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THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH:

WITH COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM HIS

"History of the World."

BY

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VIEW OF HAYES FARM, THE BIRTH-PLACE OF RALEGH.

Preface.

I HAVE thought that a selection from Sir Walter Ralegh's great work, "The History of the World," would not prove unacceptable at the present day, and that there is room for another Life of that illustrious man. Of the many biographers of Sir Walter, a few have been, perhaps, indiscreetly panegyrical, whilst some, (Hume and Southey for instance), have attacked his fame with a virulence, for which an envy of his extraordinary abilities can alone account. I must not disguise it from myself, that my admiration of Ralegh may have led me to take a favourable view of his character upon some points on which others have put an ungenerous, or at least, an unwarranted construction; but I do not hesitate to say, that my high estimate of Sir Walter is founded upon a more intimate

knowledge of his life and actions than can be pleaded in justification of their malice by those, or the friends of those, who have traduced him.

I have endeavoured to render a faithful picture of the man as he lives in history, and I have striven with some diligence, to show him to the best advantage in his writings. Those who are familiar with the "History of the World," will readily believe me when I confess, that I have not altogether pleased myself with the selections from it that I have made. They will remind themselves of many passages, full of learning and genius, which they will not discover in this publication. But the operation here, has not been of compression, but of extract; and I trust that they, and the rest of my, or rather of his, readers, will find enough to assure them, that of the three great men of Elizabeth and James's time, Walter Ralegh was one, and that the companion of Shakspeare and the friend of Bacon, can neither be depressed by malignity, nor exalted by praise.

C. W.

London, April, 1854.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WALTER RALEGH.

CHAPTER I.

We are told by Lord Bacon in his book of Apophthegms, "that when Queen Elizabeth had advanced Ralegh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lord of Oxford and another nobleman stood by, when it happened that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so that they were seen; whereupon that lord and the other nobleman smiled, and whispered a little. The Queen marked it, and would needs know what was the matter?

His lordship answered, "They laughed to see that when jacks went up, heads went down." Sir Robert Naunton, who was Secretary of State at the time of Ralegh's death, relates the same story, in his "Fragmenta Regalia," observing upon Lord Oxford's jest, "we all know it savours more of emulation and his humour, than of truth; it being a certain note of the times, that the Queen, in her choice, never took into her favour a mere new man, or a mechanic."

The ignorance of Ralegh's origin, and consequent scorn of his person, indicated in the "witty jest" of my Lord of Oxford (now only remembered as the kinsman and contemporary of Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere), was probably shared by a majority of the court. But Elizabeth, doubtless, had taken pains to ascertain the antecedents of the remarkable man she was about to exalt; she had already knighted his three uterine brothers, and she had satisfied herself that the blood flowing in Ralegh's veins might be traced to as remote and as noble a source as that of some of the titled wits who traduced him. That "fair pedigree," which the Queen had been solicitous to unfold, our readers will probably desire to see.

Whilst Sir Walter was yet—not smarting under, but—smiling disdainfully at the envy and detraction that surrounded him, John Hooker,* an eminent antiquary, and related to Ralegh, in a dedication to the knight of his translation and continuation of the "Chronicles of Ireland," tells him that the family of Ralegh—sometimes written Rale and Ralega in ancient deeds—were settled in Devonshire, and in possession of the seat of Smalridge, before the Norman Conquest, and that one of the family built a chapel there, in gratitude for his deliverance on St. Leonard's day from the Gauls, by whom he had been taken prisoner; and that he hung up therein, as a monument, his target. (The records of this foundation are said to have been given by a priest of Axminster to Sir Walter, as their most rightful owner.) So much for the antiquity of the family; but Hooker avouches that his kinsman and friend was allied to the Courtenays, Earls of Devon, and other illustrious houses, nay, that he can trace the stream of consan-

* He was uncle of the illustrious Richard Hooker, author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," who is commonly styled by divines and others learned in divinity, "the judicious Hooker."

guinity up to the Kings of England; for he says, "that one of his ancestors in the directest line, Sir John de Ralegh, of Fardel (another seat of their ancient inheritance, in the parish of Cornwood, eight miles east of Plymouth), espoused the daughter of Sir Richard d'Amerei, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, by Joan d'Acres, daughter of King Edward I., which Gilbert was descended of Robert Earl of Gloucester, son of King Henry I. So he goes up to the Conqueror, adding further, "that in like manner he may be derived by his mother out of the same house."

However pleasing it may have been to that excellent antiquary and worthy man, John Hooker, to set before the eyes of the youngest son of a poor esquire the antiquity and noble and royal alliances of his family, we are persuaded that the object of this blazonry prized it no higher (that being not much) than as it silenced and tended to put to shame his traducers on the score of birth. He has himself told us in his "History of the World," how, and to what extent, such claims to distinction are to be valued.

"If nobility," he says, "be *virtus et antiquæ divitiæ*, 'virtue and ancient riches,' then to exceed in all these things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define nobility than the word *animal* alone doth define a reasonable man. Or, if honour, according to L. Vives, be a witness of virtue and well-doing, and nobility, after Plutarch, the continuance of virtue in a race or lineage; then are those in whom virtue is extinguished but like unto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our lady, and other saints: men in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient virtue; flowers and herbs which by change of soil and want of manuring are turned to weeds. For, what is found praiseworthy in those waters which had their beginning out of pure fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth Charron, in his chapter of nobility, call the race and lineage but the matter of nobility; the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be virtue and quality, profitable to the commonweal. For he is truly, and entirely noble, who maketh a singular profession of public virtue, serving his prince and country,

and being descended of parents and ancestors that have done the like. And although that nobility, which the same author calleth personal (the same which ourselves acquire by our virtue and well-deservings), cannot be balanced by that which is both natural by descent and also personal; yet, if virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired nobility by many degrees to be preferred. For, saith Charron, this honour, to wit, by descent, may light upon such a one as is in his own nature a true villain. There is also a third nobility, which he calleth nobility in parchment, bought with silver or favour; and these be, indeed, but honours of affection which kings, with the change of their fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again. But, surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness as we have of vanity in deriving ourselves of such and such parents, we should rather know such nobility (without virtue) to be shame and dishonour than nobleness and glory, to vaunt thereof. . . . . And howsoever the customs of the world have made it good that honours be cast by birth upon unworthy issues, yet Solomon (as wise as any king) reprehendeth the same in his fellow princes. 'There is an evil,' saith he, 'that I have seen under the sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: folly is set in great excellency.'"

Sir Walter Ralegh was born in the year 1552 (that being the sixth year of the reign of Edward VI.*), at Hayes, a farm belonging to his father in the parish of Budely, in that part of Devonshire which borders eastward upon the sea, and near where the Otter disembogues itself into the British Channel. He was the fourth son of Walter Ralegh, Esq., of Fardel, by his third wife Catharine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of

* Portents and prodigies, or reports of them, were rife in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successor. In the supplement to G. Le Neve's collection of Nativities, we are told that 1552 was "a year remarkable in our chronicles; first, for that strange shoal of the largest sea-fishes, which, quitting their native waters for fresh and untasted streams, wandered up the Thames so high till the river no longer retained any brackishness; and, secondly, for that it is thought to have been somewhat stained in our annals with the blood of the noble Seymour, Duke of Somerset; events surprisingly analogous, both to the life of that adventurous voyager, Sir Walter Ralegh, whose delight was in the hazardous discovery of unfrequented coasts, and also to his unfortunate death." This is ingenuity grown desperate.

Otho Gilbert, of Compton, in Devon, Esq.* Where he received the rudiments of his education has not been handed down to us; but it is stated that in 1568, or thereabouts, he became a commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, and—so Fuller avers—of Christchurch likewise. But this can hardly be, unless he had been entered of both colleges at the same time; neither can I believe but that he was transplanted to the University before 1568; for all his biographers give him three years at Oxford, and in 1569 he was in France.

RALEGH'S SEAL AND AUTOGRAPH.

At Oriel he is said to have distinguished himself. He "proved the ornament of the junior fry," and was worthily esteemed a proficient in oratory and philosophy. "It has been represented to me," says Oldys, "as a matter of no small honour to Sir Walter Ralegh, that a casual expression of his, in his immature and greenest years, should prefer itself to the commemoration of that great philosopher (Bacon) in his sagest and most advanced age. But as he had observed on the nature of things, that great objects may be discerned through a little crevice, so he knew with respect to the nature of man, that a great discovery of genius may be made through a small and sudden repartee; and hence might he be moved to remember, "that while Ralegh was a scholar at Oxford, there was a cowardly fellow who happened to be a very good archer; but having been grossly abused by another, he bemoaned himself to Ralegh, and asked his advice what he should do to repair the wrong that had been offered him? Ralegh answered, "Why, challenge him—at a match of shooting." †

* This lady had three sons by her first marriage, all eminent in the days of Elizabeth, Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert. Of the second I shall presently have occasion more particularly to speak. From Sir Humphrey I have good reason to believe the late most gallant general, Sir Walter Ralegh Gilbert, was descended.

† Mrs. Thomson, whose life of Ralegh is written with much earnestness and ability, says that "though Sir Walter left Oxford without a degree, yet

It is stated by Anthony Wood,* that on leaving the University Ralegh became a member of the Middle Temple, where he studied municipal law. But that he was not there at this time we shall presently show, and that he never was a student of law after he became a member of that society, we have Sir Walter's own words for denying. At his arraignment in 1603, in reply to the Attorney-General, he lays a heavy imprecation upon himself, "if ever he read a word of law or statutes before he was a prisoner in the Tower." † We are distinctly told by Hooker, "that after Ralegh had laid a good ground to build his actions on at the University, he travelled into France," and the correctness of this assertion cannot be questioned.

France being embroiled in civil wars, Queen Elizabeth sympathised with the persecuted Protestants of that country, and permitted Henry Champernon, a near kinsman of Ralegh, to embark with a select troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, for France, who bore in their standard this motto: *Finem det mihi virtus*—"Let valour decide the cause." Amongst these were several who afterwards became of note, the most celebrated being Ralegh, then a lad of seventeen. This was in 1569, one year only after he is said to have been entered of Oriel.

On their arrival, this chosen troop were very honourably received by the Queen of Navarre and the princes; but what especial services they performed, although Ralegh remained in France more than six years, no writer, English or French, has left us any account. But the spectacle of war on a grand scale could not have passed before eyes so observant and sagacious as Ralegh's, without making a deep impression upon his vigorous and acquisitive mind. Himself an actor in the scene, it was here that he acquired that experience in the art of war which is displayed with

he acquired a higher honour in obtaining the good opinion of Bacon, who there foretold his future eminence," quoting Oldys as her authority. Mrs. Thomson has fallen into this error by mistaking the sense in which Oldys uses the word "remember," which, as he employs it, means "mention." Bacon was but seven years of age when Ralegh left Oxford; and Trinity College, Cambridge, would not willingly resign the honour of having sent forth the illustrious philosopher.

* Athenæ Oxoniensis. † State Trials.

such energy in the "History of the World," in which great work are to be found several allusions to this passage in his life, which contain observations upon the military conduct and character of some of the generals employed in the war, too remarkable to be omitted. Treating of the danger of joining two or more generals in commission, he observes:—"It hath in all ages been used as the safest course, to send forth, in great expeditions, two generals of one army. This was the common practice of those two mighty cities, Athens and Rome, which other states and princes have often imitated, persuading themselves that great armies are not so well conducted by one as by two, who, out of emulation to excel each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joined two chief commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration, the better to restrain the ambition of any one that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all commonweals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves tyrants over those cities and states that have employed them. In this point the Venetians have been so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, trusted strangers, and not their own, in all the wars which they have made. It is true that the equal authority of two commanding in chief serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both from turning upon the prince or state that hath given them trust; but in managing the war itself, it is commonly the cause of ill success. In wars made near unto Rome itself, when two good friends were consuls, or such two at least as concurred in one desire of triumph, which honour (the greatest of any that Rome could give) was to be obtained by that one year's service, it is no marvel, though each of the consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous cases, when the consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindered by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to send forth both the consuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his own province; unless one business seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joined in the administration. Now, although it was so, that the Romans did many times prevail with their joint generals, yet was this never or seldom without as much concord as any other virtue of the

commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the less able captain, though of equal authority, hath willingly submitted himself to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ordaining two commanders of one army, received great and most dangerous overthrows; whereof in the second Punic war we shall find examples. On the contrary side, in their wars most remote, that were always managed by one, they seldom failed to win exceeding honour. Now of those ten generals, which served the Athenians at the battle of Marathon, it may truly be said, that had not their temper been better than the judgment of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of Miltiades, their affairs had found the same success which they found at other times, when they coupled Nicias and Alcibiades together in Sicily: the one being so over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all came to nought that they undertook, whereas Cimon alone, as also Aristides, and others, having sole charge of all, did their country and commonweal most remarkable service. For it is hard to find two great captains of equal discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgment, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often over-slipt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condé was slain after the battle of Jarnac (which Prince, together with the Admiral Chastillon, had the conduct of the Protestant army), the Protestants did greatly bewail the loss of the said prince, in respect of his religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement than an hindrance to their affairs. For so much did the valour of the one outreach the advisedness of the other, as whatsoever the admiral intended to win by attending the advantage, the prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident in his own courage."

Again, in the following extract, which shows that he served with his troop in Languedoc, and was engaged in the battle of Moncontour, he remarks, commenting upon a retreat before the Romans, decided upon at a council of the Gauls:—"This, indeed, had been a good resolution, if they had taken it before the enemy had been in sight. But, as well in the wars of these later ages as in former times, it hath ever been found

extremely dangerous to make a retreat in the head of an enemy's army. For, although they that retire do often turn head, yet in always going on from the pursuing enemy, they find, within a few miles, either street, hedge, ditch, or place of disadvantage, which they are enforced to pass in disorder. In such cases, the soldier knows it, as well as the captain, that he which forsakes the field perceives and fears some advantage of the enemies. Fear, which is the betrayer of those succours that reason offereth, when it hath once possessed the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make the retreat are always in fear to be abandoned; they that lead the way, fear to be engaged; and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and, consequently, all disband, run, and perish, if those that favour the retreat be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the French reeeived in Naples, in the year 1503, upon a retreat made by the Marquis of Sal, doth testify no less. For although a great troop of French horse sustained the pursuing enemy a long time, and gave the foot leisure to trot away, yet, being retarded by often turnings, the Spanish foot overtook and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the Imperials and the French, Boisi and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a bravery would needs see the enemy before they left the field. So was Strossi overthrown by the Marquis of Marignan, because he could not be persuaded to dislodge the night before the marquis's arrival. Therefore did the French king, Francis the First, wisely when, without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landersey by night; as many other, the most advised captains (not finding themselves in case to give battle,) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (saith the Marshal Monluc) *au fait des armes chose si difficile qu'une retraite*, 'I find nothing in the art of war so difficult as to make a safe retreat.' A sure rule it is, that there is less dishonour to dislodge in the dark than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M. de la Noüe gives this judgment of a day's retreat made in France, presently before the battle at Moncontour. For (saith he) staying upon our reputation, in show, not to dislodge by night, we lost our reputation, indeed, by dislodging by day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruin. And yet did that worthy gentleman Count Lodowick, of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the

retreat at Moncontour with so great resolution, as he saved one-half of the Protestant army, then broken and disbanded, of which myself was an eye witness, and was one of them that had cause to thank him for it."

By what good fortune Ralegh escaped that horribly comprehensive and preconcerted destruction, commonly called the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which was perpetrated in 1572, we have now no means of ascertaining. It has, however, been conjectured that he took refuge with young Sidney (afterwards Sir Philip) in the

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

house of Sir Francis Walsingham, who was then English Ambassador at Paris.

In 1575 Ralegh returned to England, and resided for some time in the Middle Temple; but, probably, as the guest of a friend, the temporary occupant of his chambers, or renting chambers of his own, for his name does not appear on the books of that society. It is true his commendatory verses to George Gascoigne's "Steele Glass" are stated to be by "Walter Rawley, of the Middle

Temple," but a man might then, as now, occupy chambers in the Temple, without being *of* it, as lawyers understand the word.*

Here, however, he made no protracted stay; for we soon after 1576 find him serving under the Prince of Orange against the Spaniards, in the Netherlands; and it is more than probable that he had a share in the battle of Rimenant, on the 1st August, 1578, in which Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles V., "whose haughty conceit of himself," says Ralegh, "overcame the greatest difficulties, though his judgment was over weak to manage the least," met with so rough a reception, especially from the English forces under the command of the famous Sir John Norris, that he was compelled to make a disgraceful and disastrous retreat—his report of which (if he sent one to his half-brother Philip II. of Spain, for whom he was Governor of the Low Countries,) must have caused that cruel and bigoted tyrant to bemoan himself, and have made the grim and superseded Duke of Alva smile. Don John did not survive this disgrace more than two months.

Soon after his return to his own country, his mind, which never could remain inactive, became absorbed in adventures of a very different description, which, perhaps, had been long ago propounded to him by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. This brave, learned, and adventurous gentleman, allied hardly less by merit than by consanguinity to Ralegh, and associated with him in more than one undertaking, deserves a notice more enlarged than we can afford to bestow upon him. He was, as we have said, the second son of Sir Walter's mother by her first husband, and was born in the year 1539. Although a younger brother, he derived a considerable estate from his father, and received his education at Eton and Oxford. Introduced by his aunt, Mrs. Ashley, one of her gentlewomen, to the Queen, he speedily rose in her favour; but the trammels and, perhaps, the society of the court were not to his taste, although he afterwards married a maid of honour. He

* Some historians of those times note, says Oldys, "that those who dwelt among the lawyers, and did not follow their profession, grew so numerous and inconvenient, that there was an order or proclamation for their removal out of the inns of court about the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, or the beginning of her successor's reign."

distinguished himself greatly in the Irish wars, and soon after his return to England sailed with a squadron of nine ships to Flanders, with a reinforcement for Colonel Morgan, who was then meditating a recovery of the port of Flushing. Returning to England, having by this time established an enviable reputation, both as a man of extensive learning and a soldier of undaunted courage, he renewed his studies, and soon exhibited his mathematical knowledge and his patriotic spirit in a discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies. This work, which is accompanied by a "Treatise on Navigation," was first printed in 1576. The design of this discourse was to awaken a spirit of discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had conceived of planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of a north-west passage.*

This gallant but unfortunate knight had the true spirit of chivalry in him, with other qualifications less romantic, but which are more profitable to mankind. He had early adopted, as his device, two figures of Mars and Mercury joined by a cross, suggested by "*Tam Marti, quam Mercurio,*" with the motto, *Quid non?*—"What not?"—intimating that almost anything may be achieved, if to strength and art there be added patience. This device was afterwards assumed by Ralegh, or given to him by his friends, and it is equally characteristic of both. But for Sir Humphrey's earlier favour at court, his younger brother might not have been so well received there; nay, it is possible that, but for Humphrey Gilbert, the world had not seen the entire Walter Ralegh.

On the occasion to which we have referred, Sir Humphrey restricted his design to colonising, and he procured from the Queen an ample patent, dated June 11, 1578, in which full powers were bestowed upon him to undertake the discovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands which at that time had not been settled by Christian princes or their subjects. At first he was very successful in getting associates in so great an undertaking, his reputation for knowledge being of the first, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; but before the

* This he did not live to prosecute. His brother, Sir Adrian, however, obtained a patent for this purpose; and it was under his auspices that John Davis sailed, who discovered the Straits which bear his name.

project could be actually executed, many drew back from their engagements, and others at a later stage separated themselves from him. But Gilbert was not a man to be overborne or awed by disappointments. Seconded and encouraged by Sir Walter, who accompanied him, and a few other friends of tried resolution, he sailed for Newfoundland; but after a variety of misfortunes at sea, he was compelled to return, having lost one of his ships in a sharp engagement with the Spaniards, in which Ralegh's life was in imminent danger.

In 1580, certain Spanish and Italian forces, under the Pope's banner, having made a descent upon Ireland, to assist the Desmonds in their rebellion in Munster, Ralegh had a captain's commission under Lord Grey of Wilton, then Lord Deputy—or, as we should now call him, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a man of great zeal and courage, but of a stern, if not of a cruel nature, the instigations of which prompted him to a most barbarous treatment of the insurrectionists. But Captain Ralegh's principal exploits in this wretched work (and it seems they were terribly effective) were performed under the Earl of Ormond, a nobleman in high estimation with the Queen for his energy and talent, and, above all, for his loyalty. Ralegh surprised the Irish kerns at Rahele, and took every rebel, who was not slain defending himself upon the spot. He assisted also at the siege of the fort Del Ore, which was carried on by Lord Grey on land, while Sir William Winter attacked the fort by sea. Ralegh commanded in the trenches, and greatly contributed to the reduction of the place, which at length surrendered at discretion, the greatest part of the garrison, by order of the Lord Deputy, being put to the sword. It is painful to be compelled to record that by Captains Ralegh and Mackworth, who had the ward of that day, and first entered the castle, this piece of butchery was committed. It is true that the victims were Spanish adventurers in the pay of rebels, who had from the first been denied all hopes of mercy.*

Ralegh, however, has been accused by his enemies—many of whom have shown little mercy to his memory—of having exercised excessive and needless cruelty in Ireland. It is not true: this great

* Edmund Spenser, then secretary to the Lord Deputy, attests this, describing an interview between "Seignior Jeffrey, an Italian," the secretary of the Spanish chief, and Lord Grey.

man had not an atom of cruelty or vindictiveness in his composition; nor has any author, treating of military affairs, more earnestly and more eloquently, or more often, denounced the cruelty of conquerors, deplored the miseries of war, and advocated the rights and duties of mercy. He has himself said, speaking on a very different subject, "Whosoever is the workman, it is reasonable he should give an account of his work to the workmaster;" and since to subordinates seldom falls any portion of the honour they have been instrumental in procuring for their commander, nay, since it is dangerous to lay claim to it (we have Shakspeare's warrant for it*), let the shame of any action—if shame there be—light upon the workmaster to whom the workman renders his account.

It is worth while to give an extract from the "History of the World," which, although it does not directly apply to the wars in Ireland, shows the spirit in which the author regarded similar scenes, and which would be—to use a favourite word of the present day—"suggestive," if the good understanding which at last subsisted between the Saxons and the Danes had not by this time been well-nigh perfected between England and her sister.

"Certainly, the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole nation, or great part of it, forsaking their own seats, labour to root out the established possessors of another land, making room for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgments, which, had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloodied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their lands and cattle, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the sucking infants. The merciless terms of this controversy arm both sides with desperate resolution—seeing, the one part must either win or perish by famine; the other, defend their goods or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the countries in Europe have felt examples thereof, and the mighty empire of Rome was overthrown by such invasions. But our isle of Britain can best witness the diversity of conquests, having, by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all civil arts in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon

* Antony and Cleopatra, Act III., Scene I.

and Danish wars was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seek after the dominion only, but the entire possession of the country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British race, and defacing all memorial of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the land. But the Danes (who are, also, of the Cimmerian blood) found such end of their enterprise, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, and Scythians in the higher Asia, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battles the Danes won, yet none of such importance as sufficed to make them absolute conquerors: many the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so great as could drive them quite away, and back from hence, after they had gotten firm footing. But in course of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity had bred such acquaintance between them, as, bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one mild temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceful cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large room; others, returning home, found their own country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened itself of many thousands who were sent to seek their graves abroad."

