archives of Simancas." From the same source have recently come the conflicting and contradictory replies of La Chêne, the French Secretary, at his successive examinations before the English Council of State, in the first two of which he positively denies almost every thing which he confesses in the third.

Now, as to the letter of October 5, nothing can perfectly convince one that Raleigh wrote that letter within twenty-four days of his death, except the production of the original in his own handwriting, or certainly with his own unmistakable signature. Mr. St. John himself, in the paragraph with which he precedes it, gives us no small ground for suspecting the genuineness of all such copies. "Sir Thomas Wilson," he says, "it cannot be doubted, received both from the King and his Secretary [Sir Robert Naunton] orders to extract from Raleigh, by solemn promises of pardon, such admissions and confessions as, in the opinion of those who were to judge of them, would compromise his life. In doing this, he was to insinuate, though not positively to assert, that he had high authority for the language he employed: if the bait took, his masters were to disavow his proceedings, and overwhelm him with censure, but to base nevertheless upon his artifices the destruction of their victim. Naunton acknowledges frankly that such was the practice; and the number of heads which were thus brought under the axe was doubtless considerable." The admissions and confessions of this letter might thus seem to have been extracted or extorted

from Raleigh by a base agent of the King and his Secretary, "by solemn promises of pardon," which were to be disavowed as soon as "the bait had taken," and the letter used to justify his execution. The men capable of contriving such a trap would be entirely capable of forging the letter. But it is not necessary to suppose forgery in its full meaning. What more natural than that a man, charged with the execution of such a villany, should have prepared a draft of the letter containing "such admissions and confessions as, in the opinion of those who were to judge of them, would compromise his life," and to offer it to the destined victim for adoption? How else could it be made sure that enough for the purpose would be admitted and confessed? If such a draft were made, — even though it were indignantly rejected, — there might well be a "retranslation from the Spanish version, to be found in the General Archives of Simancas," and yet no original letter written and signed by Sir Walter Raleigh. The letter may indeed have been written and signed by Sir Walter; but the style is quite unlike that of others of his letters to the King, and it has too much the character of a made-up letter, which Wilson, under the instigation of Naunton and his master, had arranged to meet the exact exigencies of the case.

A most striking illustration of the manner in which Sir Thomas Wilson, well called "Raleigh's gaoler and the King's spy," arranged the examinations, and concocted the correspondence of his victim, may be seen in the second volume of Edwards's *Life and Letters*, at pages 364–5, and so to page 373. On page 370, there is given a letter from Raleigh to his wife, "from a copy in the hand of a clerk of Sir Thomas Wilson, made, as it seems, *before the delivery of the letter to Lady Raleigh*"; and on the same page is found Lady Raleigh's reply, "from a copy, made as above, and upon the same sheet." On page 372, will be seen another letter of Raleigh to his wife, "from a copy made by Sir Thomas Wilson, *before, as it seems, the original was delivered to Lady Raleigh.*" The Prefatory Note to this last, on the previous page (371), is most instructive. It is as follows: "The letter to which this is an answer appears to have been written by Lady Raleigh, at the instigation either of Secretary Naunton, or of some other person about the King. Neither the letter nor any copy of it is now to be found among the State Papers. But it is plain from the correspondence between Naunton and Wilson that, whilst the writer must have fondly hoped that some benefit would result to her husband from his answering the questions she was instigated to put to him, the ingenious

contrivers had a purpose directly the opposite of this." (See the whole note.) What faith is to be put in the accuracy of copies which have passed through such unclean hands! Mr. St. John describes this course of proceeding as follows: "If he [Raleigh] requested permission to write a few lines to his wife, Naunton and James had to be consulted before so poor a favor could be granted, and when written — though this he did not know — his letters were subjected to the scrutiny of both Secretary and Monarch before they reached their destination. In fact, his seal was broken, and the letters having been read were resealed and returned to Wilson, who then sent them to Lady Raleigh, whose answers were subjected to the same examination!"

An interesting account of Raleigh's death may be found in a late "Chapter of English History," entitled "Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage," by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Esq., who speaks thus of the letter to the King, which Mr. St. John regards as discrediting the reports of the speech on the scaffold: "And so the wretched game of falsehood on both sides went on; till at last, on the 25th of September,* Raleigh, weary of the struggle, wrote to the King, acknowledging that he had sailed with a commission from the Admiral of France, and that La Chesnée had, by Le Clerc's directions, offered to assist him in his escape." But, while thus admitting the letter, Mr. Gardiner admits also the genuineness of the speech. "As soon [says he] as he had mounted the scaffold, he asked leave to address the people. His speech had been carefully prepared. Every word he spoke was, as far as we can judge, literally true; but it was not the whole truth, and it was calculated in many points to produce a false impression on his hearers." "On the commission which he had received from the French Admiral he was altogether silent, but he was emphatic in repudiating the notion that he had ever received a commission from the French King." He adds, in a foot note, "The part which relates to the French commission is a marvel of ingenuity. Not a word of it is untrue, but the general impression is completely false."

We have thus three accomplished English writers, within a few years past, adopting widely variant views of the same facts: one, accepting and indorsing the speech; the second, discrediting it altogether; and the third, accepting it in its literal sense, but pronouncing its general impression, on one

* We presume that the letter here styled of September 25th is the same with that of October 5th, the difference of ten days being that between old and new style.

point at least, "completely false." The speech itself by no means loses its interest in the face of such conflicting judgments, and every contemporaneous version of it may haply aid in solving the problem of its authenticity and of its truth.

Let us turn then to the speech and the contemporary accounts of it. The earliest notice of it which we have been able to find is in a Letter of Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., printed in Birch's "Court and Times of James the First" (vol. ii. p. 99). It is dated November 3, 1618, just a week after the execution of Raleigh, in which the scene and the speech are described minutely, and in substantial conformity to the detailed report given by Mr. Edwards. Next, in order of date, is a letter, found at page 104 of the same volume, from John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton, then Minister at the Hague, which, after acknowledging some papers he had received from Sir Dudley, proceeds as follows: "For some part of amends, I return you two papers in exchange; the one a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to the King, before he came to Salisbury; and withal half a dozen verses he made the night before his death, to take farewell of poetry, wherein he had been a pidler even from his youth. The other is a remembrancer left with his lady, written likewise that night, to acquaint the world withal, if perhaps he should not have been suffered to speak at his death, as he was cut off from speaking somewhat he would have said at the King's Bench; and they had no thanks that suffered him to talk *so long* on the scaffold;* but the fault was laid on the sheriff, and there it rests. His lady had been to visit him that night, and told him she had obtained the disposing of his body. To which he answered smiling, 'It is well, Besse, that thou mayest dispose of that dead, that had'st not always the disposing of it when it was alive'; and so dismissed her anon, after midnight, when he settled himself to sleep for three or four hours." A third notice of the scene and speech is in a letter from Dr. Robert Tounson, Dean of Westminster, afterward Bishop of Sarum, who attended Sir Walter Raleigh on the scaffold, and wrote a letter to Sir John Isham, dated November 9, 1618, only a fortnight after the event of which he had been an eye-witness, in which he says: "I hope you had the relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's death; for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto you. I was commaunded by the lords of the counsaile to be with him, both in prison and att his death as nere as I could: there be other reports of itt, but that which you have from me is

* It is thus clear that the speech was not a short one.

treu: one Craford, who was sometimes Mr. Rodeknight's pupil, hath penned it pretily, and meaneth to putt itt to the presse, and came to me about it, but I heare not that it is come forth. The summe of that which he spake att his death, you have, I suppose, already." (See p. 780 of "Sir W. Raleigh's Works," vol. viii. Oxford, 1829.)

Lastly, in Walter Scott's Edition of "The Somers Tracts" (vol. ii. p. 438), there is a detailed report of the scene and speech, which is ascribed to "Crawford, or Craford."