But we have not yet done with Ralegh, in Ireland. During the winter of 1580 he was quartered at Cork, where he soon had occasion to observe the seditious proceedings of David Lord Barry, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in those parts; and having a commission from the Lord Deputy to seize the castle of Barry Court, he was about to execute it, when Barry anticipated him by burning his castle to the ground. On his return from this expedition, he was set upon by Fitz-Edmonds, seneschal of Imokelly, an adherent of Barry, with a party of horse and some kerns, at Corabby, a ford between Youghal and Cork. Ralegh, who had but six men, and those far behind, broke through them, and got clear over the river. But Henry Moyle, a gentleman of his company, following him, was thrown off his horse into the middle of the stream, when Ralegh hastened back to rescue him. But Moyle, in his eagerness to remount, overleaped his horse, and fell into a deep mire, out of which his leader extricated him, bringing him safe to land. And

now Ralegh waited on the opposite side, his staff in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his company, among whom was his servant Jenkins, who had two hundred pounds of his master's in charge. Fitz-Edmonds, by this time recruited with twelve men, finding that Ralegh stood his ground, exchanged a few rough words, and retired.

It was not long after this that, at a parley between the Earl of Ormond and the rebels, Fitz-Edmonds was boasting his achievements, when Ralegh taxed him with cowardice, reminding him that lately, having had twenty to one on his side, he durst not encounter him. One of the seneschal's friends, seeking to excuse this unusual conduct of Fitz-Edmonds, declared that he would never again show a like diffidence; upon which Ormond challenged the seneschal and Sir John Desmond, and any four they should name, to meet himself, Captain Ralegh, and four others, when two to two, four to four, or six to six, should determine the point in dispute between them. No answer being at the time returned, Fitz-Gibbon, called the White Knight, was sent with a second challenge, which was declined.

We should hardly have related these circumstances, but that they form part of the personal history of Ralegh, who looked upon courage as a very common quality, and rather regarded cowardice as infamous than personal bravery as honourable. And yet he entertained the highest opinion of English valour, which he has celebrated so memorably in his "History of the World" that we cannot refrain from inserting it in this place. He calls his chapter—

"A Discussion of that problem of Livy, whether the Romans could have resisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman soldier was of equal valour to the English.

"That question handled by Livy, whether the great Alexander could have prevailed against the Romans, if after his Eastern conquest he had bent all his forces against them, hath been and is the subject of much dispute; which (as it seems to me) the arguments on both sides do not so well explain, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath given of the Roman power in his days. For if he, a commander (in Hannibal's judgment) inferior

to Alexander, though to none else, could with small strength of men, and little store of money, or of other needful helps in war, vanquish them in two battles, and endanger their estate, when it was well settled, and hold the best part of Italy under a confirmed obedience, what would Alexander have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needful to a conqueror, wanting only matter of employment, coming upon them before their dominion was half so well settled? It is easy to say that Alexander had no more than thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into Asia, he carried over not many more), and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate Asiatics. But he that considers the armies of Perdiccas, Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes, Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Lysimachus, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead emperor's power, shall easily find that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

"It were needless to speak of treasure, horses, elephants, engines of battery, and the like, of all which the Macedonian had abundance, the Roman having nought save men and arms. As for sea-forces, he that shall consider after what sort the Romans, in their first Punic war, were trained in the rudiments of navigation, sitting upon the shore and beating the sand with poles, to practice the stroke of the oar, as not daring to launch their ill-built vessels into the sea, will easily conceive how far too weak they would have proved in such services.

"Now for helpers in war: I do not see why all Greece and Macedon, being absolutely commanded by Alexander, might not well deserve to be laid in balance against those parts of Italy which the Romans held in ill-assured subjection. To omit, therefore, all benefit that the Eastern world, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have afforded unto the Macedonian, let us only conjecture, how the states of Sicily and Carthage, nearest neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) would have stood affected. The Sicilians were for the most part Grecians; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him that ruled all Greece besides them. In what terms they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appear anon. Sure it is that Alexander's coming into those parts, would have brought excessive joy to them that were fain to

get the help of Pyrrhus, by offering to become his subjects. As for the Carthaginians, if Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his own besieged city, could, by adventuring to sail into Africa, put their dominion, yea, and Carthage itself, in extreme hazard, shall we think that they would have been able to withstand Alexander? But why do I question their ability, seeing that they sent ambassadors, with their submission, as far as Babylon, ere the war drew near them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans must, without other succour than perhaps of some few Italian friends (of which yet there were none that forsook them not, at some time, both before and after this), have opposed their valour and good military discipline, against the power of all countries to them known, if they would have made resistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking such a match, it is uneasy to find in discourse of human reason. It is true that virtue and fortune work wonders, but it is against cowardly fools and the unfortunate; for whosoever contends with one too mighty for him, either must excel in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power, or else must look both to be overcome, and to be cast down so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and virtue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the Roman or the Macedonian were in those days the better soldier, I will not take upon me to determine; though I might, without partiality, deliver mine own opinion, and prefer that army which followed not only Philip and Alexander, but also Alexander's princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of war, before any that Rome either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall always hold? Alexander was victorious in every battle that he fought, and the Romans in the issue of every war. But forasmuch as Livy hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration, I think it a great part of Rome's good fortune that Alexander came not into Italy, where in three years after his death, the two Roman consuls, together with all the power of that state, were surprised by the Samnites, and enforced to yield up their arms. We may, therefore, permit Livy to admire his own Romans, and to compare with Alexander those captains of theirs which were honoured sufficiently in being thought equal to his followers: that the same

conceit should blind our judgment, we cannot permit without much vanity.

"Now, in deciding such a controversy, methinks it were not amiss for an Englishman to give such a sentence between the Macedonians and Romans, as the Romans once did (being chosen arbitrators) between the Ardeates and Aricini, that strove about a piece of land, saying that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the Romans themselves.

"If, therefore, it be demanded, whether the Macedonian or the Roman were the best warrior, I will answer, the Englishman. For it will soon appear to any that shall examine the noble acts of our nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon, against no savage or unmanly people, the enemy being far superior unto us in number and all needful provisions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of war.

"In what sort Philip won his dominion in Greece, what manner of men the Persians and Indians were whom Alexander vanquished, as likewise of what force the Macedonian phalanx was, and how well appointed, against such arms as it commonly encountered, any man that hath taken pains to read the story of them doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this phalanx never, or very seldom, able to stand against the Roman armies, which were embattled in so excellent a form, as I know not whether any nation besides them have used either before or since. The Roman weapons, likewise, both offensive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of gunpowder were known. As for the enemies with which Rome had to do, we find that they which did overmatch her in numbers were as far overmatched by her in weapons, and that they, of whom she had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as Plutarch well observeth) was a part of her happiness—that she was never overlaid with two great wars at once.

"Hereby it came to pass that, having at first increased her strength by accession of the Sabines, having won the state of Alba, against which she adventured her own self, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three champions, and having thereby made herself Princess of Latium, she did afterwards, by long wars, in many

ages, extend her dominion over all Italy. The Carthaginians had well near oppressed her, but her soldiers were mercenary, so that for want of proper strength they were easily beaten at their own doors. The Ætolians, and with them all or the most of Greece, assisted her against Philip the Macedonian; he being beaten, did lend her his help to beat the same Ætolians. The wars against Antiochus and other Asiatics were such as gave to Rome small cause of boast, though much of joy, for those opposites were as base of courage as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. Sicily, Spain, and all Greece fell into her hands by using her aid to protect them against the Carthaginians and Macedonians.

"I shall not need to speak of her other conquests: it was easy to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the Roman valour (which was very noble), or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say, that, among all their wars, I find not any wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the English. If my judgment seem over-partial, our wars in France may help to make it good.

"First, therefore, it is well known that Rome (or, perhaps, all the world besides) had never any so brave a commander in war as Julius Cæsar, and that no Roman army was comparable unto that which served under the same Cæsar. Likewise, it is apparent that this gallant army, which had given fair proof of the Roman courage in good performance of the Helvetian war, when it first entered into Gaul, was nevertheless utterly disheartened when Cæsar led it against the Germans; so that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of Cæsar's men to their long exercise, under so good a leader, in so great a war. Now, let us in general compare with the deeds done by these best of Roman soldiers, in their principal service, the things performed in the same country by our common English soldiers, levied in haste from following the cart or sitting on the shop-stall, so shall we see the difference.

"Herein will we deal fairly, and believe Cæsar in relating the acts of the Romans, but we will call the French historians to witness what actions were performed by the English. In Cæsar's time France was inhabited by the Gauls, a stout people, but inferior to the French, by whom they were subdued, even when the Romans gave them assistance. The country of Gaul was rent asunder (as Cæsar witnesseth) into many lordships, some of which were

governed by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it appliable to the nearest neighbour. The factions were many and violent, not only in general through the whole country, but between the petty states, yea, in every city, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a conqueror desire? Yet there was a greater. Ariovistus, with his Germans, had overrun the country, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from mere slavery; yea, so often had the Germans prevailed in war upon the Gauls, that the Gauls (who had sometimes been the better soldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily invaders. Had France been so prepared unto our English kings, Rome itself by this time, and long ere this time, would have been ours. But when King Edward III. began his war upon France, he found the whole country settled in obedience to one mighty king, a king whose reputation abroad was no less than his puissance at home, under whose ensign the King of Bohemia did serve in person; at whose call the Genoese and other neighbour states were ready to take arms; finally, a king, unto whom one prince gave away his dominion for love, and another sold away a goodly city and territory for money. The country, lying so open to the Roman, and being so well fenced against the English, it is noteworthy not who prevailed most therein (for it were mere vanity to match the English purchases with the Roman conquest), but whether of the two gave the greater proof of military virtue. Cæsar himself doth witness that the Gauls complained of their own ignorance in the art of war, and that their own hardiness was overmastered by the skill of their enemies. Poor men, they admired the Roman towers and engines of battery raised and planted against their walls, as more than human works. What greater wonder is it that such a people was beaten by the Roman, than that the Caribbees, a naked people, but valiant as any under the sky, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the Gauls, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joint forces they might oppose their assailants, as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to pass that they were never able to make use of opportunity, but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows, and sometimes driven to give or take battle upon

extreme disadvantages, for fear lest their companies should fall asunder; as, indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break, and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little less than all this) great odds in weapon, gave to the Romans the honour of many gallant victories. What such help, or what other worldly help, than the golden metal of their soldiers, had our English kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in feats of war? Yea, did they not think themselves therein our superiors? Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provision, exceedingly beyond us? Let us hear what a French writer saith of the inequality that was between the French and English when their king, John, was ready to give the onset upon the Black Prince, at the battle of Poictiers. John had all advantages over Edward, both of number, force, show, country, and conceit (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affairs), and, withal, the choice of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in Europe), with the greatest and wisest captains of his whole realm. And what could he more?

"I think it would trouble a Roman antiquary to find the like example in their histories—the example, I say, of a king brought prisoner to Rome by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand better appointed and no less expert warriors. This I am sure of, that neither Syphax the Numidian, followed by a rabble of half scullions, as Livy rightly terms them, nor those cowardly kings, Perseus and Gentius, are worthy patterns. All that have read of Cressy and Agincourt will bear me witness that I do not allege the battle of Poictiers, for lack of other, as good examples of the English virtue, the proof whereof hath left many a hundred better marks in all quarters of France than ever did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to the longbow, as carrying further, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the French crossbow, my answer is ready—that in all these respects it is also (being drawn with a strong arm) superior to the musket, yet is the musket a weapon of more use. The gun and the crossbow are of like force when discharged by a boy or woman as when by a strong man. Weakness or sickness, or a sore finger makes the longbow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custom of our ancestors to shoot, for the most part, point blank, and so shall he perceive

that will note the circumstances of almost any one battle. This takes away all objection; for when two armies are within the distance of a butt's length, one flight of arrows, or two at the most, can be delivered before they close. Neither is it, in general, true that the longbow reacheth further, or that it pierceth more strongly than the crossbow. But this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm, whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall ask, How, then, came it to pass that the English won so many great battles, having no advantage to help him? I may, with best commendation of modesty, refer him to the French* historian, who, relating the victory of our men at Crevant, where they passed a bridge in face of the enemy, useth these words: 'The English comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accustomed to gain everywhere, without any stay: he forceth our guard, placed upon the bridge to keep the passage.' Or I may cite another place of the same author, where he tells how the Bretons, being invaded by Charles the VIII., King of France, thought it good policy to apparel a thousand and five hundred of their own men in English cassocks, hoping that the very sight of the English red cross would be enough to terrify the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French historians (all which, excepting De Serres, and Paulus Æmilius, report wonders of our nation) the proposition which first I undertook to maintain; that the military virtue of the English, prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded, why, then, did not our kings finish the conquest, as Cæsar had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like to the race of the Æacidæ, of whom the old poet Ennius gave this note: *Bellipotentes sunt magè quam sapienti potentes*—They were more warlike than politic. Whoso notes their proceedings may find that none of them went to work like a conqueror, save only King Henry V., the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaul before the time of Cæsar? why not after the Macedonian war? why not after the third Punic, or after the Numantian?

* John de Serres.

At all these times they had good leisure, and then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of Marius, they had newly vanquished the Cimbri and Teutones, by whom the country of Gaul had been piteously wasted. Surely the words of Tully were true, that with other nations the Romans fought for dominion, with the Gauls for preservation of their own safety.

"Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gaul, until they were lords of all other countries to them known. We, on the other side, held only the one-half of our own island, the other half being inhabited by a nation (unless perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferior) every way equal to ourselves, a nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard enemy to us. So that our danger lay both before and behind us, and the greater danger at our backs, where commonly we felt, always we feared, a stronger invasion by land than we could make upon France, transporting our forces over sea.

"It is usual with men that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient histories, to hold it a great injury done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparison, to extol the things of later ages. But I am well persuaded that, as the divided virtue of this our island hath given more noble proof of itself than, under so worthy a leader, that Roman army could do, which afterwards could win Rome and all her empire, making Cæsar a monarch; so hereafter, by God's blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance into our greatest help, the enemy that shall dare to try our forces will find cause to wish that, avoiding us, he had rather encountered as great a puissance as was that of the Roman empire."

On the departure of the Earl of Ormond for England, in 1581, Ralegh, in commission with Sir William Morgan and Captain Piers, was entrusted with the governorship of Munster. He resided chiefly at Lismore, and during the summer was constantly engaged with the rebels. His valour was conspicuously shown in an action against Lord Barry, and his skill and address were remarkably exhibited in his seizure of Lord Roche in his own castle.

In August of the same year, Captain Zouch having been appointed governor of Munster, Ralegh accompanied him in

several journeys to settle and compose that province. The chief place of their residence was Cork, of which city, after Zouch had succeeded in cutting off Sir John Desmond, brother of the Earl of Desmond, Ralegh was made governor. On the reduction of that earl, the slaughter of his brothers, and the submission of Barry, Sir Walter's company was disbanded, and he returned to England. How his services in these wars were requited, will afterwards appear.

EDMUND SPENSER.

We must not omit to mention that it was during his stay in Ireland that he cultivated the friendship of Spenser, whose acquaintance he had probably made before their landing in that country, the one as secretary to the Lord Deputy, the other as a captain under his command. Spenser had already enjoyed the patronage of Sir Philip Sidney, an early friend of Sir Walter, and it may be that his knowledge of this circumstance particularly recommended the poet to the notice of the soldier, himself a poet, and, if the warm-hearted Edmund is to be believed, of a more

etherial genius than his own. But the amiable author of the "Faerie Queene" is not to be believed in this case. The substance of his admiration and his praise (and he was by no means chary of either) proceeding from any other man, would be pronounced gross flattery; but his adulation was the utterance of a most tender, sensitive, and grateful nature, and was illuminated by the colours of an exuberant fancy. Yet Ralegh's sonnet, which he calls "A Vision upon the Faerie Queene," is one of the finest in the English language, and would almost justify any hyperbole that a conjecture of future poetical greatness might raise upon it.

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER II.

While Ralegh was performing his services in Ireland, he was careful that the Earl of Leicester (to whom he had been introduced, but by whom and upon what occasion we have not been told) should retain him in his memory. In a letter to that nobleman, he says:—"I may not forget to put your honour continually in mind of my affection unto your lordship, having to the world both professed and protested the same. Your honour having no use of such your followers, hath utterly forgotten me. Notwithstanding, if your lordship shall please to think me yours, as I am, I will be found as ready, and dare do as much in your service, as any man you may command; and do neither so much despair of myself, but that I may be some way able to perform as much. I have spent

some time here under the deputy, in such poor place and charge, as, were it not that for that I knew him to be as of yours, I would disdain it as much as to keep sheep. I will not trouble your honour with the business of this lost land, for that Sir Warham St. Leger" (who was the bearer of this letter) "can best of any man deliver unto your lordship the good, the bad, the mischief, the means to amend, and all in all of this commonweal, or rather, common-woe."

By this we perceive that Ralegh was not a man of so high and independent a spirit as to disdain the patronage of a favourite still powerful, although more than suspected of atrocious crimes committed by the basest and most treacherous means, and that between himself and Lord Grey something had passed which afterwards "drew them both over to the council table," as we shall presently see.

Whether Ralegh was introduced to the Queen by Leicester, or by Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex,* has been a matter of dispute. The Earl was in equal favour with the Queen, but after a different manner, and for very opposite qualities, and Leicester by this time probably felt that his tenure of his mistress's grace and liking was precarious. He had never performed any action of credit for his queen and country; his abilities lay not in that direction; and, indeed, his personal courage has been questioned. Moreover, the elegant and energetic nobleman of former days was now grown a somewhat corpulent and rubicund person, and he might well feel that he should soon cease to please Elizabeth's eye, which alone had attracted him to her, or she would hardly have seized, immediately after his death, part of his goods and chattels in satisfaction of a debt. Sussex was blunt, straightforward, and honest; he had done good service to her

* Mrs. Thomson has inadvertently called this nobleman Hunsdon, Earl of Sussex. Cary, Baron Hunsdon, was a very different person. He was nearly allied to the Queen, and was her Lord Chamberlain, as Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, had previously been. His influence at the court was great, and was exercised in the advancement of his family. His four sons were duly cared for, and his three daughters were well disposed of in marriage. One was the wife of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, another of Lord Scrope, and the third of Sir Thomas Hoby, a brave soldier, who signalised himself at the siege of Cadiz.

majesty; but his labours were ended. He hated Leicester, "the gipsy," as he called him, and on his death-bed bade his friends beware of him; and this may have incited him to introduce a check, or rather a foil, to his rival in the person of Ralegh. The balance of evidence would incline to Leicester as his first patron; of abstract probability, to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex.

THOMAS RADCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX.

But before we introduce him into the presence of Elizabeth, we will make a short extract from his "History of the World," written in his mature years, when, as we believe, experience had confirmed him as to the worldly wisdom which dictated his course of proceeding when he was about to launch into court life and the immediate service of majesty. The reader needs not that we should direct his attention to the philosophical calmness with which the best means of attaining to success in the world is set forth.

"It may be objected, that if fortune and chance were not sometimes the causes of good and evil in men, but an idle voice whereby we express success; how comes it, then, that so many worthy and wise men depended upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fools; that riches and honour are given to external men and without kernel; and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferior or apparent cause, beside the partiality of man's affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of ourselves according to the nature of the time wherein we live; for whosoever is most able and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open heart and loving truth; if princes, or those that govern, endure no other discourse than their own flatteries, then I say such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, we always falsely charge fortune withal. For whosoever shall tell any great man or magistrate, that he is not just, the general of an army that he is not valiant, and great ladies that they are not fair, shall never be made a counsellor, a captain, or a courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; sail with the tide of the time, and alter form and condition, as the estate or estate's master changeth: otherwise how were it possible that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by such an observant, slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most virtuous, if not exceeded them. For according to Menander, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia et plausibus capitur*—'Every fool is won with his own pride, and others' flattering applause:' so as whosoever will live altogether out of himself, and study other men's humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the season wherein he liveth be of all these and of all sorts of goodness fruitful) shall never prosper by the possession or pro-

fession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against the nature of times wherein he liveth; for such a one is often the author of his own misery; but best it were to follow the advice which the Pope gave the Bishops of that age, out of Ovid, while the Arian heresy raged:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori,—

'While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man fury's gallop stay.'

"And if Cicero (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgment) had followed the counsel of his brother Quintus, *Potuisset* (saith Petrarch) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri*—He might then have died the death of nature, and been with an untorn and undissevered body buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quam desperantem (præsertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari?*—'What more foolish than for him that despairs (especially of the effect) to be entangled with endless contentions?' Whosoever therefore will set before him Machiavel's two marks to shoot at (to wit), riches and glory, must set on and take off a back of iron to a weak wooden bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he that first devised to add sails to rowing vessels did either so proportion them as, being fastened aloft and towards the head of his mast, he might abide all winds and storms, or else he sometime or other perished by his own invention; so that man which prizeth virtue for itself, and cannot endure to hoist and strike his sails, as the divers natures of calms and storms require, must cut his sails and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a slow and sure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of fortune and the rest, or of whatsoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) of man hath found out; let us resolve with St. Paul, who hath taught us, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him: and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same, which worketh all in all."

Ralegh's first introduction to the Queen was a very fortunate accident. The story itself is characteristic, and is not one likely to have been invented. Accordingly, it has been told by all his

biographers.* We give Fuller's version of it. Coming to the Court "in good habit," says he, "(his clothes being then a considerable part of his estate,) he found the Queen walking, till meeting with a plashy place she seemed to scruple going thereon. Presently, Ralegh cast and spread his new plush coat on the ground, whereon the Queen trod gently, rewarding him afterwards with many *suits*, for his so free and seasonable tender of so fair a footcloth. Thus, an advantageous admission into the first notices of a prince is more than half a degree to preferment." There is a second story told by the same author. Ralegh, finding some gleams of royal favour reflecting upon him, wrote in a glass window obvious to her eye—

"Fain would I climb, and yet fear I to fall;"

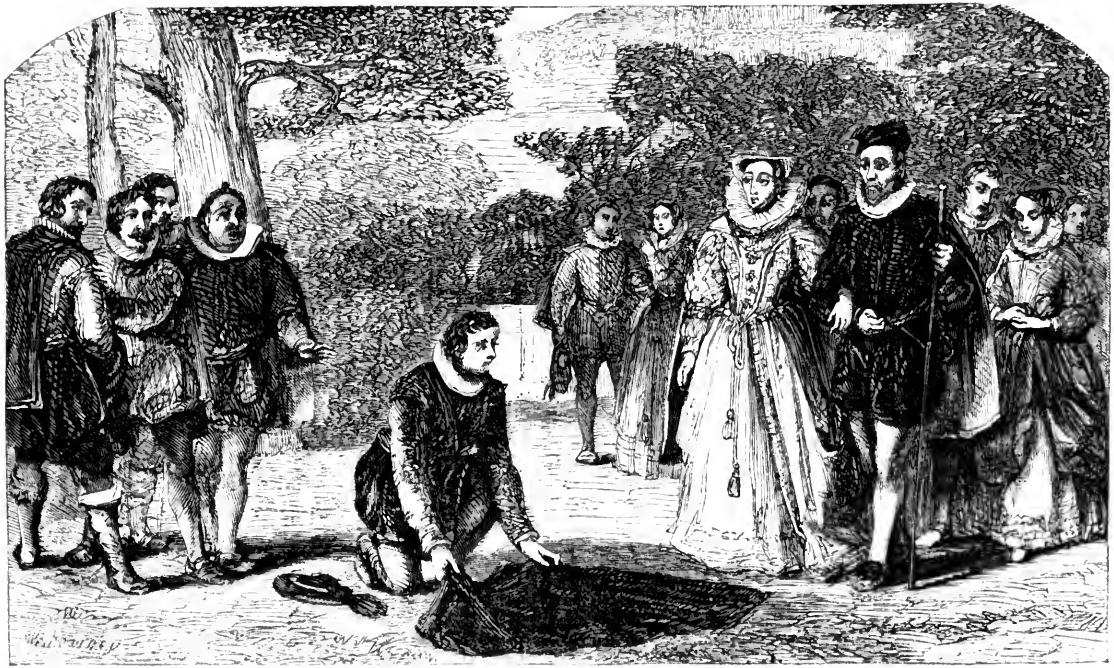
upon which the Queen, either espying it, or, more probably, her attention being drawn to it by a maid of honour, underwrote—

"If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all."