We might allude to other reports or descriptions of the speech and the scene. But that which is thus traced to "Crawford, or Craford," — who, it seems, had consulted with the Dean of Westminster, who was with Raleigh on the scaffold "as nere as he could," and who must have heard every word he said, — would seem to be the most authentic. The Dean's expression that "Craford hath penned it pretily, and meaneth to putt itt to the presse," may, perhaps, be construed to imply that the account was skilfully arranged, or even adorned, but it certainly casts no discredit upon its accuracy.

We are not in the way of ascertaining exactly where Archbishop Sancroft's account in the Tanner MSS. came from. The Archbishop himself was born in Suffolk County, England, in January, 1617, which, according to old style, would be less than one year before Raleigh's death. Of course, he could have had no personal knowledge on the subject.

The account contained in Adam Winthrop's Common-Place Book was undoubtedly written soon after the event,* and it is substantially Craford's account. Now and then there is something transposed or omitted; and now and then there is a difference of phraseology. But after a careful comparison it can hardly be doubted that it was taken from the "pretily penned" report which the Dean of Westminster described, and of which he said that Craford "meaneth to putt itt to the presse." It may have been printed on a broadside at the time, but we believe that not even the countless treasures of the British Museum, as thus far searched, contain a contemporaneous printed copy. The earliest printed report of "the Speech on the Scaffold," to which any allusion has been found, bears date 1648; † but of that no copy is at command for comparison. We should hardly know where to look for one on this side of the ocean. The earliest within reach is that appended to the Life of Sir Walter, printed in 1677, of which our Recording Secretary

* Adam Winthrop died in April, 1623. The latest date in his MS. book is Nov. 24, 1621.

† See Watt's Bib. Brit., II. 788°.

(Mr. Deane) has a copy in his valuable library, which he has kindly placed at our disposal, with other rare volumes on the subject. That version of the Speech conforms, also, to the one ascribed to "Crawford or Craford" in the Somers Tracts, but with some omissions and variations of phraseology. Under such circumstances Adam Winthrop's copy may have an interest and even a value. It may, at least, contribute something to "the various readings" out of which the true version is to be made up, if it has not been made up already.

Few greater men have ever lived in England, or anywhere else, than Raleigh. No man contributed more, if so much, towards the earliest American Colonization. "It was Raleigh," says Mr. Edwards, "who, in the teeth of Spain, when at her prime, laid the first foundations of the British Colonies in North America. . . . The future destinies of America, as well as the profits of a new trade, were with him themes of thought, of conversation, and of active effort, from the age of thirty-two (when he first joined in the enterprise of his half-brother (Sir Humphrey Gilbert) to his latest hour of life." No man has left grander monuments of enterprise, courage, and genius. That after a long and dreary imprisonment in the Tower, he should at last have been beheaded, at a day's notice, under a sentence passed fourteen or fifteen years before, which Bacon himself has been stated to have said was virtually superseded by his commission for Guiana, was an unspeakable atrocity. Well does John Forster, in his admirable Life of Sir John Eliot, pronounce it "the climax and consummation of the baseness of James's reign;—a shameless sacrifice of one of the greatest men of the English race to the rage and mortification of the power most hated by Englishmen." Sir John Eliot, an eye-witness, as is believed, of the tragedy,—himself afterwards a martyr to Free Speech,—has included a description of Raleigh's bearing on the occasion, among his illustrations of the "Monarchy of Man." "Matchless, indeed," says he, "was his fortitude! All preparations that were terrible were presented to his eye. Guards and officers were about him, the scaffold and the executioner, the axe, and the more cruel expectation of his enemies. And what did all this work on the resolution of our Raleigh? Made it an impression of weak fear, or a distraction of his reason? Nothing so little did that great soul suffer. He gathered only the more strength and advantage; his mind became the clearer, as if already it had been freed from the cloud and oppression of the body; and such was his unmoved courage and placid temper, that, while it changed the affection of the enemies who had come to witness

it and turned their joy to sorrow, it filled all men else with admiration and emotion, leaving with them only this doubt, whether death were more acceptable to him or he more welcome unto death."