A favourable report of Ralegh's achievements in Ireland had, no doubt, prepossessed the Queen in his favour; but the man who was now becoming familiar to her eyes was a person most of all likely to interest and attract her. He was distinguished for the elegance of his appearance, the splendour of his attire, and the politeness of his address, "having 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."† Under thirty years of age, he had gained

* Excepting Birch, who seems to have had no toleration of trifles, or who did not remember what important consequences have sometimes resulted from them. "Birch," said Dr. Johnson, "is as brisk as a bee in conversation, but as heavy as lead immediately he takes a pen in his hand."

† Queen Elizabeth was ever greatly taken with handsomeness in the other sex, and would not have endured even an ill-favoured servant to wait upon her. "Queen Elizabeth," says Aubrey, "loved to have all the servants of her court proper men, and (as before said) Sir Walter Ralegh's graceful presence was no mean recommendation to him. I think his first preferment at court was captain of her majesty's guard. There came a country gentleman (a sufficient yeoman) up to town, who had several sons, but one, an extraordinary proper, handsome fellow, whom he did hope to have preferred to be a yeoman of the guard. The father (a goodly man himself) comes to Sir W. R., a stranger to him, and told him that he had brought up a boy that



RALEGH SPREADING HIS CLOAK BEFORE THE QUEEN.

considerable experience, and had acquired no ordinary amount of learning; and he was never backward, when there was fitting occasion, of showing the one or of referring to the other. The Queen must have seen from the first something in this young adventurer that caused her to put confidence in him, and that assured her belief that he, above most of the men that ever came under her observation, was able to do her service in any way in which she might choose to employ him. Leicester or Sussex may have given him their good word; but old Fuller is right when he says, "However, he at last climbed up by the stairs of his own desert."

Admitted to the court, one of the first services the Queen required of him was to attend Simier, the insinuating emissary of the Duke of Anjou, on his return to France. He afterwards escorted the duke himself to Antwerp, after the breaking off of his proposed alliance to Elizabeth. In "Leicester's Commonwealth," a work written to hold up that nobleman's character to public execration, but to the statements of which the learned Camden gave a large credence, it is stated that, inflamed with rage at Simier's discovery to the Queen of his secret marriage with the widow of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex (the father of the future favourite), he did not scruple to hire pirates to sink the ambassador at sea. "Though they missed of this practice (as not daring to set upon him for fear of some of her majesty's ships, who, to break off this designment, attended by special commandment to waft him over in safety), yet the aforesaid English gentlemen were holden four hours in chase at their coming back, as Mr. Ralegh well knoweth, being then present; and two of the chasers, named Clark and Harris, confessed afterwards the whole designment."

he would desire (having many children) should be one of her majesty's guard. Quoth Sir W. R., 'Had you spoke for yourself, I should readily have granted your desire, for your person deserves it; but I put in no boys.' Said the father, 'Boy, come in.' The son enters—about eighteen or nineteen; but such a goodly, proper young fellow, as he Sir W. R. had not seen the like; he was the tallest of all the guard. Sir W. R. swears him immediately, and ordered him to carry up the first dish at dinner, when the Queen beheld him with admiration, as if a beautiful young giant, like Saul, taller by the head and shoulders than other men, had stalked in with the service."

The Queen attended the Duke of Anjou as far as Dover, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of noblemen and gentlemen. These, among whom was Ralegh, attended him to Antwerp, Sir Walter tarrying there some time after Lord Charles Howard, Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, and the rest of the retinue. Here he became acquainted with the Prince of Orange, who entrusted him with some special communications to the Queen. In an essay written long subsequently,* he ascribes the then prosperous state of the Dutch to the assistance given to them by her majesty, "which," he says, "the late worthy and famous Prince of Orange did always acknowledge; and in the year 1582, when I took my leave of him at Antwerp, after the return of the Earl of Leicester into England, and Monsieur's arrival there, when he delivered me his letter to her majesty, he prayed me to say to the Queen for him, '*sub umbrâ alarum tuarum protegimur*,' for certainly they had withered in the bud, and sunk in the beginning of their navigation, had not her majesty assisted them."

Lord Grey of Wilton having advanced certain charges against Ralegh, both were brought before the council table, and each was required to plead his cause in person. "What advantage he had in the case in controversy," says Naunton, "I know not; but he had much the better in the manner of telling his tale, insomuch as the Queen and the lords took no small mark of the man and his parts, for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the lords. . . . . Whether or no my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him, I do not determine; but true it is, he had gotten the Queen's ear in a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands. And the truth is, she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those that he relied on began to take his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his; which made him shortly after sing,

"'Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown?'"

Presently after this, it would seem, the Earl of Leicester took fright at the sudden advancement of Ralegh in the Queen's good graces, to which, probably, he had been the means of preferring

* A Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchor, Compass, &c.

him, that he might share a portion of the envy incident to a long-continued favour with majesty. "But the Earl," says Sir Henry Wotton, "soon found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself." Now, the Queen might be permitted to take pride in Sir Philip Sidney—*her* Philip,* as she called him; her admiration of that mirror of knighthood reflected itself upon the Earl, who was his uncle. But Sidney was absent from the

DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

court at this period, having just married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham; so Leicester bided his time, and at the earliest fitting season he presented to Elizabeth's notice Robert Devereux, the young Earl of Essex, his step-son, who immediately took the unexhausted fancy of that royal lady of sixty, and learned too

* When Philip II., of Spain, made overtures of marriage to the Queen, which she rejected, she said, pointing to young Sidney, "*He* is *my* Philip." Sidney was a god-son of the Spanish king.

early, or rather too late, a few years afterwards, on a scaffold in the tower, how precarious and how perilous is that favour which is gained by small deserts, and by an arrogant and perverse presumption upon them.

Ralegh was not desirous of watching the rise of this new luminary: he must do something to advance himself in the Queen's esteem, and this something he had already projected, having built, at his own expense, a strong ship, of two hundred tons, which was named "Bark Ralegh." The spirit of maritime adventure had been born in him, or it had been communicated to him by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, four of the six years of whose patent had now elapsed, and who was resolved to attempt those discoveries in America in which he had before failed. Having fitted out four ships, Ralegh manned his, which was the largest among them, and prepared to set sail with him.

That the Queen took a strong interest in the success of the expedition, is shown in the following letter to Sir Humphrey from Ralegh:—

"Brother,—"I have sent you a token from her majesty, an anchor guided by a lady,* as you see; and further her highness willed me to send you word that she wished you as great good hap and safety to your ships as if herself were there in person, desiring you to have care of yourself as of that which she tendereth; and therefore, for her sake, you must provide for it accordingly. Farther, she commandeth that you leave your picture with me. For the rest, I leave it to our meeting, or to the report of this bearer, who would needs be the messenger of this good news; so I commit you to the will and protection of God, who sends us such life or death as he shall please, or hath appointed! Richmond, this Friday morning. Your true Brother,

"W. Ralegh."

Attended by Ralegh, as his vice-admiral, Sir Humphrey put to sea on the 11th June, 1583. His little fleet was equipped with 260 men, including shipwrights, masons, carpenters, smiths, refiners, and—musicians. Captain Edward Hayes, who commanded one of

* It was a golden anchor, with a large pearl at the peak. Sir Humphrey wore it at his breast on the day of his death.

the vessels, and who wrote a particular account of this voyage, which is included in Hakluyt's collection, says—"For solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, we were provided of music in good variety, not omitting the least toys, as morris-dancers, hobby-horse, and other like conceits, to delight the savage people, whom we intended to win by all fair means possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people."

On the 13th, Bark Ralegh, fortunately for its owner, as it afterwards proved, was obliged to part company with the fleet, on account of a contagious disease among the crew, and she returned to Plymouth in great distress. The rest held on their way, "not a little grieved with the loss of the most puissant ship in their fleet."

After encountering many difficulties, Sir Humphrey arrived in Newfoundland, and took possession of the country in right of the crown of England, by digging up a turf and receiving it with a hazel wand, which was delivered to him, according to our laws and customs. He also assigned lands to every man in his company.

Finding it very difficult and dangerous to proceed on his voyage, he yielded to the wishes of the crew of his vessel that they should return, having "compassion upon his poor men, in whom he saw no lack of good-will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for." Accordingly, he represented to Hayes, the captain of the Golden Hind, the expediency of returning, saying, 'Be content: we have seen enough. And take no care of expenses past: I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.'"*

* Captain Hayes tells a very extraordinary circumstance in relation to this resolution of the Admiral, which of course was believed at the time, and which may obtain credit even in these days. We know not what to say to it. Hayes was a stout seaman, reputed a man of veracity, and highly respected:—

"So upon Saturday, in the afternoon the 31st August, we changed our course, and returned back for England,—at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed between us, and towards the land which we now forsook, a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour, not swimming

When the fleet was got three hundred leagues on its way home, the admiral was entreated to remain in the Hind, instead of his own vessel, which was a frigate; but he said, "I will not forsake my little company, going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." Contending against the dangers of "foul weather and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise; men which all their life had occupied the sea, never saw it more outrageous," the captain and crew of the Golden Hind saw the admiral with a book in his hand (probably the Bible), sitting aloft. He cried out to them encouragingly, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land!" In the middle of that same night, the lights of the frigate were suddenly not to be seen, and it ran from mouth to mouth that the admiral and his crew were cast away, "which," says Hayes, "was too true; the frigate at that moment having been swallowed up." The Golden Hind was the only vessel which returned. After infinite hazard, hardship, and loss, she arrived at Falmouth.

However afflicted at the fatal misadventure of his brother, Ralegh was nothing daunted. The discoveries of Columbus, the conquests of Cortez and Pizarro, had formed a congenial portion of his early reading, and in his conversation as a youth these had been his prominent subjects. Moreover, he was, says Southey, "one of those who are so thoroughly possessed by the spirit of adventure, that they neither learn to be wise by others' harms nor by their own." In other words (and this meaning may be wrung

after the manner of a beast by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish, but confidently showing himself above water, without hiding; notwithstanding we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be, commonly, at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstrations of long teeth and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell, coming right against the "Hind," he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld, so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the general himself, I forbear to deliver. But he took it for *bonum omen*, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil."

out of the ungenerous, narrow-minded, and false allegation of the recluse of Keswick), he was not a man to sit in a study, and complacently pass judgment upon more active spirits, who are content to encounter formidable difficulties, undreamed of by the fire-side, when they can be of practical service to their country.*

Inflamed, then, with the prospect of making discoveries in the north of America, he drew up an account of the advantages of such a design, and the means of prosecuting it, which he laid before the Queen and her council, upon whom this document so impressed itself, that on the 25th of March, 1584, letters patent were granted to him, "containing free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands as are not actually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Christian people." On obtaining this grant, Ralegh made choice of two efficient and experienced seamen, Captains Philip Amadas and Philip Barlow, for whom, at his own expense,† he fitted out two vessels, and so expeditiously, that in the following April they set sail. Early in July, they were regaled with a fragrant odour from the land they sought; but they

* Dr. Southey should not have attempted a life o Sir Walter Ralegh, at any rate not in the space to which he confined himself, or to which he was restricted; for, regarding his illustrious subject with no friendly eye, he sometimes makes hostile and unsupported assertions, which demand proof; and proof, even when it is not difficult, sometimes requires a lengthened presentation of itself. Ralegh was not a man to Southey's mind. Had the knight been a soldier-captain singly, or a sea-captain, or a courtier, or a statesman, or a chemist, or a philosopher, or an historian, Southey would have presented us with a fair, as he has not failed of giving us an eloquent, Life of Sir Walter; but being "the universal Ralegh," his biographer could not conceal his sympathy with the evil and heart-vexing passion which possesses myriads of inferior natures. From a man of various learning and literary accomplishments like Southey, we might have looked for no niggard admiration of that marvel of labour, learning, and genius, "The History of the World;" but he has devoted four lines to it, and, in the forty-one words of which they are composed, has qualified the praise due to the author by calling his great work a "compilation," and by asserting, on the rotten authority of the elder Disraeli, that some of the best wits in England assisted Ralegh with their researches.

† So says Oldys. But others assert that Ralegh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville (of whom more shortly), Mr. William Sanderson, and other gentlemen, were co-partners with him in this undertaking. Upon this, Dr. Southey remarks, "Ralegh was not scrupulous in holding out fallacious

sailed along the coast before they discovered an entrance by any river issuing into the sea. At length they found one, and manned out their boats to view the land, where they saw "vines laden with grapes in vast abundance, climbing the tall cedars, and spreading so luxuriantly along the sandy shore, that the sea often overflowed them." They had at first thought this land the continent, and had taken possession of it in the Queen's name; but it was the island of Wocoken, twenty miles long, and plentifully stocked with everything profitable and pleasing in animated and inanimate nature. Here they established an intercourse with the natives, with whom they exchanged toys and useful utensils for fish. The king of the country's brother, Granganimes, came to visit them, accompanied by his wife, who, say the captains in their report to Ralegh, "was very well favoured, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur-side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same; about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times; in her ears she had bracelets of pearls, hanging down to her middle (whereof we delivered your worship a little bracelet), and these were of the bigness of good peas."

But, during their stay, they settled at Roanoak, an island about sixteen miles in length, and one above a hundred "of divers bignesses" which were "replenished with deer, conies, hares, and divers beasts, and about them the goodliest and best fish in the world, and in greatest abundance."

Having learnt as much of the situation, state, and products of the country as was necessary, and promising to visit the friendly Indians again, two of whom they were permitted to take with them to England, they departed, arriving in the west of England in September.

Elizabeth was well pleased with the favourable reports of the beauty and fertility of this new country which were laid before her by Ralegh, who did not fail to acknowledge how much this hopeful progress towards the possession of it was to be ascribed to

hopes to other adventurers, and he was as ready to hazard his own means as lightly as he had acquired them." Men do not hold out fallacious hopes (knowing them to be so) to others, when they are ready to hazard their own means in an adventure.

the auspices of a virgin queen; whereupon she gave to it the name of Virginia. To encourage him to complete the discovery, she granted him a patent for licensing the vendors of wine throughout the kingdom.

About this time, a new parliament being called, Ralegh was elected one of the members for the county of Devon, and was chosen of the committees on several bills; but of his speeches we know nothing; for, says Oldys, "there was a clerk of the parliament so very indolent,* or otherwise indisposed, that the transactions of the House of Commons at this time were very imperfectly recorded;" and, we need hardly add, reporters were not at that period. Before the end of the year his patent for the discovery of foreign countries had passed the House, and between that time and the February of the following year, he received the honour of knighthood.†

In June 1585, Ralegh was an associate in the enterprise of his half-brother, Sir Adrian Gilbert, for the discovery of a north-west passage, of which (as we have before said) the celebrated Davis was the captain. But, two months previously, Sir Walter had despatched his own fleet of seven sail to Virginia, under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, general of the expedition, appointing Mr. Richard Lane, afterwards knighted,

* His name was an appropriate one—*Onslow*. He was, we believe, no ancestor of Mr. Speaker Onslow of the last century, who brought an action for a defamatory libel against Horne Tooke.

† It has been often said that Queen Elizabeth was very chary of conferring honours even on the most deserving of her servants; and indeed she made few peers during her long reign of forty-four years. Nevertheless, they who walk for the first time in the by-paths of the history of that time, will be not a little surprised at the number of knights he will meet; and he may conclude that her majesty held the order of knighthood in slight regard. But this was far from being the case. When the gallant Sir Francis Vere desired to be made a peer, she observed that in her estimation he was above that already. She had knighted him (as likewise Ralegh) with her own hand. But the Lords Deputy of Ireland, and Commanders-in-Chief, had the power of conferring knighthood, which some—but more especially the Earl of Essex—exercised most unsparingly. A short time before the siege of Cadiz, this young nobleman had built some almshouses. On his return from that expedition, the Queen, deeply offended that he should have added more than sixty to the order of knighthood, remarked, "It is well he built his almshouses before he made his knights"

to be governor of the colony, which they now transported. Amongst other gentlemen who accompanied Grenville in this voyage, was one Stukeley, his cousin, and the cousin likewise of Ralegh,—the father of a wretch of whom we shall hear farther towards the tragical end of this story, and who sought to palliate his treachery by telling an incredible tale of a wrong done to his father on the return of this expedition.

SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE.

On the 26th of June, Sir Richard Grenville anchored at Wocoken, where he sent word of his arrival at Roanoak. He then made a progress to the main-land, and visited many Indian towns; and shortly after entertained many of the Indian chiefs on board his vessel. Leaving behind him in Virginia a hundred and seven persons to settle a colony at Roanoak, amongst whom was Thomas Hariot, the celebrated mathematician,* the general set sail for

* Hariot was born in 1560, and was educated at Oxford. "Coming to the knowledge of that heroic knight, Sir Walter Ralegh," says Wood (Athenæ

England, capturing on his way thither a rich Spanish prize, worth fifty thousand pounds. On the 18th of October he arrived at Plymouth, where he was, as he says in his report of the voyage, "courteously received by his worshipful friend."

This was not the only piece of good fortune which attended Ralegh this year. The Munster rebellion being now crushed, Elizabeth formed a scheme to re-people that province with an English colony, to be effected by a partition of the forfeited estates of the late Earl of Desmond, which exceeded five hundred and seventy-four thousand acres, which were granted to such as had been instrumental in suppressing the rebellion. Twelve thousand acres in Cork and Waterford, which he planted at his own cost, fell to the share of Ralegh; these, towards the end of the Queen's reign, he sold to Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, who acknowledged the purchase to have been a great step towards the large fortune he afterwards amassed.

This grant so encouraged Ralegh, that he fitted out a third fleet for Virginia. The colony, under the governorship of Lane, having suffered great distress, had, in June 1586, procured a passage to England from Sir Francis Drake, who had visited it on his return from the conquest of St. Domingo, Carthagena, and St. Augustine. In the spring of the above year, Sir Walter had sent thither a ship well supplied with everything necessary for the success of the colony, but the people had already left it; and, fifteen days after, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships more, well stored, for those he had left there in the previous year; but finding neither the planters nor Ralegh's ship, as he had

Oxon.), "for his admirable skill in the mathematics, he entertained him in his family, allowed him a yearly pension, and was instructed by him at leisure in that art." Sir Walter introduced him to Henry Earl of Northumberland, commonly called, from his devotion to experimental philosophy, the "wizard," who allowed him the munificent yearly portion of £120 (equal in value to about £600 in these days). When the Earl was committed prisoner to the Tower, in 1606, for a suspected complicity in the gunpowder plot, Hariot and two other philosophers, Warner and Hughes, were his constant companions, and were called his *magi*. Ralegh, then a prisoner in the Tower, was their frequent associate. Descartes is said to have taken credit for some of Hariot's philosophical discoveries; and it is alleged that Warner communicated the theory of the circulation of the blood to the immortal Harvey.

expected, Sir Richard, loth to lose possession of the country, landed fifteen men at Roanoak, and left them on that island with a two years' stock of provisions. Returning to England, Grenville took some prizes at the Azores, an addition to Ralegh's good fortune at the same place. He had despatched, in June, 1586, two ships, the Serpent and Mary Spark, under the command of Captains Jacob Whiddon and John Evesham, who took more Spanish prizes than they could bring home. On board of one (and brought to England a prisoner) was Don Pedro de Sarmiento, governor of the island of St. Michael's and of the Straits of Magellan, the most experienced and eminent navigator of whom Spain could boast.* In the same year Ralegh adventured a fine pinnace, the Dorothy, in an expedition intended for the South Sea by Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; but it was prosecuted no further than the latitude of forty-four degrees south of the equinox. During this voyage, some small prizes were taken.

It is to be noted, that by Ralegh's colony, brought over in Drake's ships, the famous American plant, tobacco, was first introduced into England, under, it is confidently stated, express instructions from Sir Walter, who well knew its qualities, "the weed" having been carried into Spain as early as 1560. Ralegh was the first person of eminence who smoked in this country. There are two stories of Ralegh, in relation to tobacco, which must not be omitted—the former a tradition, the latter undoubtedly authentic. It is told that Sir Walter, who at first smoked tobacco privately in his study, was surprised one day by his servant, who brought him his tankard of ale and nutmeg, whilst he was intent upon his book and enjoying his pipe. The fellow, "seeing the smoke reeking out of his mouth, threw all the ale in his face; then, running down

* Ralegh introduces this personage in his "History of the World." Speaking of the small reliance to be placed on modern maps, he says—"I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spanish gentleman, who had been employed by his king in planting a colony upon the Straits of Magellan; for when I asked him, being then my prisoner, some question about an island in those straits, which might, methought, have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily that it was to be called 'the painter's wife's island;' saying, that whilst the fellow drew that map, his wife, sitting by, desired him to put in one country for her, that she in imagination might have one island of her own."

RALEGH SMOKING BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH.

stairs, alarmed the family with repeated exclamations that 'his master was on fire, and, before they could get up, would be burned to ashes.'"

We know not whether Queen Elizabeth smoked (as Catherine de Medicis seems to have done, tobacco in France having been called, in honour of her, "the Queen's herb"); but she was very curious to know its virtues and properties, and one day, conversing with Ralegh upon the subject, he "assured her majesty he had so well experienced the nature of it, that he could tell her even what weight the smoke would be, in any quantity proposed to be consumed. Her majesty, fixing her thoughts upon the most impracticable part of the experiment, that of bounding the smoke in a balance, suspected that he put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt; so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smoked; then went to weighing, but it was of the ashes; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated in smoke, and farther said, that 'many labourers in the fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but Ralegh was the first who had turned smoke into gold.'"*

If Elizabeth did not herself smoke, the use of the herb soon became general in the court, insomuch that many ladies of rank, as well as noblemen, did not scruple to take a pipe sometimes; but it was such an abomination to the Queen's successor, James I., that he not only wrote a book against it, which he called "A Counterblast to Tobacco," but sought to restrain effectually the

* Oldys tells us: "Being at Leeds, in Yorkshire, soon after Mr. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, died, anno 1725, I saw his museum; and in it, amongst his other rarities, what himself has publicly called (in the catalogue thereof, annexed to the antiquities of that town) Sir Walter Ralegh's tobacco-box. From the best of my memory, I can resemble its outward appearance to nothing more nearly than one of our modern muff-cases"—(muffs were then small, as they have since become)—"about the same height and width, covered with red leather, and opened at top (but with a hinge, I think) like one of those. In the inside there was a cavity for a receiver of glass or metal, which might hold half a pound or a pound of tobacco, and from the edge of the box, a circular stay or collar, with holes in it, to plant the tobacco about, with six or eight pipes to smoke it in."

practice of taking it by levying an almost prohibitory duty on this article, which was one of the chief sources of his revenue.*

By this time Ralegh had become a very considerable person. The mass of the people, during the greater part of his career, loved him, to use a phrase of the time, "from the teeth outwards," that is to say, they looked upon him with distrust and aversion, and it is perhaps to be lamented that he never sought their liking and esteem. But he was appreciated by those who knew how to value his exertions for the advancement of art and science, as the encourager of new discoveries, as the patron of learned and ingenious men, who acknowledged their obligations in the dedication of their works to him. Martin Bassanière, of Paris, having printed in that city a very valuable history of the first discovery of Florida, made some twenty years previously, by René Laudonniere and three other French captains, which had been procured and was sent over to him by Richard Hakluyt, published it, and dedicated it to Sir Walter; to whom, likewise, the English translation of the work was inscribed by Hakluyt. To this eminent and learned naval historian Ralegh gave great encouragement, to enable him to publish his noble collection of English

* The use of tobacco at once became general in England. It was sold for its weight in silver. The country people smoked it out of a walnut shell, with a strong straw or reed inserted into it; but in a few years the more convenient pipe became general. In Ben Jonson's inimitable comedy, "The Alchymist," written in 1610, we find that there were tobacconists' shops in London, better appointed than the majority of such places five-and-twenty years ago in the metropolis. Face, the confederate of Subtle, introduces Abel Drugger to the latter—

"This is my friend, Abel, an honest fellow.
He lets me have good tobacco, and he does not
Sophisticate it with sack-lees, or oil;
Nor washes it in muscadel and grains,
Nor buries it in gravel, underground,
Wrapp'd up in greasy leather;
But keeps it in fine lily pots, that, open'd,
Smell like conserve of roses, or French beans.
He has his maple block, his silver tongs,
Winchester pipes, and fire of juniper."

The worshipful Company of Tobacco-pipe Makers was incorporated in 1663, the fifteenth of Charles II.

voyages; and he supported James Morgues, a French painter of some celebrity, who had been sent over by Chastillon, Admiral of France, with the before-mentioned discoveries of Florida, in the great expense of publishing the draughts and descriptions of that country. We may add, that about this period a book in praise of music was dedicated to him,—Ralegh, among his other accomplishments, being a great proficient both in vocal and instrumental music.

If, as Naunton has told us, Sir Walter "got the Queen's ear in a trice," it was not for some years, and after he had undertaken several enterprises, that he obtained her full confidence, which, although temporarily diverted from him, on his once incurring her displeasure, was never withdrawn. She now made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall.

It was perhaps to assuage the jealousy of Leicester, then governor of the Netherlands, that Ralegh addressed the following letter to him:—

"My very good Lord:—You wrote unto me in your last letters for pioneers to be sent over; whereupon I moved her majesty, and found her very willing, insomuch as order was given for a commission; but since, the matter is stayed, I know not for what cause. Also, according to your lordship's desire, I spoke for one Jukes for the office of the Back-house, and the matter [was] well liked. In aught else your lordship shall find me most assured to my power to perform all offices of love, honour, and service toward you. But I have been of late very pestilent reported in this place to be rather a drawer-back than a furtherer of the action where you govern. Your lordship doth well understand my affection toward Spain, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hurting the tyrannous prosperity of that estate, and it were now strange and monstrous that I should become an enemy to my country and conscience. But all that I have desired at your lordship's hands is, that you will evermore deal directly with me in all matter of suspect doubleness, and so ever esteem me as you shall find my deserving, good or bad. In the meantime, I humbly beseech you, let no poetical scribe work your lordship by any device to doubt that I am a hollow or cold servant to the action, or a

mean (moderate or lukewarm) well-wisher and follower of your own. And now I humbly take my leave, wishing you all honour and prosperity. From the court, the 29th of March 1586. Your Lordship's, to do you service, "W. RALEGH.

"The Queen is on very good terms with you, and, thanks be to God, well pacified, and you are again her sweet Robin.

"To the Right Honourable my singular good
lord, the Earl of Leicester, Governor
of the Low Countries for her Majesty."

This letter, it would seem, wrought not with any mollifying effect upon Leicester, although on his return he found himself as great a favourite as ever,—the Queen being easily persuaded by him to overlook his gross incapacity as a commander, and his wretched

ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX.

misconduct in the management of affairs in the Low Countries. It was now that he introduced his step-son, Essex, a lad of twenty (but who had been Leicester's general of the horse), to Elizabeth. This young nobleman had, when a boy, conceived a strong aversion against the Earl, which that wily person had so effectually succeeded in removing, that his *protegé* had imbibed from him

certain rules for his conduct as a courtier which, being of a high spirit, and of a frank, although by no means of a noble nature, he knew not well how to apply. Too proud to stoop for favour, he had not the abilities to rise by desert. Courteous and liberal to his friends, by whom he was beloved, he was the darling of the people, whom he courted;* but he must needs play the antics of a froward, spoiled child before a Tudor, to whom Henry the Eighth had transmitted some of the tiger, and he suffered at length for his ingratitude and presumption.

Ralegh's influence with the Queen does not appear to have declined immediately upon the presentation of Essex; for it was some time after this that Tarleton, the jester, as we are told, "when a pleasant play he had made was acting before her majesty, pointed at Sir Walter Ralegh, and said, 'See! the knave commands the Queen,' for which she corrected him with a frown: yet he had the confidence to add, that he was of too much and too intolerable a power; and, going on with the same liberty, he reflected on the over-great power and riches of the Earl of Leicester, which was so universally applauded by all who were present, that she thought fit at that time to bear these reflections with a seeming unconcernedness; but yet was so offended, that she forbade Tarleton and all her jesters from coming near her table, being inwardly displeased with this impudent and unseasonable liberty."†

* The Lord Treasurer, Burghley, had noticed this love of popularity in Essex, and the disdain of it in Sir Walter: "Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Ralegh," he says, in his precepts to his son, Sir Robert Cecil.

† Fuller tells us of Thomas Tarleton, that he was born at Condover, in Shropshire. "Here he was in the field, keeping his father's swine, when a servant of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was so highly pleased with his *happy unhappy* answers, that he brought him to court, where he became the most famous jester to Queen Elizabeth. . . . . Our Tarleton was master of his *faculty*. When Queen Elizabeth was *serious* (I do not say *sullen*, and out of good humour), he could un-dumpish her at his pleasure. Her highest favourites would, in some cases, go to Tarleton before they would go to the Queen, and he was their usher to prepare their advantageous access to her. In a word, he told the Queen more of her faults than most of her chaplains, and cured her melancholy better than all of her physicians. . . . . Much of his merriment lay in his very looks and actions,—according to the epitaph written upon him—

"'Hic situs est cujus poterat vox, actio, vultus,
Ex Heraclito reddere Democritum.'"

Although we find Ralegh in parliament towards the end of the year 1586, when the fate of Mary Queen of Scots was decided, he does not appear to have spoken on that matter. But he was on a committee to confer upon the amendment of some things, to which the clergy were required to be sworn, and that some good course might be taken to have a learned ministry—the Queen, in her speech at the close of the former session, having told the bishops of some faults and negligences "which, if you, my lords of the clergy," she said, "do not amend, I mean to depose you."

At the commencement of the year 1587, Ralegh got together a new colony of one hundred and fifty men for Virginia, commanded by Mr. John Whiddon, whom he constituted governor, and with him twelve assistants, to whom he gave a charter, incorporating them by the name of "the Governor and Assistants of the City of Ralegh, in Virginia." Their fleet of three sail left Portsmouth in April, and in July arrived at Hatterass. A strong party was at once sent to Roanoak by the governor, in the expectation of finding the fifteen men left there in the previous year by Sir Richard Grenville. But they sought their friends in vain. Some had been treacherously murdered by a party of savages, and the rest had fled to some remote part of the country. Re-establishing friendly relations with the natives, but fearful that they should soon want fresh supplies of provisions and other necessaries, they at length prevailed on the governor to go back to England for the purpose of procuring them. Accordingly, Whiddon returned in the latter end of the year.

Anxious for the prosperity of the colony, Ralegh, immediately on Whiddon's arrival, ordered a pinnace to be sent to them with all necessary provisions, promising a good supply of shipping, and even to be with them the following summer. True to his word, he fitted out a fleet at Bideford, to be commanded by Sir Richard Grenville; but apprehensions of the impending invasion of Spain prevented their sailing, so that Governor Whiddon could only obtain two small pinnaces, with fifteen planters, and all necessary provisions for those who wintered in the country. But one of these two vessels was encountered on their passage by two strong men-of-war at Rochelle, where, after an obstinate contest, the English were boarded and rifled. Within a month this ship returned to England, crippled and helpless; and, about three weeks after,

was followed by the other, "having, perhaps, tasted of the same fare—at least without performing the intended voyage, to the distress of the planters abroad, and displeasure of their patron at home."*

The alarm of the Spanish preparations against England being now at its height, Sir Walter, in November, 1587, was one of the council of war appointed to consider what was best to be done in this emergency, upon which occasion he drew up a scheme of operations, which is cited as a proof of his exquisite judgment and rare abilities. This document is still in existence, and fully bears out the eulogium it has called forth; but in his "History of the World" he has enlarged upon his favourite doctrine, and insisted upon what he always maintained,—namely, that a country is ever better defended by sea than on land,—so eloquently and convincingly, that we only wonder some of the disputants two years ago had not reprinted it, when we were all to be terrified into a belief of an invasion by France:—

"An old example we have of that great advantage of transport-

* "Dr. Southey states," says Mr. Napier, "'*that no further attempt was made to relieve the colonists, nor to ascertain their fate, and of these persons nothing was ever afterwards known.*' He recurs to the subject to add, '*that the abandonment of these poor colonists must ever be a reproach to Ralegh.*' There are here two gross mis-statements,—the last a highly culpable one, as directly criminating the man whose actions he records. Of the unfortunate persons of whom he so confidently says that 'nothing was ever afterwards known,' we are shocked to learn that Powhatten, a Virginian Sovereign, whose name is well known in the history of that country, 'confessed to Capt. Smith *that he had been at the murder of the colony*, and showed him certain articles which had been theirs.' Will Dr. Southey, after reading this dreadful confession, say that 'nothing was ever known of these ill-fated colonists?' And what will he say of his far more reprehensible mis-statement, that 'no further attempt was made to relieve them, or even to ascertain their fate,' if we shall place before his eyes historical proof that five different attempts to succour them were made by the man whose utter neglect of them he represents as a lasting reproach to his memory? The proof is contained in a remarkable notice preserved by Purchas, of the date of 1602, bearing, that 'Samuel Mace, of Weymouth, a very sufficient mariner, who had been at Virginia *twice before*, was (in this year) employed thither by Sir Walter Ralegh to find these people, which were left there in 1587, *to whose succour he hath sent five several times, at his own charges.*'"

ing armies by water, between Canute and Edmund Ironside. For Canute, when he had entered the Thames with his navy and army, and could not prevail against London, suddenly embarked, and, sailing to the west, landed in Dorsetshire, so drawing Edmund and his army thither. There, finding ill entertainment, he again shipped his men, and entered the Severn, making Edmund to march after him to the succour of Worcestershire, by him greatly spoiled. But when he had Edmund there, he sailed back again to London, by means whereof he both wearied the king, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help which the Netherlands have had against the Spaniards in the defence of their liberty, that, being masters of the sea, they could pass their army from place to place, unwearied and entire, with all the munition and artillery belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time wherein their enemies have been able to do it. Of this an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of the greatest captains, and of the worthiest princes, that either the present or preceding ages have brought forth, in the year 1590 carried his army by sea, with forty cannons, to Breda, making countenance either to besiege Boisleduc, or Gertreviden Berg; which the enemy (in prevention) filled with soldiers and victuals. But as soon as the wind served, he suddenly set sail, arriving in the mouth of the Meuse, turned up the Rhine, and thence to Yssel, and sat down before Zutphen. So, before the Spaniards could march over-land round about Holland, above fourscore miles, and over many great rivers, with their cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Again, when the Spanish army had overcome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, the prince Maurice, making countenance to sail up the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and, sailing down the stream, he was set down before Hulst, in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. So this town he also took before the Spanish army could return. Lastly, the Spanish army was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Hulst, set sail again, and presented himself before Nymeguen, in Gelders, a city of notable importance, and mastered it.

"And, to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime

country, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend itself against a powerful enemy, that is master of the sea. Hereof I had rather that Spain than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed that King Philip the Second had fully resolved to hinder Sir John Norris, in the year 1589, from presenting Don Antonio, king of Portugal, before the gates of Lisbon, and that he would have kept off the English by power of his land forces—as being too weak at sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armada by the fleet of Queen Elizabeth in the year foregoing—surely it had not been hard for him to prepare an army that should be able to resist our eleven thousand. But where should this, his army, have been bestowed? If about Lisbon, then would it have been easy unto the English to take, ransack, and burn the town of Groine, and to waste the country round about it; for the great and threatening preparations of the Earl of Altemira, the Marquis of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hasty levy of eight thousand, under the Earl of Andrada, serve to more effect than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris and his associates,—considering that the English charged these at Puente de Burgos, and, passing the great bridge behind which they lay, that was flanked with shot and barricaded at the further end, routed them, took their camp, took their general's standard, with the king's arms, and pursued them over all the country, which they fired. If a royal army, and not (as this was) a company of private adventurers, had thus begun the war in Gallicia, I think it would have made the Spaniards to quit the guard of Portugal, and make haste to the defence of their St. Jago, whose temple was not far from the danger. But had they held their first resolution—as knowing that Sir John Norris's main intent was to bring Don Antonio, with an army, into his kingdom, whither, coming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed —could they have hindered his landing in Portugal? Did not he land at Penicha, and march over the country to Lisbon—six days' journey? Did not he, when all Don Antonio's promises failed, pass along by the river of Lisbon to Cascaliz, and there, having won the fort, quietly embark his men and depart? But these, though no more than an handful, yet were they English-

men. Let us consider of the matter itself, what another nation might do, even against England, in landing an army by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an invading army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the sea to impeach it, is already handled by a learned gentleman of our nation, in his observations upon 'Cæsar's Commentaries,' that maintains the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition—in absence of our shipping; and comparatively—as that it is a more safe and easy course to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer any enemy to land and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we fail, then must we seek to make him wish that he had staid at his own home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgments are to weigh many particular circumstances that belong not unto this discourse. But, making the question general and positive, whether England, without help of her fleet, be able to debar an enemy from landing, I hold that it is unable so to do; and, therefore, I think it most dangerous to make the adventure; for the encouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

"It is true that the Marshal Monluc, in his 'Commentaries,' doth greatly complain that, by his wanting forces wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guyenne, they of the Protestant religion, after the battle of Moncontour, entered that country and gathered great strength and relief thence. 'For if the King, saith he, 'would have given me but reasonable means,—*j'eusse bien gardé à Monsieur l'Admiral de faire boire ses chevaux en la Garonne*,'—I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the river of Garonne. Monsieur de Langey, on the contrary side, prefers the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay—which course the Constable of France held against the Emperor Charles when he invaded Provence. Great difference I know there is, and a diverse consideration to be had, between such a country as France is, strengthened with many fortified places, and this of ours, where our ramparts are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invasions upon firm land that these great captains spake,

whose entrances cannot be uncertain. But our question is of an army to be transported over sea, and to be landed again in an enemy's country, and the place left to the choice of the invader. Hereunto I say that such an army cannot be resisted on the coast of England without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other country—except every creek, port, and sandy bay had a powerful army in each of them to make opposition; for let his whole supposition be granted—that Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand be laid in the three best landing-places within that country—to wit, three thousand at Margate, three thousand at the Ness, and six thousand at Folkestone, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troops (unless some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third when they shall see the enemy's fleet to bend towards it; I say that, notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting sail from the Isle of Wight in the first watch of the night, and, towing their long-boats at their sterns, shall arrive by dawn of day at the Ness, and thrust their army on shore there, it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margate, twenty and four long miles from thence, to come time enough to reinforce their fellows at the Ness. Nay, how shall they at Folkestone be able to do it, who are nearer by more than half the way, seeing that the enemy, at his first arrival, will either make his entrance by force, with three or four hundred shot of great artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand that were intrenched at the Ness to run, or else give them so much to do that they shall be glad to send for help to Folkestone, and perhaps to Margate—whereby those places will be left bare? Now, let us suppose that all the twelve thousand Kentish soldiers arrive at the Ness ere the enemy can be ready to disembark his army, so that he shall find it unsafe to land in the face of so many prepared to withstand him, yet must we believe that he will play the best of his own game, and, having liberty to go which way he list, under covert of the night set sail towards the east, where what shall hinder him to take ground either at Margate, the Downs, or elsewhere, before they at the Ness can be well aware of his departure? Certainly there is nothing more easy than to do it. Yea, the like may be

said of Weymouth, Purbeck, Poole, and of all landing-places on the south coast; for there is no man ignorant that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the soldiers that coast them. '*Les armees ne volent point en poste*' —Armies neither fly nor run post, saith a Marshal of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be seen at sunset, and after it, at the Lizard, yet, by the next morning, they may recover* Portland, whereas an army of foot should not be able to march it in six days. Again, when those troops lodged on the sea-shores shall be forced to run from place to place in vain after a fleet of ships, they will at length sit down in the midway and leave all at adventure. But say it were otherwise—that the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an army of ours ready to receive him—yet it cannot be doubted but that, when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our commanders and captains, shall be drawn together—as they were at Tilbury in the year 1588—to attend the person of the prince, and for the defence of the city of London, they that remain to guard the coast can be of no such force as to encounter an army like unto that wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have landed in England.

"The isle of Terceira hath taught us by experience what to think in such a case. There are not many islands in the world better fenced by nature and strengthened by art, it being everywhere hard of access, having no good harbour wherein to shelter a navy of friends, and upon every cove or watering-place a fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemy's boat. Yet when Emanuel de Sylva and Monsieur de Chattes, that held it to the use of Don Antonio, with five or six thousand men, thought to have kept the Marquis of Santa Cruz from setting foot on ground therein, the Marquis having shown himself in the road of Angra, did set sail ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the Port des Moles, far distant from thence, where he won a fort, and landed ere Monsieur de Chattes, running thither in

* Ralegh uses the word "recover" in the sense of "reach," or "arrive at." So Shakspeare, in the "Two Gentlemen of Verona:"—

> " . . . . . The forest is but three leagues off,
> When we *recover* that we are sure enough."

vain, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip Strossie, slain the year before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed de Chattes and his followers what they might expect at that Marquis's hand; therefore, it is not like that they were slow in carrying relief to Port des Moles. Whether our English would be persuaded to make such diligent haste from Margate to the Ness and back again, it may be doubted; sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Terceira, whereof the Frenchmen had not measured the one-half when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of Spain.

"This may suffice to prove, that a strong army in a good fleet, which neither foot nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list in England, France, or elsewhere, unless it be hindered, encountered, and shuffled together by a fleet of equal, or answerable, strength.

"The difficult landing of our English at Fayal, in the year 1597, is alleged against this, which example moves me no way to think that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those English in Fayal myself, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For, whereas I find an action of mine cited with omission of my name, I may, by a civil interpretation, think that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour, but rather an opinion, that the enterprise was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeed some which were in that voyage who advised me not to undertake it; and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was requisite, especially whilst they desired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person.* But when they began to tell me of difficulty, I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea, without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place, yea, even there where I landed, if I would have taken more company to help me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashness, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation in that business, than of safety. For I thought it to belong to the honour of our prince and

* The Earl of Essex.

nation, that a few islanders should not think any advantage great enough against a fleet set forth by Queen Elizabeth; and further, I was unwilling that some Low Country captains, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have been short, when I had landed in some other place) that for want of their help I was driven to turn tail. Therefore, I took with me none but men, assured commanders of mine own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen volunteers, whom I could not refuse—as Sir William Brook, Sir William Harvey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Scot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henry Tinnes, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throgmorton, Captain Laurence Keymis, Captain William Morgan, and others, such as well understood themselves and the enemy—by whose help, by God's favour, I made good the enterprise I undertook. As for the working of the sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us—we overcame them well enough. And these (notwithstanding) made five or six companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their musketiers lay on the rest for us, and won the place of them without any great loss. This I could have done with less danger, so that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reasons before alleged (together with other reasons well known to some of the gentlemen above named, though more private than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; having it still in mine own power to fall off when I should think it meet. It is easily said, that the enemy was more than a coward, (which yet was more than we knew); neither will I magnify such a small piece of service by seeking to prove him better—whom, had I thought equal to mine own followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concerns the proposition in hand, he that beheld this may well remember, that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop us in place of his advantage; that many of our men were slain or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to

the town, were driven by him to forsake the pace of a man-of-war, and betake themselves to an hasty trot.

"For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall never come to trial: his majesty's many moveable forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no less disdain, than any nation under heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own ground, or elsewhere, by a foreign enemy, yet, to entertain those that shall assail us with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our Kentish capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his majesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore."

In May, 1588, the king of France sent to Elizabeth, advising her that the tempest which, for three years past, had been gathering in Spain, would very speedily burst upon England, and exhorting her to make every preparation for her kingdom. Nor did Philip II. of Spain any longer make a secret of his intention. What exertions the Queen and the country made at this crisis is a matter of history. Ralegh, on his part, raised and disciplined the militia of Cornwall, and then joined the fleet in July with a squadron of noblemen and gentlemen volunteers. He bore a very considerable part in the several engagements, and the final entire defeat of the "Invincible" Armada, of which he has left us an account in a pamphlet concerning Sir Richard Grenville. This extraordinary victory, which, although some part of the praise may be given to fortune, was gained mainly by the judgment and skill of Lord Charles Howard, afterwards Earl of Nottingham,* was

* Ralegh cites the example of Howard on this occasion in some remarks on naval warfare in the "History of the World," which we quote for the perusal and judgment of modern sea-captains:—"He that will happily perform a fight at sea, must be skilful in making choice of vessels to fight in: he must believe that there is more belonging to a good man-of-war, upon the waters, than great daring; and must know that there is a great deal of difference between fighting loose or at large, and grappling; the guns of a slow-ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together without consideration, belongs rather to a madman than to a man of war; for by such an ignorant bravery was Peter Strossie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquis of Santa Cruz. In like sort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, been lost in the year 1588, if he had not been better advised than a great many malignant fools were, that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an army aboard them,

a blow which that treacherous, ungrateful, and now contemptible nation, never altogether recovered. Of their one hundred and forty sail, encountered by thirty of the Queen's ships of war and a few

CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging, so that, had he entangled himself with those great and powerful vessels, he had greatly endangered this kingdom of England; for twenty men upon the defences are equal to a hundred that board and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the Spaniards had a hundred for twenty of ours to defend themselves withal. But our Admiral knew his advantage, and held it,—which, had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Here, to speak in general of sea fights, (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the press,) I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good sailors and good ships, have the advantage, on the open sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sailing; for if the fleet of an hundred sail keep themselves near together in a gross squadron, the twenty ships, charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall back upon their own next fellows, of which so many as entangle are made unserviceable, or lost.

merchantmen, only fifty-three returned; and whilst the English lost only a hundred men and one captain,* ten thousand one hundred

Force them they may easily; because the twenty ships, which give themselves scope after they have given one broadside of artillery, by clapping into the wind, and staying, they may give them the other; and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetual volley, whereas those that fight in a troop, have no room to turn, and can always use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of an hundred sail give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevail, either against those that are arrear and hindmost, or against those that, by advantage of over-sailing their fellows, keep the wind; and if upon a lee-shore the ships next the wind be constrained to fall back into their own squadron, then it is all to nothing—the whole fleet must suffer shipwreck, or render itself. That such advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed, it hath been well enough conceived in old time, as by that oration of Hermocrates, in Thucydides, which he made to the Syracusans, when the Athenians invaded them, it may easily be observed.

"Of the art of war by sea, I had written a treatise for the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales, a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern; but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss—by the loss of that brave prince—*of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter.* [How prophetic was this!] Impossible it is to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*"

* Captain Cocke, who served as a volunteer in his own ship. Camden, and after him Fuller, have celebrated this gallant seaman. "Pity 'tis," says the latter, "his memory should ever be forgotten." And says Camden,—"*Solus Cockus, in suâ inter medios hostes navicula, cum laude periit.*" He was a Devonshire man, and figures in Prince's "Worthies" of that county.