All this does not look like the bearing of a man who had a lie, or even a prevarication, in his mouth. It is true, however, that the standard of morality, public and private, was any thing but exalted at that day. Bacon, who meanly consented to Raleigh's death, and vindicated his master for the act, was himself, at last, deposed for corruption. We would not suppress or extenuate any faults or follies of Raleigh, of which there is historical evidence. Faults, infirmities, and follies he certainly exhibited. The editor of Birch's Papers, in relation to Raleigh's feigned sickness, says in a foot-note: "The mind of the gallant Raleigh had given way beneath an accumulation of troubles. He had lost his son in a contest with the Spaniards, one of his captains had committed suicide, and the object of his voyage had been defeated by the treachery of the King, — proof of which exists in a letter of Buckingham to Secretary Winwood, to be found in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. i. p. 398." *

Indeed, if the account of Manourie, the French apothecary, as given by Lord Bacon, is to be taken for true, Raleigh must have been goaded to absolute madness during these last few weeks, and a jury in our time would have justly returned a verdict of insanity. But Manourie, the principal accuser of Sir Walter, (according to a letter of Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, of 16 February, 1618–19,) was not only convicted soon afterwards as a clipper of gold, but "confessed that his accusation against Raleigh was false, and that he was moved thereto by the practice and importunity of Stukely, and now acknowledged this, his present miserable condition, to be a judgment of God upon him for that"!

Was there ever such "confusion worse confounded"? No wonder that Gibbon himself, even before Simancas unfolded her treasures, shrunk in despair from disentangling the truth from the falsehood of Raleigh's life. But make the worst of him, and still his execution, under such circumstances, will stand out forever, as one of the most abhorrent and abominable acts in English History. Occurring, as it did, a year or two only before the Pilgrims came over to Plymouth, and little more than ten years before the settlement of Massachusetts, it must have been one of the events by which the minds

* Court and Times of James I., p. 85.

of the New England Colonists were impressed and agitated while they were meditating a departure from their native land. And the mere fact that the account now submitted comes from an ancient manuscript which was undoubtedly brought over by Governor Winthrop in 1630, and which has but recently been discovered among the old papers of his father, greatly enhances its interest. Even should it not add a single new reading, or one better phrase, for Sir Walter's last words, (as we think it does), it may serve to revive the remembrance of his marvellous career and of his heroic death on our side of the Atlantic, where it would most have gratified him to know that he should not be forgotten.

To a Society like ours, devoted to historical pursuits, his career has a peculiar interest, in view of the well-remembered fact that so large a part of his long imprisonment in the Tower was employed in writing that "History of the World," which is one of the most remarkable works in English literature, and of which the closing passage is doubly impressive in connection with the fate which was so soon to befall him: "It is therefore Death alone," he says, "that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but objects, and humbles them at the instant, makes them complain and repent, yea, even to hate their forepast happiness. He takes the account of the rich and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it. Oh, eloquent, just, and mighty Death! Whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, — *Hic jacet*!"

In conclusion, we can hardly doubt that the speech was made substantially as it has been reported. A strong reason for questioning the authenticity of the Simancas copy of the alleged letter of October 5, or, as Mr. Gardiner gives the date, of September 25th, is found in the fact that it is not mentioned, or in any way referred to, in Lord Bacon's Vindication of his Master, printed within a few months of the execution. If the King had such an answer to Raleigh's dying words, as they were reported, how could it have failed to be used by Bacon to mitigate the popular indignation at the time? How could it have been unheard of for two centuries and a half, if it had