I cannot omit in this place taking notice of a piece of unwonted petulance of Lord Campbell, who, in his "Lives of the Chief Justices," successfully claims for Sir William Gascoigne the honour of having committed the Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V.) for insulting him while sitting in the execution of his office. His lordship says,—"The Devonians, who think that nothing great or good can have been done in England, unless by a 'worthy of Devon,' taking advantage of the language of chroniclers who, trusting to the notoriety of the story, mentioned the judge only under the designation of the 'Chief Justice,' claim the commitment of the Prince of Wales for two of their countrymen, Chief Justice Hankford, and Chief Justice Hody. When I hear of high Devonian pretensions, I confess I am reminded of the celebrated saying of Serjeant Davy, 'That the oftener he went into the West, he better understood that the wise men came from the East.'" The Devonians surely entertain no such foolish thoughts; Prince at least makes no pretensions of the kind; and when Lord Campbell is next reminded of Serjeant Davy's jest, let him bethink himself that that county need not be

and eighty-five Spaniards were destroyed and taken. "There was not a famous or worthy family in all Spain which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman."

The services of Ralegh on this memorable occasion raised him still higher in the Queen's estimation. In the previous year she had appointed him Captain of the Guard and Lieutenant-General of Cornwall; she now made him Gentleman of her Privy Chamber, and he received a considerable augmentation of his wine patent.

Early in 1589, Sir Walter, having expended forty thousand pounds upon his scheme for colonising Virginia, assigned his right, title, and interest in it to certain gentlemen and merchants of London, reserving to himself the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore that might be found there.*

ashamed which, before Prince wrote, had given a Bracton and a Fortescue to the law; a Jewel and a Hooker to the church; and a Ralegh, a Drake, a Hawkins, a Gilbert, and a Grenville, to the navy. And the wise men of the East, if they came hither for further knowledge, might find it in the books presented to the University of Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley. It is with great reluctance that I remind Lord Campbell that Sir William Follett was a Devonshire man.

* That gold and silver, in large quantities, were to be come at in parts of America not possessed by the Spaniards, was a persuasion that fire could not burn out of Ralegh. To lay hold upon it, for the enriching of his country and of himself, was one of his earliest, as it was his latest dream. Towards the end of the following curious passage, it will be seen that Ralegh had a strong belief that, not only in America, but in many other parts of the world, gold was to be found abundantly. Let those who survive of the several that, during the last thirty years, have deplored his credulity or insinuated his want of good faith, ponder upon the Californian and Australian "diggings," and then conclude within themselves that there are more strange things in the world than a man may see, as Sir Walter has remarked, "in a journey between Staines and London."—"Ophir also was an inhabitant of the East India, and (as St. Jerome understands it) in one of the islands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of Moluccæ. Josephus understands Ophir to be one of those great headlands in India which, by a general name, are called Chersonesi, or Peninsulæ, of which there are two very notorious, Calicut and Malacon. Pererius takes it rightly for an island, as Saint Jerome doth; but he sets it at the headland of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther east.

"Arias Montanus, out of the second of Chronicles, the third chapter and sixth verse, gathers that Ophir was Peru, in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur, or the South Sea, by others Mare

Philip II. of Spain having expelled Don Antonio, king of Portugal, from his dominions, the latter landed in England and came

Pacificum. The words in the second of the Chronicles are these—'And he overlaid the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.' Junius takes this gold to be the gold of Havilah, remembered by Moses in the description of Paradise—'And the gold of that land is good:' finding a town in Characene, a province in Susiana called Barbatia (so called, as he thinks, by corruption, for Parvaim), from whence those kings subjected by David brought this gold, with which they presented him, and which David preserved for the enriching of the Temple.

"But this fancy of Peru hath deceived many men before Montanus and Plessis, who also took Ophir for Peru. And that this question may be a subject of no further dispute, it is very true that there is no region in the world of that name: sure I am that at least America hath none—no, not any city, village, or mountain so called. But when Francis Pizarro first discovered those lands to the south of Panama, arriving in that region which Atabalipa commanded (a prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none), some of the Spaniards, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signs (as they could) the name of the country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brook that ran by, the Indians answered 'Peru,' which was either the name of that brook, or of water in general. The Spaniards thereupon, conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the diurnal of their enterprise; and so, in the first description made and sent over to Charles the Emperor, all that west part of America to the south of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever since, as divers Spaniards in the Indies have assured me; which also Acosta, the Jesuit, in his natural and moral history of the Indies, confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies (called Jucatan) took that name of Joctan, who, as he supposeth, navigated from the utmost east of India to America;—it is most true that Jucatan is nothing else in the language of that country but 'What is that?' or, 'What say you?' For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning), one of the savages answered, 'Jucatan,' which is, 'What ask you?' or, 'What say you?' The like happened touching Paria, a mountainous country on the south side of Trinidad and Margarita; for when the Spaniards, inquiring (as all men do) the names of those new regions which they discovered, pointed to the hills afar off, one of the people answered, 'Paria,' which is as much to say as, 'high hills,' or 'mountains.' For at Paria begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan, from eight degrees of north latitude to the 52nd of south; and so hath that country ever since retained the name of Paria.

"The same happened among the English, which I sent, under Sir Richard Grenville, to inhabit Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name

to London, where he applied to Elizabeth for her aid towards the recovery of his kingdom. The Queen contributed six men-of-war

of that country, one of the savages answered, 'Wingandacon,' which is as much to say as, 'You wear good clothes,' or, 'gay clothes.' The same happened to the Spaniard in asking the name of the island Trinidad; for a Spaniard demanding the name of that self place, which the sea encompassed, they answered, 'Caeri,' which signifieth an island. And in this manner have many places newly discovered been intituled—of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leave Ophir among the Moluccas, whereabout such an island is credibly affirmed to be.

"Now, although there may be found gold in Arabia itself (towards Persia), in Havilah, now Susiana, and all along that East Indian shore, yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the Philippines, certain islands planted by the Spaniards, from the East Indies. And by the length of the passage which Solomon's ships made from the Red Sea (which was three years in going and coming), it seemeth they went to the uttermost east, as the Moluccas, or Philippines. Indeed, those that now go from Portugal, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less; and Solomon's ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long; for, before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate athwart the ocean—and therefore Solomon's ships could not find Peru in America. Neither was it needful for the Spaniards themselves (had it not been for the plenty of gold in the East India islands, far above the mines of any one place of America) to sail every year from the west part of America thither, and there to have strongly planted and inhabited the richest of those islands, wherein they have built a city called Manilla. Solomon, therefore, needed not to have gone farther off than Ophir in the East to have sped worse; neither could he navigate from the east to the west in those days, whenas he had no coast to guide him.

"Tostatus also gathereth a fantastical opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a country whose mountains of gold are kept by griffins; which mountains Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these words:—'*Nam cum auro et gemmis affluant, griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissimæ, Arimaspi cum his dimicant,*' &c.—For whereas these countries abound in gold and rich stones, the griffins defend the one and the other—a kind of fowl, the fiercest of all other; with which griffins a nation of people called Arimaspi make war.' These Arimaspi are said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the Cyclops of Sicily; of which Cyclops, Herodotus and Aristæus make mention; and so doth Lucan in his third book; and Valerius Flaccus; and D. Siculus, in the story of Alexander of Macedon. But (for mine own opinion) I believe none of them; and, for these Arimaspi, I take it that this name, signifying one-eyed, was first given them by reason that they used to wear a visor of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes, and

and sixty thousand pounds, and encouraged her subjects to help the design. Ralegh was one of the first to do so; and he accompanied that prince as a volunteer, the charge by sea being committed to Sir Francis Drake,—by land, to the veteran Sir John Norris. We learn that in this expedition Ralegh took a great number of hulks and other ships belonging to the Hanse Towns,

LORD BURGHLEY.

not that they had by nature any such defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Pliny, who speaks of such a nation in the extreme north, at a place called Gisolitron, or the Cave of the North-east Wind. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories, or other things done, so might these tales of the griffins receive this moral: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eyesight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding), they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate, and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be feigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed; *for there are in many places of the*

laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition for a second invasion of England; and his conduct throughout was so highly pleasing to her majesty, that she honoured him, as well as Drake and Norris, with a gold chain.

world, especially in America, many high and impassable mountains, which are very rich, and full of gold, inhabited only with tigers, lions, and other ravenous and cruel beasts, unto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great), he shall be sure to find the same war which the Arimaspi made against the griffins; not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort it may be said that the alegartos (which the Egyptians call the crocodiles) defend those pearls which lie in the lakes of the inland; for many times the poor Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the alegartos know not the pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and blood of the Indians, whom they devour."

And again, relating the fable of the golden fleece, he observes:

"Not far from Caucasus, there are certain steep-falling torrents which wash down many grains of gold, *as in many other parts of the world*; and the people there inhabiting, use to set many fleeces of wool in those descents of waters, in which the grains of gold remain, and the water passeth through."

CHAPTER III.

THE Earl of Essex was now nearly at the height of Elizabeth's favour. On his return with Leicester from the low countries, he had been made master of the horse in the place of his step-father, advanced to the office of Lord Steward, and, on the formation of the camp at Tilbury, the Queen had appointed him general of the horse, a step which savoured greatly more of weakness than of wisdom, the inexperience of the young man unfitting him for so considerable a charge. A little before Leicester's death, the University of Oxford, like her sister, ever sagacious of a rising sun, and with a fervid Persian disposition to worship it, which later times have not abated, had incorporated him Master of Arts, that he might be the more capable of becoming their Chancellor when the office should become vacant, as it did shortly afterwards by the death of Leicester. Elizabeth, however, did not please that this high honour* should be conferred upon him, and Sir Christopher Hatton was elected.

Such, nevertheless, was the influence of Essex, that in a letter, dated August 17th, 1589, from Captain, afterwards Sir Francis Allen, to Anthony Bacon (the elder brother of the great Bacon), we find that "My Lord of Essex hath chased Ralegh from the court, and confined him into Ireland—conjecture you the rest of that matter." The Queen, indeed, gave Sir Walter to understand, that it were as well if he went over to Ireland to look after his twelve thousand acres, and Ralegh was fain to be gone, once more singing—"Fortune, my foe, why dost thou frown?" to see how the new exotic plant (the potato) prospered, which he had been the first to introduce into Ireland.

Here he visited Spenser, at his pleasant seat of Kilcolman, near the river Mulla, a circumstance which the poet has celebrated in

* The University of Cambridge, about five-and-twenty years afterwards, elected Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, their chancellor,—the miscreant who, a year or two subsequently, was convicted of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. Why should not the highest honour a University has it in her power to bestow, be conferred upon genius or learning?

his pastoral, "Colin Clout's come home again," where Ralegh is called "The Shepherd of the Ocean;" and here he made the acquaintance of the old Countess of Desmond.*

What has been called the species of honourable banishment of Ralegh did not last many weeks. On his return to the court he introduced Spenser, whom he had brought over with him, to the Queen. "The Shepherd of the Ocean," says the poet—

> "Unto that goddess' grace me first enhanc'd,
> And to mine oaten pipe inclin'd her ear,
> That she thenceforth therein 'gan take delight,
> And it desir'd at timely hours to hear;
> All were my notes but rude and roughly dight."

And when, shortly afterwards, the first three books of the "Faëry Queen" were published, the letter in which, according to Ralegh's advice, the scope and intention of the whole poem were set forth, was addressed to him:—and very fitly, for Ralegh by this time enjoyed no small reputation as a poet.†

* "I myself," says Ralegh in his "History of the World," "knew the old Countess of Desmond, of Inchiquin, in Munster, who lived in the year 1589, and many years since (afterwards), who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held her jointure from all the Earls of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the noblemen and gentlemen of Munster can witness.' Assuming that the Countess was married in the middle of Edward the Fourth's reign, the old lady must have held her jointure somewhere about a hundred and forty years.

† The following sonnet was addressed by Spenser to Ralegh on the publication of his "Faëry Queen":—

> "To thee, that art the summer's nightingale,
> Thy sovereign goddess's most dear delight,
> Why do I send this rustic madrigal,
> That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
> Thou only fit this argument to write,
> In whose high thoughts Pleasure hath built her bower,
> And dainty Love learn'd sweetly to indite;
> My rhymes, I know, unsavoury and sour,
> To taste the streams that, like a golden shower,
> Flow from thy fruitful head of thy love's praise.
> Fitter, perhaps, to thunder martial stour
> When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise.
> Yet till that thou thy poem will make known,
> Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shown."

Ralegh acknowledged the compliment in a very beautiful and original

His moderation in the controversy between the Established Church and the Puritans was shown by the zeal with which he took up the cause of Udal, a Nonconformist minister, who, in July, 1590, had been condemned for felony, in writing a book against the bishops, and for whom he obtained a reprieve; and the warmth of his friendship for his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, was exhibited

sonnet, and in some verses in which he does not forget to administer a dose of flattery to his royal mistress, to whom he might be pretty certain the grateful poet would carry it.

A VISION UPON THE FAËRY QUEEN.

"Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn; and, passing by that way,
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept;
All suddenly I saw the Faëry Queen,
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept,
And from thenceforth those graces were not seen;—
For they this Queen attended; in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse;
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did pierce;
Where Homer's sprite did tremble all for grief,
And curs'd th' access of that celestial thief."

ON THE SAME.

"The praise of meaner wits this work like profit brings,
As doth the cuckoo's song delight, when Philomela sings.
If thou hast formèd right true Virtue's face herein,
Virtue herself * can best discern to whom they written bin.
If thou hast beauty prais'd, let her sole looks divine,
Judge if aught therein be amiss, and mend it by her eyne.
If chastity want aught, or Temperance † her due,
Behold her princely mind aright, and write thy Queen anew.
Meanwhile, she shall perceive how far her virtues soar
Above the reach of all that live, or all that wrote of yore;
And thereby will excuse and favour thy good will,
Whose virtue cannot be express'd but by an angel's quill.
Of me no lines are lov'd, nor letters are of price,
Of all which speak our English tongue, but those of thy device."

* Queen Elizabeth.

† The Young Edward VI. was wont to call the then "Lady Elizabeth" his "sweet sister Temperance."

in an elaborate defence,* written by him, of that thrice valiant captain's conduct in Lord Thomas Howard's expedition of 1591, for intercepting the Spanish Plate fleet at the Azores. In this pamphlet is seen conspicuously the bitter hatred with which he regarded the Spaniards, who even then well knew his enterprising spirit, and his enmity to their nation, and who feared him most of all Englishmen, except Drake.

Not without cause. Ralegh now formed a design against them in the West Indies, particularly at Panama. His object was to intercept the Plate fleet, and he put himself to great expense in fitting out a maritime force, and used all his influence in engaging his friends and others in the adventure. Having provided thirteen ships of his own and his fellow adventurers, the scheme was so well liked by the Queen, that she added to them two of her own men of war, the "Garland" and the "Foresight," and appointed him general of the fleet, the post of lieutenant-general being conferred upon Sir John Burgh.

They put to sea in May, 1592; but on the next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed, and overtook him with the Queen's letters of recall.† Finding, however, his honour so far engaged that he saw

* It is called a "Report of the Truth of a Fight about the Isles of Azores this last summer, betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesty's ships, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and an Armada of the King of Spain," 4to, 1591. It was reprinted in Hackluyt's Voyages. We wish we could afford to give the whole narrative of this exploit—as brave a one as has ever been performed on the sea by any man. In a few words, Grenville maintained a battle for twenty-four hours, in the Revenge, against fifty Spanish galleons, with but two hundred men, whereof eighty were sick on the ballast. When he had killed more than a thousand men, and sunk five of their greatest vessels, after his powder was all spent, and himself mortally wounded, he at last yielded upon honourable terms, which the Spanish admiral, in admiration of his gallantry, proposed to him. He died within two days after, and his ship sank before she could arrive in Spain.

† Dr. Southey, never unwilling to insinuate against Ralegh, says (but give no authority), "It appears that there was an understanding between him and the Queen that he was not to go in command of it (the fleet), though the adventurers had been led to engage in it under such a belief." And "it seems he was not acting with good faith towards the Queen." Southey remarks that "the motives for this are not explained in any documents which have yet come to light." We shall immediately see a motive which might make Ralegh glad of an occasion to obey the Queen's recall.

no means of preserving his reputation with his friends if he did not proceed, he gave her majesty's letters a latitude of interpretation, and pursued his course; and although in three or four days he received what was believed reliable information, "that there was little hopes of any good to be done this year in the West Indies, considering that the King of Spain had sent express orders to all the ports, both of the islands and of *terra firma*, that no ship should stir that year, nor any treasure be laid aboard for Spain," he never-

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

theless proceeded. But on the 11th of May, meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, and considering that the season was too much advanced for his design upon Panama, and that his provisions were now too far consumed for so long a voyage, he made of his necessity the seeming virtue of obedience to the Queen's commands, after dividing his fleet into two squadrons, one of which was confided to Sir John Burgh, and the other to Sir Martin Frobisher, issuing orders to the latter to lie off the South Cape, to keep in and terrify the Spaniards on their own coast, while the former lay in wait at the Azores for the caracks from India.

The sagacity that had dictated those directions soon made itself

apparent. The Spanish admiral, being advised that an English fleet was cruising upon their coast, got together his whole naval power, with instructions to keep a wary eye upon Frobisher; and thus the unprotected caracks fell a prey to Sir John Burgh, who took the *Madre de Dios*, one of the greatest ships belonging to Portugal, and accounted the richest prize ever brought to England, the vessel being of 1,600 tons' burden, of which 900 were merchandise. Ralegh, and Sir John Hawkins (his chief partner in the enterprise) computed the profit of the capture at half a million; but dishonesty when the prize was brought into Dartmouth, and rapacity on the Queen's part, left Ralegh, Hawkins, and the other adventurers, little to pay themselves upon. The sailors embezzled jewels and other valuables to more than two-thirds of the estimated value of the cargo; and her majesty, who, by agreement when she contributed her two ships, was "to have according to her tonnage"—"only one of which, and the least of them, too," says Monson, was at the taking of the caracks—made such use of her regal authority, that, the same author adds, "the rest of the adventurers were fain to submit themselves to her pleasure, with whom she dealt but indifferently."

In the spring of this year Sir Walter was very instrumental in inducing the House of Commons to grant (of two proposed) the larger subsidy to the Queen, for a prosecution of the war with Spain.

But about six weeks after Sir Walter had been recalled from heading the expedition against the Plate fleet, he incurred the deep displeasure of Elizabeth. He had won the heart of one of the maids of honour,* Elizabeth Throgmorton, daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able statesman and ambassador, then lately deceased. To ask the Queen's consent to the marriage was indispensable; but (as it had before proved in like cases) it was dangerous. The consequences of their affection in due time became

* Sir Humphrey Gilbert affected not the court or its pleasures, yet the Queen gave him one of her maids of honour in marriage, and his half-brother, Ralegh, who had been wont to say that "the maids of honour were like witches, who could work a world of mischief, but were unable to do good," obtained in a maid of honour one of the best wives that ever heightened prosperity or alleviated misfortune. Her devotion to her husband from first to last was boundless. She was very beautiful.

manifest; and the Queen, highly exasperated at what, Southey says truly, "was not only a moral sin, but in those days a heinous political offence," committed Ralegh to the Tower.*

On the fourth day of his imprisonment, he began to play such seemingly mad, but in reality politic pranks (a recital of which he evidently designed should reach the Queen's ears), as, while we laugh at them, we cannot readily pardon, even allowing the crafty

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

dexterity with which he sought to work upon Elizabeth in her weakest point. The following curious letter, dated July 26, is from Arthur Gorges, afterwards knighted, a very brave and constant follower of Ralegh, to Sir Robert Cecil:—"HONOURABLE SIR,—

* It would appear that it was the intention to send both offenders thither. In a letter from Sir Edward Stafford to Anthony Bacon, dated Drury House, July 30, 1592, we read—"If you have anything to do with Sir Walter Ralegh, or any love to make to Mrs. Throgmorton, at the Tower to-morrow, you may speak with them, if the countermand come not to-night, as some think will not be, and particularly he that hath charge to send them thither."

I cannot choose but advertise you of a strange tragedy that this day had like to have fallen out between the Captain of the Guard and the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, if I had not by great chance come at the very instant to have turned it into a comedy. For upon the report of her majesty's being at Sir George Cary's, Sir Walter Ralegh having gazed and sighed for a long while at his study window, from whence he might discern the barge and boats about the Blackfriars'-stairs, suddenly he brake out into a great distemper, and sware that his enemies had on purpose brought her majesty thither to break his gall in sunder with Tantalus' torment, that when she went away he might see his death before his eyes; with many such-like conceits. And, as a man transported with passion, he swore to Sir George Carew, that he would disguise himself and get into a pair of oars, to ease his mind but with a sight of the Queen, or else, he protested, his heart would break. But the trusty gaoler would none of that, for displeasing the higher powers, as he said, which he more respected than the feeding of his humour, and so flatly refused to permit him. But in conclusion: upon this dispute they fell flat out to choleric outrageous words, with straining and struggling at the doors, that all lameness was forgotten,* and in the fury of the conflict, the gaoler had his new periwig torn off his crown. And yet here the battle ended not, for at last they had gotten out their daggers, which, when I saw, I played the stickler between them, and so purchased such a rap on the knuckles, that I wished both their pates broken; and so with much ado they stayed their brawl to see my bloody fingers. At the first I was ready to break with laughing to see them two scramble and brawl like madmen, until I saw the iron walking, and then I did my best to appease the fury. As yet I cannot reconcile them by my persuasions, for Sir Walter says he shall hate him for so restraining him from the sight of his mistress, while he lives; for that he knows not (as he said) whether ever he shall see her again, when she is gone the progress. And Sir George, on his side, swears that he had rather he should lose his longing, than that he would draw on him her majesty's displeasure by such liberty. Thus they continue in malice and snarling; but I am sure all the smart lighted on me. I cannot tell whether I should more allow of the

* Ralegh alludes to this temporary lameness in a letter to Cecil, written about the same time.

passionate lover, or the trusty gaoler. But if yourself had seen it as I did, you would have been as heartily merry and sorry as ever you were in all your life in so short a time. I pray you pardon my hasty written narrative, which I acquaint you with, hoping you will be the peace-maker. But, good sir, let nobody know thereof, for I fear Sir Walter Ralegh will shortly grow Orlando Furioso, if the bright Angelica persevere against him a little longer."

Fastened with wax to the letter was the following postscript:—"If you let the Queen's majesty know hereof, as you think good be it; but otherwise, good sir, keep it secret for their credit, for they know not of my discourse, which I could wish her majesty knew."

It seems clear to me that Arthur Gorges intended to do a friend's turn for Ralegh by drawing up this narrative for Cecil (at the time very intimate with Sir Walter), who would laugh at the description of the scene, see its intent, and make the best use of it for the captive's delivery from prison. Ralegh, however, must have stimulated his meriment and quickened his activity in his behalf by the following letter, which commences in a very business-like manner:—

"Sir,—I pray be a mean to her majesty for the signing of the bills for the guard's coats, which are to be made now for the progress, and which the clerk of the check hath importuned me to write for. My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed for so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison, all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less, but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometime sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometime singing like an angel, sometime playing like Orpheus!* Behold the sorrow of this world!—one amiss hath bereaved me of all! Oh glory, that only shineth in misfortune, what is become of thy assurance! All wounds leave scars but that of fantasy; all afflictions their relenting but that of woman-kind! Who is to judge of friendship but

* This paragon was in the sixty-second year of her age!

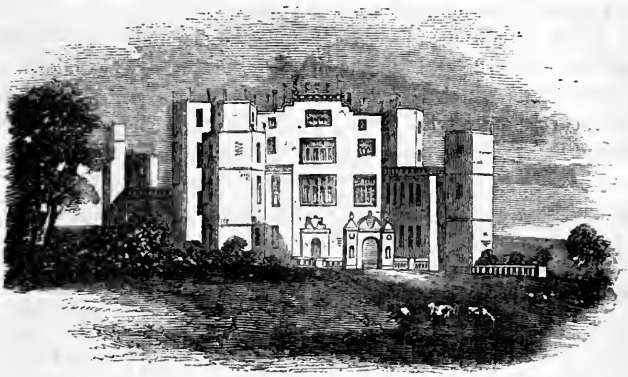
adversity? or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion, for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past—the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires—can they not weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may thus conclude, *Spes et Fortuna, valete!* She is gone on whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now therefore what you list! I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish; which, if it had been *for* her, as it is *by* her, I had been too happily born. Yours, not worthy any name or title, W. R."