been received by the King and known to all his counsellors? But the letter, if written, confessed only a commission from the Duke de Montmorenci, as Mr. Gardiner says, while the speech denies only a commission from the King of France; and if Raleigh had already confessed the former, it may explain his confining his denials to the latter. That he did persistently and unequivocally deny the latter, is proved not only by the speech, but by the little "Answer to some things at his death," which, we presume, is the "remembrancer left with his lady, written likewise that night [the night before his death], to acquaint the world withal, if perhaps he should not have been suffered to speak at his death," as described in the letter of Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, heretofore quoted.* We are not aware that this brief "Answer" has ever been called in question, and it seems to be entirely consistent with the speech. It declares as explicitly as the reported speech, — "I never had commission from the French King; I never saw the French King's hand or seale in my life." Sir Lewis Stukely wrote a long letter to the King in his own defence, and in reply to this dying declaration of Raleigh; but, though it refers distinctly to what it calls Raleigh's "perjury in swearing he had no design for Fraunce," it contains no allusion to the alleged letter of October 5th.* Once more, it may be urged, if the King had possessed a letter which might have counteracted the impression produced both by the brief "Answer" and the long speech, or which could have been used in any way to Raleigh's discredit, could Bacon and Stukely both have failed to use it in their labored vindications of themselves and their master? Ah, what a glory it would have been for Bacon's fame, if he had saved the life of Raleigh, instead of consenting to his death, and apologizing for the act after it was perpetrated! Some discrepancy of dates, as given by different writers, might leave room for a doubt whether Bacon was not rewarded for this Apology by a promotion from the office of Lord Keeper to that of Lord Chancellor. A more careful inquiry, however, clears away any such imputation. But it is enough to have exhibited some of the intricate problems in this great Tragedy of English, — we had almost said, of American, — History; and so to leave them for the solution of others. The manuscript account of the Execution is as follows: —

* This brief "Answer" will be found appended to *The Essays of Raleigh*, printed "by T. W.," for Humphrey Moseley, London, 1650.

† See "Somers Tracts" (Scott's ed.), vol. ii. p. 444.

The Confession and Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Upon Wedensdaie beinge the 28th of October, 1618, the Lieutenant of the Tower, accordinge to a warrant to him directed, brought S^r Wa: Raleigh from the tower to the Kinges benche barre at Westminster, where the records of his arraignment at Winchester were opened, and he was demanded why execution shoulde not be done upon him; accordinge to Judgement therein pronounced against him: To w^h he began by waie of answer to iustifie himselfe in his proceedinges in the last voiage. But the L. chiefe justice silenced him, sainge there was no other matter in question, but concerninge the Judgement of Death w^h had formallye beene given against him. And it was the Kinges pleasure (uppon some occasion beste knowen to himselfe) nowe to have the same executed, unles he coulde shewe good cause to the contrary. Unto w^h S^r Wa: R. saide, that he was tolde by his Counsell, that in regarde his Ma^{ty}, since the saide Judgement, had bin pleased to imploie him in his service (as by Commission he had done) it made voide the saide Judgem^t, and was vivification unto him. But the Lorde chiefe Justice toulde him, he was therein deceived; and that the opinion of the Courte was to the contrary. Wherewth he rested satisfied, and desired that some reasonable time might be allowed him, to prepare himselfe for deathe. But it was answered him, that the time of deathe appointed to him was to-morrowe: and that it was not to be doubted, but y^t he had prepared himselfe for deathe longe since. And I am glad, saide the L. chiefe Justice, that [you have] given the worlde so good satisfaction of your Religion: as by some bookes published by you, you have done. And so M^r Attorneye generall required in the Kinges behalfe, that execution might be done uppon the prisoner, accordinge to the saide Judgement. Then the Shrifes of Middlesex were commanded to take him into their custodie, who p^rsently caried [him] to the gate house in Westm^r, from whence the next morninge he shoulde goe betweene the saide Shrifes to the olde pallace of Westminster; where a large scaffold was erected for his execution. Whereuppon when he came wth a cheerefull countenance he saluted the Lordes, knightes and gentlemen there present. After w^h a proclamation beinge made for silence, he addressed himselfe to speake in this maⁿer: I desire to be borne wth all, for this is the thirde daye of my fevere, and if I shall shewe my weakenes, I beseeche you to attribute it to my maladie, for this is the houre it was wonte to come. Then pausinge awhile, he sett and directed himselfe to a windowe, where satt the Earles of Arundel, Northampton and Doncaster, wth some other Lordes and knightes, and spake as followeth: I thanke God of his infinite goodnes that he hathe sent mee to die in the light, and not in the darkenes; but because the place where the Lordes satte was farre distant from the scaffold, that he perceived they coulde not heare him well, therefore he saide, I will straine my voice, for I woulde willinglie have yo^r honors heare mee. But the L. of Arundel saide nay, but wee will rather come downe to the scaffold to heare thee, w^h

he and some other did. Wither beinge come, he saluted theme generallie, and so began to speake as followeth: As I said before, so nowe I saie againe, I thancke God, &c., but not in the darke prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deale of adversitie and cruell sickenes. And I thancke God that the fevere hathe not taken me at this time, and I pray God it may not. There are so many pointes of suspition that his Ma^{tie} hath conceived against mee, and wherein he cannot be satisfied, w^h I desire to cleere and to resolve yo^r L^{ty} of. One is that his Ma^{tie} hathe bin informed that I have ofte had plotts wth France, and his Ma^{tie} had good reason to induce him thereunto: The first was, that when I came backe from Guyana, beinge come to Plymouth, I indeavored to have gone in a Barke to Rochel, w^h was because I woulde have made my peace before I came to Englande. The 2 was that uppon my flight, I did intende to flye into France for the savinge of my life, that had some terro^r from above.

A thirde was that the French agent came to mee; besides it was reported, that I had a Comission from the Frenche Kinge at my goinge forthe. These are the reasons that caused the Kinge to suspecte mee. Nowe for man to call God to witness a falsehoode, were a grevous synne: for what comfort can we then hope for at the daie of Judgement, before God's tribunal seate: But to call Godde to witness a false thinge at the houre of deathe, is a facte more grevous and fearefull, seeinge suche a one havinge no tyme of repentance, cannot hope to be saved at all. Then what can I expecte, that at this instant am goinge to render my accompte. I doe therefore call the Lorde to witnes (as I hope to bee saved, and to see him in his kingdome, w^{ch} I trust I shall, wthin this quarter of an houre) that I never had any Comission from the Frenche Kinge: neither did I ever see the Frenche Kinges handewritinge, nor his seale, in all my life. Nor yet did I knowe that there was an Agent heere, nor what he was, till I mette him in the galery in my lodginge, unlooked for. If I speake not true, then O Lorde let me not come into thy kingdome. The 2 suspicion was that his Ma^{tie} had bin informed, that I shoulde speake dishonorably, and disloiallie of him my sovereigne: But my accuser was a base frenchman, a runnagate, and one that had no dwellinge, and a kinde of chemicall fellowe. One that I knewe to bee pfidious. For beinge drawne in the accion of scarringe [myself] at Winchester, (into w^{ch} I confesse [my shame that] my hande was at all) beinge sworne to secrecie one night, he revealed it the next morninge. But (let me speake) what have I nowe to doe wth rogues? I have nothinge to doe wth them, neither doe I feare them; for I have onlie to doe wth my God, in whose presence I stande: therefore for me to tell a lie, therby to gaine the Kinges favoure, were in vaine. But as I hope in the Lorde to be saved at the last daie, I denye that I ever spake dishonourably, disloiallie or dishonestlie of the Kinge, neither to that frenchman, nor to any other. No I protest I never had a thought of ill, of his Ma^{tie}, in all my life. And therefore I cannot but thincke it strange, that the slaunder^r beinge so base and meane a fellowe, shoulde bee so farre credited as he hathe beene. And so muche of my double