These fantastic tricks of pen and person furnish forth, it must be confessed, a sorry and pitiful spectacle; but Southey makes an ungenerous reference to it when he remarks, that this shrewd device of flattery "it was not more weak in Elizabeth to receive, than it was *base* in a man of Ralegh's understanding to offer."* I could wish

* There is no writer of biography who more often reminds us than Dr. Southey of the old proverb, that "one man may steal a horse, and another be hanged for looking over the hedge." Southey wrote the words we have quoted while he was yet warm from the composition of a life of the Earl of Essex, who, in 1595, on the anniversary of the Queen's accession, designed a show, or masque, which was presented before the Queen. The biographer thinks it worthy of a description. One Europhilus is divided in his mind whether he shall be a poet, a soldier, or a statesman. A hermit undertakes to recommend poetry, concluding with a compliment to the Queen,—"that the gift of the muses would enworthy him in love; and where he now looked on his mistress's (the Queen's) outside with the eyes of sense, *which are dazzled and amazed*, he shall then behold her high perfections and heavenly mind with the eyes of judgment." The soldier and the statesman then urge their respective claims; and at length the resolution of Europhilus (Essex) is fixed:—"For her recreation he will confer with the muses; for her defence and honour he will sacrifice his life in the wars, hoping to be embalmed in the sweet odours of her remembrance; to her service will he consecrate all his watchful endeavours, and will ever bear in his heart *the picture of her beauty*,—in his actions, of her will,—and in his fortune, of her grace and favour."

"This device," says Southey, "was much admired; and though the Queen said, 'if she had thought there would have been so much said of her, she would not have been present,' the concluding compliment, which was thought by a judicious auditor to be conveyed in excellent but too plain English, was not too glaring for her. Such flattery did not diminish her favour for Essex; though, that she should be accessible to it, may have

with all my heart that so great a man had not felt himself under the necessity of resorting to such means of maintaining or recovering the Queen's favour; but let it be borne in mind, he was surrounded by envious and malignant foes, and that Essex, the new minion of Elizabeth's fancy, not the favourite of her judgment, scrupled at nothing that could aid him in dragging down a rival whose abilities were so immeasurably greater than his own. If the reader will refer to the passage on fortune and chance which we have already quoted, he will most clearly perceive that Ralegh was



SHERBORNE CASTLE, DORSETSHIRE.

a thorough man of the world; but while he flattered the Queen for his own purposes, as did all her favourites from first to last—from Leicester to Mountjoy—he never attempted, like Essex, to make a dirty and paltry use of it. The Athenian rustic was tired of hearing Aristides called "the just;" one may be excused for impatience when one hears Essex so often called "the generous."

On Ralegh's liberation (his imprisonment having lasted eight weeks), he married Elizabeth Throgmorton, showed himself in the metropolis during two days, and went down to Dartmouth to look after his share of the great prize, and then retired to his

lessened his respect for her." Complacently enough said. Not a word of the baseness of a man of Essex's understanding in offering such adulation. It "may have lessened his respect for her!"

castle of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which had belonged to the see of Salisbury, but a grant of which he had begged and obtained from the Queen. In the first instance, it had been his design to repair the castle, but, changing his mind, he erected "a most fine house," which he "beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves of much delight, so that, whether you consider the pleasantness of the seat, the goodness of the soil, or the other delicacies belonging to it, it rests unparalleled in these parts."*

There is scarcely an act of Sir Walter's life that has not been turned or tortured to his disparagement by his enemies. He robbed the church by accepting Sherborne. When Dr. Caldwell was elected to the see of Salisbury, he consented, "a good round rent being reserved to the bishopric," to alienate it to the Queen, who, following her common practice of rewarding such as had performed any considerable public service with a grant of church lands, gave it to Ralegh.† Again, he was a man utterly without religion. In 1593,

* Coker's "Survey of Dorsetshire." Ralegh had a genius for ornamental gardening. "Since we have touched something upon gardening," says Oldys, after describing Sherborne, "we may take an opportunity of remembering a plantation of his, which is somewhat observable. A late author mentions it with respect to him, but in a distant manner. When telling us that Beddington, near Croydon, in Surrey, is a neat, curious seat, built by Sir Francis Carew, he further adds:—'The orchards and gardens are very pleasant, and especially famous for the orange trees, which have now grown there above these hundred years, being planted in the open ground, under a moveable covert, during the winter months: they were the first that were brought into England by a knight of that noble family, who deserves no less commendation than Lucullus met with for bringing cherry and filbert trees out of Pontus into Italy, for which he is celebrated by Pliny and others.' Now it has been a constant tradition at Beddington that this knight of that noble family was Sir Walter Ralegh. . . . But that we might not here want such further confirmation as the place will afford of the first planter of that famous orangery, whereof there are several trees still flourishing of the original plantation, which are the stateliest and most perfect bearers of this fruit in England, I have been obliged with the gentleman's answer to the inquiry who now dwells at the seat; and his words are—'It is the common opinion of this family that Sir Walter Ralegh, who was related to it, brought over and planted the old orange trees there.'"

† Sir John Harrington, in his "Brief View of the State of the Church of England," observes—"That Sir Walter, using often to ride post in those days, upon no small employments, between Plymouth and the court, when Sherborne Castle being right in the way, he cast such an eye upon it as

Father Parsons, the Jesuit, a man of learning, but malicious and bigoted, wrote a libel, in which the great men of Elizabeth's court, who had been instrumental in framing her proclamation of 1591 against the popish seminaries abroad, accused Ralegh of being a direct doctor and founder of a school of atheism, and ambitious of making converts of young gentlemen to the principles of it. This infamous lie gained a very extensive belief, insomuch that we find Chief Justice Popham, on Sir Walter's trial at Winchester, ten years afterwards, charging him with the offence of "heathenish and blasphemous opinions." We shall hear more of this hereafter. Meanwhile, what are we to think of Archbishop Abbot, who, in a letter dated February 19, 1619,* (four months after Ralegh's death, and nearly five years after the publication of the "History of the World"), expressly charges him with "questioning God's being and omnipotence, which," his grace adds, "that just judge made good upon himself, in over-tumbling his estate, and last of all bringing him to an execution by law?" Must we in charity suppose that Abbot was the only man in England who did not by this time know the wretched falsehood of the calumny, and that Sir Henry Montague, the judge who passed sentence upon him, had released him from that aspersion? Was an archbishop of Canterbury the only scholar in the nation who had not looked into so remarkable a book (more than remarkable) as the "History of the World," or, having done so, who had omitted to read the very first paragraph?† His religion might have taught him what he might

Ahab did upon Naboth's vineyard; and once above the rest, being talking of it, of the commodiousness of the place, of the strength of the seat, and how easily it might be got from the bishopric, suddenly over and over came his horse, that his very face, which was then thought a very good face, ploughed up the earth where he fell. This fall was ominous, I make no question, as the like was observed in the Lord Hastings; but his brother Adrian would needs have him interpret that, not as a courtier, but as a conqueror, it presaged the quiet possession thereof."

* To Sir Thomas Roe, then ambassador at the court of the Mogul.

† It is a solemn and majestic passage:—"God, whom the wisest men acknowledge to be a power ineffable, and virtue infinite, a light by abundant clarity invisible, and understanding which itself can only comprehend—an essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity, was, and is, pleased to make Himself known by the work of the world, in the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which He embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the image of that glory which cannot be measured, and withal that

have learned in that great work, that to shoot a gamekeeper instead of the deer at which he aimed with his cross-bow while hunting in my "Lord Zouch's park," was a piece of carelessness not more to be grieved at than was the reckless readiness with which he sought to affix a heinous stigma on the memory of an illustrious man, upon hearsay evidence, which was false.

During his retirement at Sherborne, Ralegh meditated some great exploit, by the success of which he might recover his royal mistress's favour.* Some of his friends thought this an impolitic

one, and yet universal nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven we perceive a shadow of His divine countenance; in His merciful provision for all that live, His manifold goodness, and, lastly, in creating and making existent the world universal by the absolute art of His own word, His power, and almightiness: which power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness, being all but attributes of one simple essence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part discern, *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of celestial and terrestrial bodies—terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities—celestial, in their beauty and magnitude—which, in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixed, nor confounded. By these potent effects we approach to the knowlege of the Omnipotent Cause, and, by these motions, their Almighty Mover."

* I think it highly probable that (as Mr. Tytler suggests) the beautiful poem I am about to quote was composed in the gardens and groves he had planted. He calls it

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY'S RECREATIONS.

Quivering fears, heart-tearing cares,
Anxious sighs, untimely tears,
    Fly, fly to courts;
    Fly to fond worldlings' sports,
Where strain'd sardonic smiles are glozing still,
And grief is forced to laugh against her will;
    Where mirth's but mummery,
    And sorrows only real be!

Fly from our country's pastimes! fly,
Sad troop of human misery!
    Come serene looks,
    Clear as the crystal brooks,
Or the pure azur'd heaven, that smiles to see,
The rich attendance of our poverty—
    Peace and a secure mind,
    Which all men seek, we only find.

course, as leaving the field open to his enemies; but they knew not Elizabeth so well as he, nor the best way to deal with his enemies,

Abused mortals! did you know
Where joy, heart's ease, and comforts grow,
You'd scorn proud towers,
And seek them in these bowers,
Where winds, perhaps, our woods sometimes may shake;
But blustering care could never tempest make;
Nor murmurs e'er come nigh us,
Saving of fountains that glide by us.

Here's no fantastic masque, nor dance,
But of our kids, that frisk and prance;
Nor wars are seen,
Unless upon the green
Two harmless lambs are butting one the other,
Which done, both bleating run, each to his mother;
And wounds are never found,
Save what the ploughshare gives the ground.

Here are no false, entrapping baits,
To hasten too, too hasty fates;
Unless it be
The fond credulity
Of silly fish, which, worldling-like, still look
Upon the bait, but never on the hook;
Nor envy, unless among
The birds for prize of their sweet song.

Go! let the diving negro seek
For gems hid in some forlorn creek;
We all pearls scorn,
Save what the dewy morn
Congeals upon each little spire of grass,
Which careless shepherds beat down as they pass;
And gold ne'er here appears,
Save what the yellow Ceres bears.

Blest silent groves! O may you be
For ever mirth's best nursery!
May pure contents
For ever pitch their tents
Upon these downs, these meads, these rocks, these mountains,
And peace still slumber by these purling fountains!
Which we may every year
Find when we come a-fishing here!

I cannot omit giving in this place Sir Walter's reply to Kit Marlow's

which was one that showed a high consciousness of his own desert, and a profound knowledge of human nature. Of Ralegh's

song, which is well known, but which we reprint, that the answer may be the better understood.

SONG.

BY CHRISTOPHER MARLOW.

Come, live with me and be my love,
And we will all the pleasures prove
That grove or valley, hill or field,
Or wood and steepy mountains yield.

Where we will sit on rising rocks,
And see the shepherds feed their flocks
By shallow rivers, to whose falls
Melodious birds sing madrigals.

Pleas'd will I make thee beds of roses,
And twine a thousand fragrant posies;
A cap of flowers, and rural kirtle,
Embroider'd all with leaves of myrtle;

A jaunty gown of finest wool,
Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
And shoes lin'd choicely for the cold,
With buckles of the purest gold;

A belt of straw and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps and amber studs;
If these, these pleasures can thee move
To live with me, and be my love.

THE ANSWER.

BY SIR WALTER RALEGH.

If all the world and love were young,
And truth on every shepherd's tongue,
These pleasures might my passion move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

But fading flowers in every field,
To winter floods their treasures yield,
A honey'd tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gown, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy myrtle, and thy posies,
Are all now wither'd, broke, forgotten,
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

policy in such cases Sir Robert Naunton says—"Finding his favour declining, and falling into a recess, he undertook a new peregrination to leave that *terra infirma* of the court for that of the wars, and by declining himself, and by absence, to expel his and the passion of his enemies,—which in courts was a strange device of recovery, but that he knew there was some ill office done him, that he durst not attempt to mind any other ways than by going aside, thereby to teach envy a new way of forgetfulness, and not so much as to think of him: however, he had it always in mind never to forget himself. And his device took so well, that at his return he came in, as some do by going backwards, with the greater strength, and so continued to the last hour in her grace." And another (the author of Aulicus Coquinariæ) observes—"His enemies of greater rank kept him under—sometimes in, sometimes out; and then he would wisely decline himself out of the court road; and then you found him not but by fame; in voyages to the West Indies, Guiana's new plantations, Virginia, or in some expeditions against the Spaniard." And a third to the same effect—"It is observable that Sir Walter Ralegh was in and out at court so often, that he was commonly called the tennis ball of fortune, which she delighted to sport with. His enemies perpetually brought him into disgrace with his mistress, and his merit in a little time restored him again to her favour; and as she always grew cold to the Earl of Essex after absence, so she ever received Ralegh with greater marks of her esteem; and he was too hard for his rivals by the very means which they intended for his destruction."

But before he set out upon the adventure, the prosecution of which had filled his mind for many years, there was something at court to make his enemies fear, not only that he was about to be restored to favour, but that he was to be called to the Queen's councils. One of them says in a letter,—"Of choice of councillors

Thy belt of straw and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps and amber studs,
Can me with no enticements move,
To live with thee, and be thy love.

But could youth last, could love still breed,
Had joys no date, had age no need;
Then those delights my mind might move
To live with thee, and be thy love.

there is a bruit, but nothing assured. Sir Walter Ralegh looketh for a place amongst them; and it is now feared of all honest men that he shall presently come to the court, and is thereto wrought to serve a turn. And yet it is well withstood. God grant him some further resistance, and that place he better deserveth, if he had his right."* But finding no present fruition of his hopes, Ralegh decided upon leaving England, having no less an object in view than the discovery and conquest of El Dorado. The acquisition of the "large, rich, and beautiful" empire of Guiana was an enterprise which had baffled the repeated efforts of some of the ablest and most renowned captains and cavaliers of Spain for nearly a hundred years. In their own authors we find commendations of many brave commanders, who, during that time, had endured miseries while treading this maze, and losing themselves with five hundred, and sometimes a thousand men each, in an endeavour to find this country. The example of these adventurers, however unsuccessful—and perhaps for that reason—stimulated Ralegh to this undertaking; for whatever he might have thought of the policy of Spain, he had a sincere admiration of the enterprise of their discoverers, whom he has thus celebrated in his "History of the World."—"Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards. We seldom or never find that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done, in their Indian discoveries. Yet persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces, as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues: yea, more than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, and their lives, in search of a golden kingdom, without getting further notice of it than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers have not been disheartened. Surely,

* Nicholas Faunt, somewhile secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, and a creature of his son-in-law, the Earl of Essex.

they are worthily rewarded with those treasuries and paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found."

Having collected as much information as he could procure relative to Guiana, and the means of entering it, he drew up, in 1594, instructions for the use of Captain Whiddon, an old and well-tried captain of his own, and sent him to make a survey of the coast. The captain returned, in the following year, with a highly favourable account of the riches of the country, which he had obtained from some of the chief Caçiques upon its borders. Upon this, Ralegh, at a considerable expense, got together a squadron of ships, which the Lord Admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecil augmented. We have no certain knowledge of the number of the vessels; but from Ralegh's own account of the voyage, published after his return, there must have been five at least, besides barges, wherries, and tenders. He set sail from Plymouth, on the 6th of February, 1595, and proceeded to the Canaries, and arrived at Trinidad on the 22nd of March, when he made himself master of St. Joseph, and took the Spanish governor, De Berrio, prisoner. This cavalier, grateful for the courtesy with which Ralegh treated him, frankly communicated to him the knowledge and experience he himself had gained during the many years, and at a vast cost, he had spent upon Guiana. But Sir Walter, who was not to be daunted by prospective difficulties or danger, left his ships at Curiapan, in Trinidad, and with a hundred men, in several little barks, sailed 400 miles up the river Orinoco, in search of Guiana.* Some of the petty kings of the country resigned their sovereignty to the Queen of England. But the weather was so hot, and the rains were so violent, that he was compelled to retire, being in equal danger of destruction from the rapid torrents of water as from his enemies.

The inhabitants of Cumana refusing to bring in the contributions he required, he set fire to the town, as also to part of St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha; and having convinced himself that

* Ralegh was the first Englishman who ever sailed up the Orinoco. His favourite and most trusted captain, Laurence Keymis, in a second voyage to Guiana, called the river "Raleana," in honour of his patron, a name which it was not likely to retain.

there were gold mines in the country, of which he had discovered more in a month than the Spaniards had done in many years, he returned to England in the autumn of 1595, and, in the following year, published an account of his voyage and discoveries, which be dedicated to the Lord Admiral and Cecil.

This relation, however, which contains a very graphic, curious, and interesting account of a country hitherto undiscovered, and which enlarged upon the riches of the land to which he had led the way, did not awaken the curiosity or stimulate the cupidity of the court and the city in anything like the degree he had expected. Ralegh brought home with him some of the white spar which he supposed to contain gold, and which was assayed in London, and found to contain a fair proportion of that metal; but some of the crew had brought marcasite, which is comparatively worthless, and had offered it for sale, and this to a great extent discredited the whole relation, as offering encouragement to a mercantile speculation.* Again, there were some who did not believe that one of the brothers of Atabalipa, Emperor of Peru, and put to death by Pizarro, had made his way to Guiana, and founded the golden and imperial city of Manoa, by the Spaniards called El Dorado; and they could by no means put faith in the existence of those warlike women the Amazons, with their queen; and in the Ewaipanoma, who were reported to have eyes in their shoulders, and mouths in their breasts, or on a level with them. But Ralegh did not speak of either as having himself seen them. He says that an ancient Caçique assured him that there was such a nation of women on the south of the Amazon river, whose manners and customs, as they were described to him, somewhat conformed with what is recorded of the ancient Amazons; "but that they cut off their right breasts," says he, "I do not find to be true." As to the Ewaipanoma, many of the chiefs, and the prince who came with him to England, avouched that there was a nation of such people; but, says Ralegh, "whether it is true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there be any profit in the imagination. For my own part, I saw them not; but am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report." By way of conclusion

* A certain alderman of London, and an officer of the Mint, are said by Sir Walter to have busied themselves in propagating the "malicious slander," that the gold ore brought from Guiana was of no price.

to this matter, he observes—"As to the Amazons, and those who had their faces in their breasts, having only heard talk of them, he left it for others to find them out."* The following passage from his "History of the World," extracted from the Life of Alexander the Great, will show that, eighteen years afterwards, he believed in the existence of the Amazons:—

"Here it is said that Thalestris, or Minothea, a queen of the Amazons, came to visit him. . . . . Plutarch citeth many historians, reporting this meeting of Thalestris with Alexander, and some contradicting it. But, indeed, the letters of Alexander himself to Antipater, recounting all that befel him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian business, may justly breed suspicion of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, because an historian of the same time, reading one of his books to Lysimachus (then king of Thrace), who had followed Alexander in all his voyage, was laughed at by the king for inserting such news of the Amazons; and Lysimachus himself had never heard of. One that accompanied Alexander, took upon him to write his acts, which, to

* It is certain that Shakspeare had read attentively the narrative of Ralegh's voyage. In "The Tempest" we read of "the still-vexed Bermoothes." Ralegh says—"The rest of the Indies for calms and diseases very troublesome, and the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and storms." In the same play, the honest councillor, Gonzalo, asks, "Who would believe—

"that there were such men
Whose heads stood in their breasts? which now we find
Each putter-out of one for five will bring us
Good warrant of?"

And in "Othello," where the Moor tells of having seen men "whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders," we are to understand that a man of honour and veracity is speaking, not that a Mendez Pinto is telling travellers' tales to the council of ten.

Seventy years after Shakspeare, Milton, in his "Paradise Lost," when the Archangel Michael shows the other hemisphere to Adam, says:—

"In spirit perhaps he also saw
Rich Mexico, the seat of Montezume,
And Cusco in Peru, the richest seat
Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoil'd
Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
Call El Dorado."

amplify, he told how the king had fought single with an elephant, and slain it. The king, hearing such stuff, caught the book, and threw it into the river of Indus, saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who, by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet, as we believe and know that there are elephants, though it were false that Alexander fought with one, so may we give credit unto writers making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with Alexander, as Plutarch leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to show the opinions of the ancient historians, cosmographers, and others, as also of some modern discoverers, touching these warlike women; because not only Strabo, but many others of these our times make doubt whether or no there were any such kind of people. Julius Solinus seats them in the north parts of Asia the less. Pomponius Mela finds two regions filled with them: the one on the river Thermodoon, the other near the Caspian sea. '*Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*,' which the people call Sauromatidas. The former of these two had the Cimmerians for their neighbours. '*Certum est* (saith Vadianus, who hath commented upon Mela), *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse;*' it is certain that the Cimmerians were the next nations to the Amazons. Ptolemy sets them farther into the land northwards, near the mountains Hippaci, not far from the pillars of Alexander. And that they had dominion in Asia itself, toward India, Solinus and Pliny tell us, where they governed a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, so called after Pandea, the daughter of Hercules, from whom all the rest derive themselves. Claudian affirms that they commanded nations, for he speaks (largely perhaps as a poet) thus:—

"'*Medis levibusque Sabæis*
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumque sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna jacet.'

Over the Medes, and light Sabæans reigns
This female sex: and under arms of queens,
Great part of the barbarian land remains.

"Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a river falling into the Euxine sea, near Heraclium.

"Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he

tells us that the Scythians call Æorpatas, which is as much as Viricidas, or men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the less, sacked Ephesus, and burnt the Temple of Diana, Manethon and Aventinus report, which they performed forty years after Troy was taken. At the siege of Troy itself we read of Penthesilea, that she came to the succour of Priamus.

"Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the river of Thormodoon, speaking confidently of the wars they made with divers nations, and of their overthrow.

"Plutarch, in the 'Life of Theseus,' out of Philochorus, Hellenicus, and other ancient historians, reports the taking of Antiopa, Queen of the Amazons, by Hercules, and by him given to Theseus; though some affirm that Theseus himself got her by stealth, when she came to visit him on board his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing that such Amazons were there. The same author, in the 'Life of Pompey,' speaks of certain companies of the Amazons that came to aid the Albanians against the Romans, by whom, after the battle, many targets and buskins of theirs were taken up. And he saith, farther, that these women entertain the Gelæ and Lelages once a-year, nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

"But to omit the many authors making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, Francis Lopez, who hath written the 'Navigation of Orellana,' which he made down the river of Amazons, in the year 1542 (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is said to have sailed six thousand miles), reports from the relation of the said Orellana, to the Council of the Indies, that he both saw those women and fought with them, where they fought to impeach his passage towards the east sea.

"It is also reported by Ulrichus Schmidel, that in the year 1542, when he sailed up the rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a king of that country, called Scherves, inhabiting under the tropic of Capricorn, who gave his captain, Ernando Rieffere, a crown of silver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the Amazons in those parts.

"Edward Lopez, in his description of the kingdom of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling us that (agreeable to the reports of elder times), they burn off their right breasts and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and

accompany hem for a month. 'These' (saith he) 'possess a part of the kingdom of Monomotapa, in Africa, nineteen degrees to the southward of the line; and that these women are the strongest guards of this emperor, all the East India Portugals know.'