resolution to the Kinges double suspicion. I confesse I did attempte to escape; yea I cannot excuse that, but it was onlie to save my life. And I likewise confesse, I did faine myselfe to bee ill disposed at Salisbury; but I hope it was no syn; for the prophet David did make himselfe a foole, and suffer spittle to fall on his bearde, to escape y^e hands of his enymies, and it was not imputed to him. So in what I did, I intended no ill, but to gaine and prolonge time till his Ma^{ty} came, hopinge of some comiseration from him. But I forgive this frencheman and S^r Lewes Stukeley also wth all my harte. I have received the Sacrament this morninge of Mr. Deane, and I have forgiven all the worlde. But that they are pfidious, I am bounde in charitie to speake, that all men may take heede of them. S^r Lewes Stukeley my keeper and kinsman hathe affirmed, that I shoulde tell him, that my L. Carewe and my lorde of Doncaster there, did advize me to escape; but I protest before God I never tolde him any suche thinge, neither did the Lordes advise me any suche thinge, neither is it likelie that I shoulde tell him any suche matter of the two privie counsellers. Neither I had any reason to tell him; for tis well knowne, that hee lefte me IX or X times alone to goe whether I woulde, whilst he ridde aboute the country. He farther accuseth mee, that I shoulde tell him that these two lordes woulde meete me in France, w^{ch} I never spake nor thought. Thirdlie, that I shoulde proferre him a letter, wherby I did signifie unto him, that I woulde give him a thousand pound for my escape. But Lord cast my soule into everlastinge fire, if I ever made any suche proferre of a 1000^{li} or a 100^{li}. But indeed I shewed him a letter, that if he woulde goe wth me, there shoulde bee order taken for the payem^t of his detts, when he was gone: neither had I 1000^{li}, and if I had, I could have made my peace wth it other wise. Lastlie, when I came to S^r Edw. Pelhams, who had bin a follower of myne, and given me good intertainement, he gave out speaches that I had received some Drame [of poison], when I assured him that I feared no suche thinge, for I was well assured of them in the house; and therfore wished him to have no suche thought. Nowe God forgive him, for I doe. And I desire God to forgive him, even as I desire to bee forgiven. Then lookinge on his note of remembrance, well, saide hee, thus farre I am gone nowe; a little more, and I shall have done. It was toulde the Kinge, that I was brought into Englande p force; and that I did not intende to come againe; but S^r Charles Parks, M^r Tatsham, and M^r Leete knowe howe I was delte wth all by the comon soldiours, w^{ch} were 150 in number; who sent for mee to come into the guard roome unto them, for they woulde not come to mee; and there was I inforced to take an oathe, that I woulde not goe into Englande till they woulde have mee. I heare likewise that there was a reporte, that I went not purposelye to goe into Guiana at all, and that I knewe not of any myne, nor intended any suche matter; but only to gett my libertie (w^{ch} I had not the witte to keepe), but I protest it was my full intent, to seeke the mine of goulde for the benefite of myselfe and his Ma^{ty} and those that adventured wth mee and the rest of my countrymen that went wth mee. But he that knewe the head

of the mine woulde not discover it, when he sawe my sonne was slaine, but made himselfe awaie. And then turninge to the Earle of Arundell, he saide as followeth: Beinge in the gallerie of my shippe at my departure, I remember yo^r honor tooke me by the hande, and said you woulde request one thinge of mee, that whether I made a good voiage or a bad, I would not faile to returne againe into Englande: w^{ch} I promised you, and gave you my faith that I woulde, and so I did. To w^{ch} my Lorde then present answered, it is true, I well remember it, they were the last wordes I spake then unto you. Another opinion was helde of mee, that I carried to sea 1600 peeces, and that I was desirous (for all the voiage y^t I intended) only to get mony into my handes, and that I had made my voiage before; whereas I protest at my goinge to sea, I had but a C peeces in all, whereof I gave 25 to my wife, and the rest I tooke wth mee, and the remaind^r I brought backe wth me into Englande. Another scandall was charged on me that I woulde have gone awaie from my companie, and lefte them at Guiana; but there are a great many woorthy men, w^{ch} accompanied me alwaies and knowe my intent was nothinge so. All these are the material pointes w^{ch} I thought good to speake of.

I am at this instant, (beinge the subiecte of deathe), to render accounte to God, and I proteste (as I shall appeare before him) this that I have here delivered and spoken is true: yet I will speake a worde or two more, and but a word or two, because I will not bee over troublesome to M^r Shr. There was a reporte spred, that I should reioice at the death of my L. of Essex: and that I shoulde, at that instant, take Tobacco in his presence; when (I proteste) I shed teares at his deathe, though I was (I confesse) one of the faction. At the very time of his deathe, and all the while of his preparation, I was in the Armorie, and at the further ende, where I coulde but see him. He sente for mee, but I did not goe to him: for I hearde he desired to see mee.* Therefore I lamented his deathe, as I had good cause, for it was the woorse for mee, as it proved: for after he was gone, I was little beloved. Nowe I intreate you all to ioigne wth me in prayer, that the great God of heaven, whom I have greuously offended, woulde forgive mee. For I have beene a man full of all vanities, and have lived a synfull and wicked life in a synfull callinge; havinge bin a Soldio^r, a Captaine bothe by lande and sea, and also a Courtier, w^{ch} are only helpes and waies to make a man wicked in all these places. Wherefore I desire you all to praye wth mee that God woulde pardon and forgive me my synnes, and cast them all out of his sight and remembrance; and that for his Sonne, my only Savio^r Jesus Christ his sake, he woulde receive me into his everlastinge kingdome, where is life eternal. And so I take my leave of you all, and will nowe make my peace wth God.

And after a proclamation made, that all shoulde departe from of the scaffold, he prepared himselfe to die, givinge awaie his bever hatte, and

* There is some confusion here, probably arising from the omission of a line or two in copying.

wrought night cap, wth some mony to some of his acquaintance that stode neere him: and then tooke his leave of the Lordes, Knightes, and gentlemen. Hee desired the Erle of Arundell, y^t he woulde informe his Ma^{ty} of that w^{ch} he spoke; and to intreat him, that there might bee no scandalous pamphletts or wrightings published to defame him after his deathe. And so puttinge of his gowne and dublet, he made a longe prayer upon his knees, the Deane of Westm^r knelinge by him, and prayinge wth him all the while; w^{ch} beinge ended, he called to the Executioner to fetch the fatal instrument (as he called it) w^{ch} beinge denied him, he saide, I pray you let mee see it; thincke you, I am afraide of it? Whereupon it was shewed him; and he felte the edge wth his thumbe, and wth a smiling countenance he saide [to] the Shr. — This is a sharpe medicine, but a phisitian that will cure all diseases. Then goinge to eche side of the scaffold, he intreated the people to praye for him, that God woulde assist him, and give him strengthe. Then beinge asked w^{ch} waie he woulde lie, towards the windowe, where the Lordes stode, or no, he went aboute the blocke, and laide his hed from the Lordes, and said, So bee it the harte bee stronge, it is no matter where the hed lieth; and then prayinge, havinge forgiven the Executioner, and givinge him a signe when he shoulde doe his office (as he laye prayinge and callinge upon God) at twoe strookes he tooke of his head.

The PRESIDENT observed, in conclusion, that the same MS. volume contained also a copy of the familiar lines said to have been found in Sir Walter's Bible after his death, with some variations from the commonly received version, as follows:—

Even so dooth tyme take up withe truste,
 Our youthe, and ioies and al wee have;
 And paies us but wth age and duste,
 In darkenes, scilence and the grave.
 So havinge wandred all our waies,
 Shuttes up the story of our daies. —
 From darkenes, silence, age and duste,
 The Lorde shal raise me up I truste.

QTH WA: RALEYGH.