"I have produced these authorities in part to justify mine own relation of these Amazons, because that which was delivered me for truth, by an ancient Caçique, of Guiana, how upon the river of Papamena (since the Spanish discoveries, called Amazons), that these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report."

It is clear that, even before Ralegh's setting out upon his voyage, his enemies had industriously disseminated a rumour that he never meant to go at all, but that his intention was to conceal himself somewhere for a time, and then assert that he had returned from his discovery. And this extravagant story was believed! "It appears," says Sir Walter, "that I made no other bravado of going to sea than was meant, and that I was never hidden in Cornwall, or elsewhere, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me" (there is good reason to believe that this was Essex's lie) "that forejudged I would rather become a servant of the Spanish king than return; and the rest were much mistaken, that would have persuaded, that I was too careful and sensual to undertake a journey of so great travail."

That he was greatly vexed, too, at the bad reception he met with on his return, is apparent in his prefatory letter to Howard and Cecil, where he says—"I do not know whether I should bewail myself either for my too much travail and expenses, or condemn myself for doing less than that which can deserve nothing. From myself I have deserved no thanks, for I am returned a beggar, and withered; but that I might have bettered my poor estate, it shall appear by the following discourse, if I had not respected only her majesty's future honour and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived to go journeys of picory; and it suited ill with the offices of honour which, by her majesty's grace, I hold this day in England, to run from cape to cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinary prizes."

The language of Ralegh throughout this performance is that of one who was assured of the truth of all he asserted, touching

the riches and other advantages of Guiana. Dr. Southey is compelled, evidently with great reluctance, to own pretty nearly as much:—"In his account of El Dorado, he repeated the fables which were found in Spanish histories, and which he believed as entirely as the Spaniards themselves. This was the weakness of a strong mind, the credulity of—if he be not belied—an incredulous one." This acknowledgment, nevertheless, the writer would bid us take with a reservation. It is as much as to say—"Ralegh (if he be not belied) was an atheist; and yet (if I must say the truth) he believed these fables;" so bidding us to suspect that he did not believe them. My conviction is, that Sir Walter spoke from his heart when he said—"If it be my lot to prosecute the same" (the conquest of Guiana), "I will spend my life therein; and if any else shall be enabled thereto, and conquer the same, I assure him thus much—he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Pizarro; whereof one conquered the empire of Montezuma—the other of Guasco and Atabalipa; and whatever prince shall possess it, that prince shall be lord of more gold and more beautiful empire, and of more cities and people, than either the King of Spain or the Great Turk." He winds up his treatise of Guiana with "his trust in Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords, to put it into her heart, who is the lady of ladies, to possess it; if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, who, by her grace and leave, will undertake it of themselves."

To show to the world the thorough confidence he nourished in his own scheme, he fitted out, at his sole expense, the "Darling" and "Discoverer," under Captain Laurence Keymis, who had attended him on the former expedition. Keymis set sail in January 1596, and, having made further discoveries, returned to England in the following June, and published an account of his adventure, which he dedicated to Ralegh, and in which the author gives a very high-flown description of the gold and other commodities of Guiana, ardently exhorting his patron to engage the Queen in the conquest of that country. "In one word," urges Keymis, "the time serveth; the like occasion seldom happeneth in many ages; the former repeated considerations do all jointly together importune us, now or never, to make ourselves rich, our posterity happy, our princess everyway stronger than our enemies, and to

establish our country in a state flourishing and peaceable. Oh! let not, then, such an indignity rest on us, as to deprave so notable an enterprise with false rumours and vain suppositions, to sleep in so serious a matter, and, renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and sovereignty of so famous a conquest, to leave all to the Spaniard." *

A third voyage to Guiana was undertaken this year; but Sir Walter only sent a single vessel, the sole object of which was

* Many of the sea-captains of Elizabeth's time possessed qualifications which old Admiral Benbow would have derided with much effusion of scorn and tobacco juice. Keymis was educated at Oxford, and was a pupil or disciple of Hariot, the "universal philosopher," as he was called, to whom the captain addressed a copy of Latin verses, prefixed to his account of Guiana. A short poem (about two hundred lines in length) in blank verse, which Dr. Johnson, in his "Life of Milton," remarks "was probably written by Ralegh himself," figures by way of preface to this narrative. The Doctor was wrong in his surmise, and Oldys right in his conjecture, when he says, "I take the poet to have been Mr. George Chapman." This learned and excellent dramatic writer, and translator of Homer, was an intimate friend of Hariot, and doubtless of Keymis. *Vates*, among the Romans, was a prophet as well as a poet. Chapman showed little of the former in his lines, which are extremely good. We give an extract:—

"Then in the Thespiad's bright prophetic font,
Methinks I see our liege rise from her throne,
Her ears and thoughts in steep amaze erect,
At the most rare endeavour of her power.
And now she blesses, with her wonted graces,
Th' industrious knight, the soul of this exploit,
Dismissing him to convoy of his stars;
And now for love and honour of his worth,
Our twice-born nobles bring him bridegroom-like,
That is espous'd for virtue to his love,
With feasts and music ravishing the air,
To his Argolian fleet; where round about
His bating colours English valour swarms
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his full waters fell upon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana's breast;
Where, as if each man were an Orpheus,
A world of savages fall tame before them,
Storing their thrift-free treasuries with gold.
And then doth plenty crown their wealthy fields;

to explore the rivers on the coast.* This should be a convincing evidence of the earnestness with which he prosecuted this adven-

> There, learning eats no more his thriftless books;
> Nor valour, ostrich-like, his iron arms;
> * * * * * *
> * * * * * *
> But all our youth take Hymen's lights in hand,
> And fill each roof with honour'd progeny:
> There, makes society adamantine chains,
> And joins their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disjoin'd:
> There healthful recreations strew the meads,
> And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,
> Which here were drown'd in churlish avarice.
> And there do palaces and temples rise
> Out of the earth, and kiss th' enamour'd skies;
> Where New Britannia humbly kneels to heaven,
> The world to her, and both at her blest feet,
> In whom the circles of all empire meet."

It is not altogether from the purpose to add the following lines from Chapman's best tragedy, "Bussy d'Ambois." They show that the poet had an eye for maritime discovery. Perhaps he had seen a fleet of Drake's return to port. The reader will thank us for giving them, for the sake of the noble illustration of a great moral. (By the bye, there is a verse, printed in italics, which is to be found in Shakspeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream.")

> "And as great seamen, using all their wealth
> And skills in Neptune's deep invisible paths,
> In tall ships richly built, and ribb'd with brass,
> *To put a girdle round about the world,*
> When they have done it, coming near their haven,
> Are fain to give a warning-piece, and call
> A poor staid fisherman, that never pass'd
> His country's sight, to waft and guide them in:
> So when we wander furthest through the waves
> Of glassy glory, and the gulfs of state,
> Topp'd with all titles, spreading all our reaches,
> As if each private arm would sphere the earth,
> We must to virtue for her guide resort,
> Or we shall shipwreck in our safest port."

* Oldys and Birch tell us that this vessel was named after himself, "The Wat." The vessel was but a pinnace, and was probably christened by Lady Ralegh, by the familiar diminutive of "Wat," her then only son, Walter, being between three and four years of age.

ture; for he had at the moment many affairs in hand which occupied his attention and engaged his time. Indeed, when Keymis returned and dedicated his narrative to him, he was out of the country, employed in a momentous enterprise—a relation of which will be found in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP II. of Spain having threatened a second invasion of England, which his recent successful siege of Calais, and the death of two of his most fell scourges, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake,* encouraged him to hope would be successful,

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

* These two great naval commanders both died in the same expedition (they were joined in commission as generals of the fleet) against the West Indies. The former, it is generally believed, died of grief and vexation that his advice as to the conduct of the enterprise was overruled or disliked by his colleague; and Drake, of mortification that the expedition was not successful. Of either may be said, with equal truth, what was written of Sir Francis Drake—

"The waves became his winding-sheet; the waters were his tomb;
But for his fame, the ocean sea was not sufficient room."

Queen Elizabeth determined, on the advice of her council, to chastise the presumption of her enemy by sending a force sufficient to destroy the Spanish shipping in their own harbours. Accordingly, a powerful fleet of ninety-six ships, containing fourteen thousand men, of whom one thousand were volunteers, was fitted out for this formidable purpose. These were joined by twenty-four Dutch ships, with two thousand six hundred men, but the services of these latter were not greatly called into requisition.

The Lord Admiral Howard and the Earl of Essex were joined in commission generals of this expedition, with a council, consisting of Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford, to whom was added Sir George Carew, to make the number of five. Lord Thomas Howard and Ralegh were also constituted admirals; and so the whole fleet was divided into four squadrons. Essex was impatient to be gone to attack the Queen's enemies, and to kill them all up one after the other with his own hand; but he received a rebuke from the Queen, who said in a letter to him—"Though we meant to drive it to the last considerations and utmost debates, as much as could be, yet we compared times so sufficiently, as a prince who knows what belongs to such a matter, that nothing should be done to retard you (being ready) one hour; for, as we know Ralegh not to be arrived, so we know, after it, some time to embark such an army must be required." Within ten days after this letter, on the 1st of June, 1596, the fleet sailed from Plymouth, and on the 20th it anchored in the bay of St. Sebastian, half a league from Cadiz.

The Lord Admiral and Essex decided that the town should be first attempted, so that the Spanish galleons and galleys, together with the forts of Cadiz, might not simultaneously discharge their fire upon the English fleet. The council of war concurred in this decision, at which, however, Ralegh was not present, having been sent the day before to stop such vessels as might pass out from St. Lucar or Cadiz along the coast. He returned just when Essex was putting his men into boats in order to land them. Upon this, Ralegh went aboard the Earl's ship and remonstrated with the rash and over-brave nobleman, protesting before all the colonels against the resolution come to by the Council. He gave the young commander (who was afraid of being thought afraid)

convincing reasons that his course would bring on a general ruin, the utter overthrow of the whole army, the loss of their own lives, and the imminent peril of the Queen's future safety. The Earl excused himself by laying the fault (if fault it were) to the Lord Admiral.* All the commanders and gentlemen besought Ralegh to dissuade the attempt, and, thereupon, Essex prayed him to persuade Howard to enter the port. This was easily done, and the permission conveyed to the Earl by Ralegh, who called out to him '*Entramos*,' whereupon the gallant young Earl (he had not learned cowardice or caution from Leicester) threw his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor.

The day being far spent, Ralegh counselled the deferring of the attack till next morning—(though, he tells us, "some being desperately valiant, thought this a fault of mine")—which was agreed upon, as also, only now, was the disposition of the fleet, which was ordered as he recommended. He particularly advised that two great fly-boats should board each Spanish galleon, after the Queen's ships had sufficiently battered them. This being consented to, and the two generals persuaded to lead the body of the fleet, Sir Walter, in the Warspite, had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and consisted of the Mary-Rose, commanded by Sir George Carew; the Lion, by Sir Robert Southwell; the Rainbow, by Sir Francis Vere; the Swiftsure, by Captain Cross; the Dreadnought, by Sir Conyers and Alexander Clifford; and the Nonpareil, by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides twelve London hired ships and the fly-boats—the Lord Thomas Howard leaving his own ship, the Mer Honneur, to go on board the Nonpareil.† At the first break of day Ralegh weighed anchor, and bore

* It is marvellous that so skilful and practical a commander as the Lord Admiral should have advised so rash a measure. Ralegh, who had studied deeply the art of war, both on land and at sea, says that "the most part could not but perish in the sea ere they came to set foot on ground, and, if any arrived on shore, yet were they sure to have their boats cast on their heads, and twenty men, in so desperate an attempt, would have defeated them all."

† The author of the "Triumphs of Nassau" observes—"The resolution of giving Ralegh the van being oppugned by the Lord Thomas Howard, who said that honour belonged to him (as vice-admiral), it was concluded that both of them should go together; but Ralegh, as soon as it was day, to lose no time in weighing anchor, let slip, and thereby had the advantage of sailing first."

in towards the Spanish fleet, which were thus placed to support the attack:—Under the walls of the city were ranged seventeen galleys, that they might the better flank the English ships as they entered, and obstruct their passage forward to the galleons. The artillery from Fort Philip played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and six culverins scoured the channel. As soon as the St. Philip (one of the largest ships of Spain) perceived Ralegh under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the St. Matthew, the St. Thomas, the St. Andrew, the two great galleons of Lisbon, three frigates of war, accustomed to transport the treasure, two argosies, very strong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with forty other great ships, bound for Mexico and other places. Of these, the St. Philip, the St. Matthew, the St. Andrew, and St. Thomas, being four of the royal ships of Spain, again came to anchor under the fort of Puntal, in a strait of the harbour which leads to Puerto Real. On the starboard they placed the three frigates; behind, the two galleons of Lisbon and the argosies; and the seventeen galleys, by three and three, "to interlace them, as occasion should be offered." Behind these again, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of New Spain, with the body of the fleet, were placed, towards Puerto Real, to defend the entrance, their line stretching like a bridge over the strait, which was also guarded by the fort of Puntal.

Sir Walter, advancing in the van of the English, was "saluted" by the fort called Philip, afterwards by the ordnance on the curtain, and lastly by all the galleys. To show his scorn of this assault, he answered first the fort, and afterwards the galleys, in his own words, "to each piece a blow with a trumpet; disdaining to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful monsters. The ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick, as they soon betook them to their oars and got up to join with the galleons in the strait; and then, as they were driven to come near me, and enforced to range their sides towards me, I bestowed a benediction amongst them." *

* Sir Walter, in his History, observing upon the difficulty of staying a ship in its course by operations from the land, observes—"In the beginning of our late Queen's time, when Denmark and Sweden were at war, our eastland fleet, bound for Liefland, was forbidden by the King of Denmark to trade

The St. Philip, the great and famous Admiral of Spain, was the mark he aimed at; and he came to anchor by the galleons, which he began to batter with the utmost resolution. The Lord Thomas Howard soon came to anchor on one side of him, with Sir Thomas Southwell, Sir George Carew, and the Cliffords on the other, and Sir Francis Vere towards the Puntal. At last, after they had cannonaded the enemy for a long time, about ten in the morning the Earl of Essex, impatient of remaining any longer a mere looker-on, bore through the fleet, leading the ships on the left hand, and anchored near to Sir Walter. Captain Cross afterwards advanced as near as he could; but Ralegh was always

with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatened to sink their ships if they came through the straits of Elsinore. Notwithstanding this, our merchants (having a ship of her majesty's, called the Minion, to defend them) made the adventure, and sustaining some volleys of shot, kept on their course. The king made all the provision he could to stop them, or sink them, at their return; but the Minion—commanded, as I take it, by William Burrough—leading the way, did not only pass out with little loss, but did beat down with artillery a great part of the fort of Elsinore, which, at that time, was not so well ramparted as now perhaps it is, and the fleet of merchants that followed him went through without any wound received. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of Parma, besieging Antwerp, and finding no possibility to master it otherwise than by famine, laid his cannon on the bank of the river so well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to pass by; yet the Hollanders and Zealanders, not blown up by any wind of glory, but coming to find a good market for their butter and cheese—even the poor men, attending their profit when all things were extremely dear in Antwerp—passed in boats of ten or twelve tons, by the mouth of the Duke's cannon, in despite of it, when a strong westerly wind and a tide of flood favoured them, as also with a contrary wind and an ebbing water they turned back again; so as he was forced, in the end, to build his stockado overthwart the river, to his marvellous trouble and charge. The fort Saint Philip terrified not us in the year 1596, when we entered the port of Cadiz; neither did the fort at Pantal, when we were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it, though it played upon us with four demi-cannons within point blank from six in the morning till twelve at noon. The siege of Ostend, and of many other places, may be given for proof how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true—that where a fort is so set as that of Angra in Terceira, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driven to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all help of wind and tide; then, and in such places, is it of great use and fearful—otherwise, not."

closest to the enemy, and stood single in the head of all. After a vigorous exchange of shot for nearly three hours, in which his ship suffered so much that it was ready to sink, Ralegh went to the Admiral in his skiff, to desire that he would oblige the fly-boats to advance, that he might board the enemy. The Earl of Essex was then coming up, to whom he declared, that if those boats did not come, he would board them in the Queen's ship, for it was the same loss to burn or sink, and one he must endure. The Earl promised him on his honour to second him in whatever he might attempt, as likewise did the Lord Thomas Howard, upon which, after a long and desperate fight, Sir Walter, having no longer hopes of the fly-boats, prepared to board the Spanish Admiral, who, perceiving this, ran his ship ashore, and was followed by the other capital ships.* The Admiral and the St. Thomas were burnt, and the St. Matthew and St. Andrew saved by the English boats before they took fire. The English showed great moderation after the victory; but the Dutch, who did little or nothing in the fight, made a great slaughter among the enemy, till they were "by myself," says Ralegh, "and afterwards by my Lord Admiral, beaten off."

This memorable victory was obtained by sea, and the bay resigned by two, or, as some say, by four in the afternoon, though no more of the English fleet were engaged in constant and close action than eight ships, opposed to fifty-five—or seven, as Ralegh reckons them—besides the fort of Puntal playing upon them all the while. The taking of the city of Cadiz immediately followed. Ralegh, though he had received a grievous wound in the leg, which was much torn and deformed by a splinter-shot in the fight, willing to encourage the army with his presence, and desirous of seeing the conduct and disposition of the enemy, was carried ashore on the shoulders of his men, when the Lord Admiral sent

* What emulation—what rivalry, rather—in order than one might stand higher in the Queen's favour on his return than the other, was conspicuous in this action! Ralegh says that "My lord general Essex thrust the Dreadnought aside and came next the Warspite, ahead of all that rank but my Lord Thomas. The marshal (Vere), while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side towards him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertising me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and he fell back into his place, whom I guarded, all but his very prow, from the sight of the enemy."

him one of his horses. But the torment he endured, and the fear of being shouldered by the tumultuous soldiers, abandoned to spoil and rapine, without any respect of persons, impelled him to return to the fleet that night,—there being no Admiral on board to order it, or indeed few mariners left in the ships, "all" (to use his own words) "running to the sack." Otherwise, like the rest of the commanders, he might have rewarded himself for his services. Leaving them in safe possession at his departure, they promised to reserve for him his share of the booty, and to give him a good quarter of the town, of which they defrauded him.* The next morning, he sent his half-brother, Sir John Gilbert, and his wife's brother, Arthur Throgmorton, to the General, for orders to fall on the Spanish West Indian fleet, outward bound, and said to be worth twelve millions, then lying in the Puerto Real, where they could not escape him. But he received no answer, which he imputed to the hurry and confusion then existing. In the afternoon, the merchants of Cadiz and Seville offered them two millions of ducats to spare the fleet; but the Lord Admiral was averse to any composition, and the Earl of Essex was desirous that the land officers should seize the ships. To this, Ralegh, having regard to the honour of the sailors, would not consent; and so the opportunity either of taking or ransoming them was lost; for the next morning the Spanish Admiral (the Duke of Medina Sidonia) caused this rich fleet to be burned. Thus the galleons, frigates, argosies, the fleet of New Spain, and all (except the galleys, which escaped) were consumed to ashes. A good number of the enemy's ordnance was recovered out of their ships; and the plunder of the city in merchandise, plate, jewels, and money, was very consider-

* Ralegh well knew the potency of money in commanding respect, and valued it accordingly. His discontent at not receiving a portion of the spoil of Cadiz is characteristic. "The town of Cadiz," he says, "was very rich in merchandise, in plate, and money; many rich prisoners given to the land commanders, so as that sort are very rich. Some had prisoners for sixteen thousand ducats; some for twenty thousand; some for ten thousand; and besides great houses of merchandise. What the generals have gotten, I know least,—they protest it is little: for mine own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed; for the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usage; but I have possession of nought but poverty and pain. *If God had spared me that blow, I had possessed myself of some house.*"

siderable;—the total loss being estimated at twenty millions of ducats.

The army embarked on the 5th of July; and it was deliberated in the Council of War, whether the fleet should not continue at sea, in order to intercept the West Indian fleet, but the want of provisions forbade the entertainment of such a design; and it was resolved to return to England, visiting the Spanish coasts in their way, to destroy the enemy's shipping. Accordingly, they sailed, and demolished Faro, plundering it of the valuable library of its Bishop, Osorio, which was the foundation of the public library begun by Sir Thomas Bodley the following year. The Earl of Essex proposed some other enterprises; but was stoutly opposed by the principal land and sea officers. This so disgusted the petulant favourite, that, on his return, he wrote a "Censure of the Omissions" in the expedition, in which paper he raises four objections to the conduct of it:—that they did not capture the Indian fleet; that they abandoned Cadiz; that they did not wait for the caracks and Indian ships; and lastly, that they did not attack the enemy in other ports. These omissions he charges upon the other commanders; and, in the last two articles, particularly names Sir Walter Balegh (who had prevented him from ruining the expedition, and making a fool and a madman of himself), whose conduct and courage, however, were greatly approved of by the Queen, and extorted the admiration of the people.*

Notwithstanding his recent services, Sir Walter was still sus-

* Before the fleet sailed on this expedition, the Queen had exhorted the Lord Admiral to take especial heed of the Earl of Essex's person. He was rashly brave, and Elizabeth had a tenderness for him; but she knew his inexperience, and doubted his discretion. As to his "exceptions,"—the attempt of a cockerel to crow with all his might—what weight could his opinions hold against the united voice of commanders who had distinguished themselves on land and at sea, whilst he was receiving pocket-money (not, by the way, very liberally disbursed) from his guardian, the Lord Treasurer Burghley? Whether Cadiz could have been retained, and for what length of time, with the military force at the disposal of the English commanders, I leave it to soldiers to determine. Meanwhile, let me recommend a perusal of the following passage from Ralegh's "History:"—"It is not so easy to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised fear; for when the citizens, not being disarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first error, they will think upon every advantage of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones, and rather choose

pended from his office of captain of the guard. This, however, did not discourage him from applying for the office of vice-chamberlain, or from making himself a mediator between Essex and Secretary Cecil, whose contests were the source of continual uneasiness to the Queen. Having effected a reconciliation, he soon reaped the fruits of it. In the year 1597, Cecil brought Ralegh to her majesty, who received him with great kindness, and restored him to his captaincy of the guard; and on the same evening he went abroad with the Queen in her coach, thenceforth had private conferences with her, and attended her in her privy chamber, with the same freedom as before. He was now assured of the favour of his royal mistress, and had little to fear, for the time to come, from the machinations of his enemies.

by desperate resolution to correct the evils grown out of their former cowardice, than suffer those mischiefs to poison the body, which in such half-conquests are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be desired than the city of Florence, which, through the weakness of Peter de Medicis, governing therein as a prince, was reduced into such hard terms, that it opened the gates unto the French king, Charles VIII., who, not plainly professing himself either friend or foe to the state, entered the town with his army in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrel ministered between them and the townsmen—so far forth, that the Florentines, to preserve their liberty, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge sums of ready money, and the absolute seigniory of the State, as conquered by him, who entered the city in arms. But Peter Caponi, a principal citizen, catching these articles from the king's secretary, and tearing them before his face, bade him sound his trumpets, and they would ring their bells; which peremptory words made the French bethink themselves, and come readily to this agreement,—that for forty thousand pounds, and not half of that money to be paid in hand, Charles should not only depart in peace, but restore whatsoever he had of their dominion, and continue their assured friends;—so dangerous a matter did it seem for that brave army, which in a few months after won the kingdom of Naples, to fight in the street, against the armed multitude of that populous city. It is true that Charles had other business that called him away; but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases, the firing of houses usually draws every citizen to save his own, leaving victory to the soldier; yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench as fast as the enemy, having other things to look unto, can set on fire. And, indeed, that commander is more given to anger than regardful of profit, who, upon the uncertain hope of destroying a town, forsakes the assurance of a good composition."

During Ralegh's constrained absence from the court, he lived, we are told, in great splendour in and near the town. We have now, however, no means of knowing where he resided. It is uncertain whether the seat at West Horsley, in Surrey, belonged to Ralegh, although it was in possession of his son; but there can be no doubt that he had a villa at Islington. The original mansion, for more than a century and a half an inn, called "The Pied Bull," was taken down a few years since. The house has been rebuilt, and is now one of the modern wine-vaults, or "palaces" of that northern and traditionally "merry" suburb. As to his dwellings in London, he had apartments in the court at Somerset House, and was permitted by Queen Elizabeth to occupy the palace called Durham House, in the Strand. He had also a house in St. James's; but where, it is impossible to ascertain.

It was not long before Ralegh's active services were called for. What was afterwards called "the island voyage" was a design to defeat and destroy at Ferrol, as well as in other ports of the enemy, the Spanish fleet intended for a new expedition against England and Ireland; to seize upon such Indian fleets of treasure as they should meet with; but especially to conquer, retain, and garrison most of the islands of the Azores, and, most of all, Terceira. The Earl of Essex (the Lord Admiral being indisposed) had the chief command, Lord Thomas Howard being vice-admiral, and Ralegh rear-admiral. But the success of this expedition was not answerable to the magnitude of the preparations made for it. There had been a misunderstanding between Ralegh and Sir Francis Vere (who was again marshal of the army) at the siege of Cadiz. The Earl of Essex, before they set out on the island voyage, made it his business to reconcile them, and bade them shake hands—"which we did both," says Vere, "the more willingly, because there had nothing passed between us that might blemish reputation." It had been well for Essex, and far better for the success of the expedition, had he at the same moment flung from him his jealousy and envy of his rear-admiral.

Unpleasant differences began soon after the fleet set sail from Plymouth, on the 9th July 1597. Sir Walter's ship, the Warspite, having been seriously damaged by a storm in the bay of Biscay, he was detained behind the fleet till the accident could be repaired. When he came to the rock of Lisbon, he met with a large number

THE "OLD PIED BULL" AT ISLINGTON; A RESIDENCE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH.

of ships and traders, which he conducted to the Azores. This, which was a signal service (these vessels being on their way to England, not having found Essex at the rendezvous appointed by himself), was a proceeding of which the Earl did not know what to make. His creatures, of whom he had many, and to whom he always lent too ready an ear, had possessed him with the belief

SIR FRANCIS VERE.

that Ralegh had inveigled these ships away, and that he had designed to desert him. On Ralegh's arrival, Essex seemed, says Arthur Gorges, "to be the joyfullest man living," protesting that "he never believed we would leave him, although divers persuaded him to the contrary," and acknowledging "that he was sorry for a letter which he had written, by Mr. Robert Knollys, into England against us," but promising "to make a despatch on purpose, contrary to the former."

With what pity, and with a deal of that which is sometimes allied to it, must Sir Walter have regarded this "slight man," who now treated him with the greatest kindness and familiarity."*

* "Though the earl had many doubts and jealousies buzzed in his ears against him (Ralegh), yet I have often observed," says Gorges, "that both in his

In the council of war held before the isle of Flores, it had been decided that Essex and Sir Walter should jointly attack the island of Fayal. Here Ralegh waited some days for the Earl, but he did not arrive. Sir Walter deemed it high time to call a council of war, in which he proposed to attempt the town himself—a step which Sir Guilly Meyrick, Sir Nicholas Parker, and other creatures of Essex, strongly resisted, but which Gorges, Sir W. Brook, and Sir W. Harvey, with many other commanders and gentlemen of his own squadron, as warmly encouraged. Ralegh at length agreed to delay the enterprise one day longer, and if the Earl did not arrive, he resolved to take the island; which he did in the most gallant manner, with, as he has told us, and as the reader has seen (*vide* p. 59), "none but men assured, commanders of my own squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other gentlemen volunteers, whom I could not refuse;" leaving Meyrick, Parker, and the other parasites, to prepare such colours for a picture to be presented to their master on his arrival, as should inflame him to madness.*

greatest actions of service, and in the time of his chiefest recreations, he would ever accept of his counsel and company before many others who thought themselves more in his favour."

* The taking of the fort was a desperate undertaking. Ralegh has generously omitted to notice in his account, that many of the soldiers, who had been brought from the Low Countries, and had for the most part lived in garrison, showed great irresolution, and positively refused to go forward to discover the way to the town, a piece of cowardice which excited his scorn and indignation. He told them, "that he would not offer that to any man which he would himself refuse; that though it were not the duty and office of a chief commander to undergo so ordinary a service, which duly appertained to the inferior officers and soldiers;" and "notwithstanding that I could therefore enforce others to it, they shall well perceive that I myself will do that which they dare not attempt; wherein I am ashamed in their behalf, that our general (Essex), and we are all thus abused in our opinion of those Low Country soldiers." Sir Arthur Gorges tells us,—"When I saw him resolved, I told him that I would, out of the love of a kinsman in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had received many kind favours, and accompany him; but not out of any great desire I had to go about a piece of work which consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. He thanked me for the offer, but yet wished me not to go, if it were against my will; notwithstanding, I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our servants and followers. But I say truly, and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality that did accompany him

The next morning, before break of day, they discovered, bearing in with full sail towards the road of Fayal, the Earl of Essex and his fleet, he having been all this while making a wildgoose chase after the Indian fleets, and the Adelantado, who, as he now understood, never stirred out this year. Being duly informed of the taking of Fayal, he broke out into fury, cashiering several of the officers who had conducted themselves gallantly under Ralegh. Some of the Earl's dependents even intimated that Ralegh deserved to lose his head for breach of the articles, in landing without his lordship's orders. When the two met, the Earl, after a faint welcome, began to accuse Ralegh of breach of orders, and being asked wherein he had been guilty of such breach, the other answered, "there was an article that none should land any of the troops without the general's presence or his order." Ralegh replied that there was indeed an order that no captain should do this under pain of death: "But I take myself," said he, "to be a principal commander under your lordship, and therefore not subject to that article, nor under the power of that law."

Some more words passed, and Essex was apparently pacified, resting himself in Ralegh's lodging. Sir Walter invited the Earl to supper; but Sir Christopher Blount (the new stepfather of Essex), who brought back the answer, said, "he thought my lord would not sup at all." To which Ralegh replied, "That for his own appetite, he might, when invited, disable it at his own pleasure; but if the Earl would stay he should be glad of his company." On the next morning, the Lord Thomas Howard, who had been closeted with Essex on the night preceding, assured Sir Walter that the Earl only wanted some acknowledgment, because the rest would think him a weak and tame commander, if he had not satisfaction. Ralegh, (who, spite of the Earl's seeming content on the previous day, suspected some violence would be offered him, had designed

in that business." Sir Arthur had his left leg shot through by a musket ball. He says—"I was then hard by the rear-admiral, who also was shot through the breeches and doublet sleeves in two or three places. And still they plied us so fast with small shot, that, as I well remember, he wished me to put off a large red scarf which I then wore, being, as he said, a very fair mark for them. But I, not willing to do the Spaniards so much honour at that time, though I could have wished it had not been on, answered the rear-admiral again, that his white scarf was as eminent as my red, and therefore I would now follow his example."

to betake himself to his own squadron, and to have defended himself or forsaken the Earl,) now again visited Essex, Lord Thomas Howard having upon his honour assured him, that he would make himself a party if any wrong were sought to be done him, and the matter came to a quiet conclusion, the officers that had been cashiered being reinstated.

Southey seeks to exalt Essex, by telling a story, on the authority of Sir Henry Wotton, of his magnanimity on this occasion, "Being pressed by one, whose name," says Sir Henry, "I need not remember, that at the least he would put him upon a martial-court, he let fall a noble word upon that occasion, and replied, 'That I would do, if he were my friend.' But the fact is, a council of war, chiefly composed of the Earl's creatures, did sit upon the case, and decided that Ralegh deserved death; and it is another fact, that his proceedings against Sir Walter, in calling his actions to public question before a council of war, were highly disapproved by the Queen.*

Influenced by the flatteries of Meyrick and Blount, administered to inordinate self-sufficiency, Essex committed many errors, not the least of which was his missing the Indian fleet. Ralegh, however, made prize of three ships, richly laden, which barely paid the expenses of an expedition that was designed for a far more important purpose. Ralegh remarked to Sir Arthur Gorges—"Although we shall be little the better for these rich prizes, yet I am heartily glad for our general's sake; because they will in great measure give content to her majesty; so that there may be no repining against this poor lord for the expense of the voyage." On their return to England, Essex posted to London to vindicate himself, and to throw the whole blame of the non-success of the Indian voyage upon Sir Walter; but he found the Queen violently incensed against him. She knew well with whom the blame lay, and roundly told him so, and never again employed him in a naval expedition. However, the Earl, for his consolation, had on his side the populace, who believed that Ralegh had robbed Essex of his due glory by the taking of Fayal, and who always received him with triumph, whatever his mischances. Meanwhile, Ralegh's friends at court, where he now stood higher than ever, "mightily graced his doings, and commended his experience at sea."

* Letter of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney.

About this time Sir John Norris died. He was one of the greatest military commanders during Elizabeth's reign, and the most celebrated of five brothers, all approved "men of the sword." There had long been a feud between the families of Norris and Knollys, both being in high esteem with Elizabeth. The achievements of Sir John caused a rankling envy in the breast of the Knollys family, one of whom was married to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex (the mother, therefore, of the favourite), and was afterwards the wife of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who entered himself a partner in this jealousy, and strove to keep Sir John in the background during the Earl's governorship of the Netherlands; but who performed an action there that made the great favourite's incapacity, if possible, more conspicuous. This enmity and envy had been transmitted to young Essex, who pursued the veteran with a rancour most unmanly and despicable. Sir John Norris was sent into Ireland in 1596, with the title of Lord General. Essex, affecting to despise the number of the rebels, Norris was sent over with an insufficient force, "of set purpose," says Sir Robert Naunton—"as it fell out, to ruin Norris; and the Lord Burgh, by the Earl's procurement, sent at his heels, and to command in chief; and to confine Norris only to his government at Munster, which broke the great heart of the general, to see himself undervalued and undermined by my lord and Burgh, which was, as the proverb speaks it, *imberbes docere senes*." *

In the following extract, showing that the military profession is the most unprosperous of any, Ralegh, it will be seen, had Sir John Norris in his memory:—

"Hence it comes—to wit, from the envy of our equals, and jealousy of our masters, be they kings or commonweals—that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of war, and great captains, being no kings. For besides the envy and jealousy of men; the spoils, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as with good reason did Monluc the marshal of France confess, that were not the mercies of God

* Sir Walter Scott, in a note to Sir Robert Naunton, and echoing him, observes:—"Essex, by disgracing this brave general, meant to pave the way for his own Irish expedition; and the success of his intrigue proved the immediate cause of his ruin."

infinite and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them, seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed were also infinite. Howsoever, this is true, that the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them, to fortune, or the cowardice of the nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, and have surmounted their envy; yet have they been rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we find many examples hereof—as Coriolanus, M. Livius, L. Æmilius, and Scipio. Among the Greeks we read of not many that escaped these rewards; yea, long before these times, it was a legacy that David bequeathed unto his victorious captain Joab. With this fare Alexander feasted Parmenio, Philotas, and others, and prepared it for Antipater and Cassander. Hereto Valentinian the emperor invited Ætius, who, after many other victories, overthrew Attila of the Huns, in the greatest battle, for the well-fighting and resolution of both armies, that ever was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside runaways, a hundred and fourscore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the emperor by Proximus, that in killing of Ætius he had cut off his own right hand with his left; for it was not long after, that Maximus (by whose persuasion Valentinian slew Ætius) murdered the emperor, which he never durst attempt, Ætius living. And besides the loss of that emperor, it is true, that with Ætius the glory of the Western Empire was rather dissolved than obscured. The same unworthy destiny, or a far worse, had Belisarius, whose undertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous; for he had his eyes torn out of his head by Justinian, and he died a blind beggar. Narses also, to the great prejudice of Christian religion, was disgraced by Justinian. That rule of Cato against Scipio hath been well observed in every age since then—to wit, that the commonweal cannot be counted free that standeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the Turks drawn another principle, and indeed a Turkish one, that every warlike prince should rather destroy his greatest men of war than suffer his own glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did Bajazet the Second despatch Bassa Acmet,

Selim strangle Bassa Mustapha, and most of those princes bring to ruin the most of their viziers. Of the Spanish nation, the great Gonsalvo, who drave the French out of Naples, and Ferdinand Cortes, who conquered Mexico, were crowned with nettles, not with laurel. The Earls of Egmont and Horn had no heads left them to wear garlands on. And that the great captains of all nations have been paid with this copper coin, there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be said, that many have acquired the state of princes, kings, and emperors, by their great ability in matter of war. This I confess: yet must it be had withal in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military virtue, though many have usurped them by the help and favour of those armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, that the tyrants which have oppressed the liberty of free cities, and the lieutenants of kings or emperors, which have traitorously cast down their masters and stepped up into their seats, were not all of them good men of war; but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them, by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities which undeservedly were ascribed to their personal worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatness by the greatness of their warlike virtues is far more in seeming than in deed. Phocas was a soldier, and by help of the soldiers he got the empire from his lord, Mauritius; but he was a coward, and with a barbarous cruelty, seldom found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of Mauritius—a prince that never had done him wrong—before his face, and after them Mauritius himself. This his bloody aspiring was but as a debt which was paid unto him again by Heraclius, who took from him the imperial crown, unjustly gotten, and set it on his own head. Leontius laid hold upon the emperor Justinian, cut off his nose and ears, and sent him into banishment; but God's vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of Tiberius; to whose charge he had left his own men of war. Justinian having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him after the same fashion. Philippicus, commanding the forces of Justinian, murdered both the emperor and his son. Anastatius, the vassal of this new tyrant, surprised his master, Philippicus, and thrust out both his eyes. But with Anastatius,

Theodosius dealt more gently; for having wrested the sceptre out of his hands, he enforced him to become a priest. It were an endless and a needless work to tell how Leo rewarded this Theodosius; how many others have been repaid with their own cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruel; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of captains to make themselves kings, have, by God's justice, miserably perished in the attempt.

"The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of arms, is to take what may be gotten by the spoil of enemies, and the liberality of those princes and cities in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have prospered by this course; for that observation made by Solomon, of unthankfulness in this kind, hath been found belonging to all countries and ages:—'A little city, and few men in it, and a great king came against it, and compassed it about, and builded forts against it; and there was found a poor and wise man therein, and he delivered the city by his wisdom—but none remembered this poor man.' Great monarchs are unwilling to pay great thanks, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have been indebted for great benefits, which the unwiser sort of them think to savour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are oftentimes cozened and abused, which proves that weakness to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free estates are bountiful in giving thanks; yet so, as those thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their captains have made, by enriching themselves with the spoil of the enemy, they are very inquisitive to search into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings; yea, most injuriously to rob them of their own, upon a false supposition, that even they whose hands are most clean from such offences have purloined somewhat from the common treasury. Hereof I need not to produce examples.

"In my late sovereign's time, although for the wars which, for her own safety, she was constrained to undertake, her majesty had no less cause to use the service of martial men, both by sea and land, than any of her predecessors for many years had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I do not remember that any of hers—the lord admiral excepted, her eldest and most

prosperous commander—were either enriched or otherwise honoured for any service by them performed. And that her majesty had many advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prosperity of her affairs did well witness, who in all her days never received dishonour by the cowardice or infidelity of any commander by herself chosen and employed.

"For as all her old captains by land died poor men, as Malbey, Randol, Drewrie, Reade, Wilford, Layton, Pelham, Gilbert, Constable, Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others, so those of a later and more dangerous employment, whereof Norris and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our nation (for the means they had) as ever any did—those (I say), with many other brave colonels, have left behind them, besides the reputation they purchased with many travels and wounds, nor title nor estate to posterity. As for the Lord Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant commanders, they brought into the world their titles and estates.

"That her Majesty, in the advancement of her men of war, did sooner believe other men than herself, a disease unto which many wise princes besides herself have been subject—I say that such a confidence, although it may seem altogether to excuse her noble nature, yet can it not of some sort accuse her of weakness. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough; that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the actors are so unprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all nations, is this—that those which are nearest the person of princes (which martial men seldom are) can with no good grace commend—or at least magnify—a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should only mind their masters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving less honour and reward to men of far greater deserving, and of far greater use than themselves."

Shortly after his return from the "Island voyage," Sir Walter made a brief visit to Sherborne, and then returned and took his seat in the house, of which he was an active member during the remainder of the session. In December of this year, he was employed by the Queen to bring about a reconciliation between Essex and the

Lord Admiral. In this matter the Queen was obliged at last to pacify her spoiled favourite.*

Early in 1598, the public was astonished to see Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, and the Earl of Essex in a degree of familiarity that looked very much like intimate friendship. "It is exceedingly wondered at by the world," says Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, "to see the too great familiarity that is grown between 1,000 (the Earl of Essex) 200 (Sir Robert Cecil), and 24 (Sir Walter Ralegh) and 27. None but they enjoy him, they carry him away as they list." Ralegh it seems at this time sought the Earl's interest to obtain some reward for his services, or for some honour to be conferred upon him, having renounced all hopes of the place of vice-chamberlain, for which the Earl's promise was engaged to Sir Robert Sidney. He was likewise urgent with Cecil that something might be done for him, ere the Secretary went to France as Ambassador to Henry the IV. to divert him from the peace then in treaty at Vervins. Before Cecil's departure from France, Ralegh entertained him with a banquet and a play, and accompanied him to Dover. On his leaving London, the Secretary agreed with the Earl of Essex to bring Ralegh, as well as Sir Robert Sidney into the privy council. But this so suddenly struck up friendship, between Ralegh and Cecil and Essex, lasted not long. It was entered into from motives of interest on the part of all three, and no one who knew them imagined it would be long maintained.

About this time, there was an alarm of a fresh invasion from Spain, and Sir Walter was sent into Cornwall to put that county in a state of defence; and in March of the same year, there was a talk of sending him to Ireland as Lord Deputy, but he liked not the office, and Essex got what he craved—which brought about his destruction. In August, 1599, there was another rumour of

* During the absence of Essex in the island voyage, the Lord Admiral Howard (than whom no man was more worthy of honour at the Queen's hands) was created Earl of Nottingham. This promotion was violently resented by Essex; for it gave Nottingham the precedence, holding, as he did, the post of admiral; and he positively had the audacity to insist that the Earl's patent should be altered, or that he (Essex) should be permitted to maintain his own right by combat against the Earl, or any of his sons or family! And the Queen was weak enough to give way to his importunities, and created him Earl-Marshal of England, in order to support his precedence.

an invasion from Spain, and a fleet was immediately fitted out, of which Ralegh was appointed vice-admiral. Accordingly, he took his leave of the Court and went on board the fleet. But apprehension of the Spaniards soon proved to be groundless, and he returned to London. At this time he sought an honour which not even his services and her high opinion of the man could prevail with the Queen to bestow. "Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Ralegh," says Whyte, "do infinitely desire to be Barons, and they have a purpose to be called unto it, though there be no Parliament."

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY.

Before the departure of the Earl of Essex for Ireland, as Lord Deputy, he had offended Ralegh with wanton insolence, and perhaps beyond forgiveness.* On the Earl's sudden and unlooked

* "He (Ralegh) wore," says Tytler, "a suit of silver armour at the tourneys; his sword-hilt and belt were studded with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; his court dress, on occasions of state, was said to be covered with pearls to the

for return from that country, for which he was at once placed in confinement, to be examined next morning before the Council, Ralegh sided with the opposite party, of which Cecil was the head, dining with him on that day. And now, in the height of favour, and probably bearing in mind the success of his mad pranks with Sir George Carew in the tower, he affected to be sick, when the Queen showed some signs of relenting towards Essex, whereupon her Majesty "very graciously sent to see him." A few days after, there was a breach of the long friendship that had subsisted between him and Lord Cobham, a nobleman of very ancient family, of whom we shall shortly see more than enough.

In January, 1601, he expected to be made a privy councillor, and shortly afterwards applied to be appointed one of the commissioners of the treaty at Boulogne; but the Queen, perceiving that if she nominated him to that office, he would ask to be of the privy council, refused his request. Disgusted at this, as well he might be (for what sworn head in the council was wiser than his?), he retired with his lady to Sherborne, taking with him Cecil's son, to be brought up in his family.

Being sent for, he returned to court in June, and was again importunate for the vice-chamberlainship, and again unsuccessful. Upon this disappointment, he went out with Lord Cobham "to see the camp and siege of fort Isabella, near Ostend,"—but this is sup-

value of 60,000*l.*, and even his shoes glistened with precious stones. It was in this splendid apparel that he waited on his royal mistress, as captain of her guard, during those visits to the houses of the nobility known by the name of progresses." Now, on the queen's birthday, which was the 17th November, Essex having previously learned that Sir Walter, with a very gallant train, gorgeously accoutred, was to make his appearance in the tilt-yard in orange-tawny plumes, provided a much more numerous cavalcade, and decked them in Ralegh's colours, and appeared at the head of all, armed cap-à-pie in a complete suit of orange colour. By these means he not only drowned all distinction as pertaining to Ralegh, but thereby incorporated him and his train as so many more of his own esquires, pages, and others of his retinue. This was called the Earl's "glorious feather triumph." But, in the end, it did not turn out so. On that day Essex, in orange-tawny, ran very ill; and, on the next, wishing to retrieve his reputation, came all in green and ran worse. One of the spectators (Bacon tells the story), asking why this tilter (who seemed to be known in both habits) changed his colours, another answered, "Surely, because it may be reported, that there was one in green ran worse than he in orange colour."

posed to have been a pretence, and that he was charged with a secret mission. On the death of Sir Antony Paulet, the government of Jersey becoming vacant, Sir Walter obtained the appointment, with a grant of the manor—a lordship of St. Germain in that island.

The Earl of Essex, we have stated, was placed in confinement on the instant of his unbidden return from Ireland—not "bringing rebellion broached on his sword," as Shakspeare had predicted, but leaving rebellion more rampant than ever, after having shown an incapacity, as a military commander, so monstrous, that the ghost of Sir John Norris might well have been appeased. This might have been forgiven by the Queen; but when he broke out into open insurrection, it was felt by her Majesty, and by many who had before been well affected towards him (nay, he himself said there was no safety for the Queen whilst he lived), that there was no help for it, but he must be put to death. Sir Walter was one of those who invested Essex House, and he was present at the execution of the Earl, as captain of the guard, and stood near the scaffold, that he might answer if Essex should desire to speak to him. He retired, however, before the fatal blow was struck, being told that the people thought he had come to triumph over his enemy, and saw the execution, himself unseen, from the armoury. He was sorry afterwards he was not nearer the Earl when he died, for, as he told the people at his own execution, "I understood afterwards that he asked for me at his death, and desired to have been reconciled to me."*

In the latter end of October, 1601, the Queen having returned

* The Earl of Essex died like a brave man and a penitent Christian, although it may be doubted whether he acted rightly in his confession, by implicating his friends, who suffered in his cause. In this frame of mind he may well have wished to be reconciled to Ralegh, whom he had, on many occasions, most deeply wronged. It was he who possessed the king of Scots (shortly afterwards James of England) with a fear and hatred of Ralegh. When he made his incursion into the city, what likelier means to cause the people to rise in his favour than to proclaim that Ralegh had formed a design of murdering him? When the insurrection was at its height, the Earl persuaded Sir Christopher Blount, his step-father, to incite Sir Ferdinando Gorges to kill Ralegh, or, failing that, to apprehend him on the river, where Sir Walter was waiting in a boat to warn him of his danger. On the refusal of Gorges, Blount discharged four shots after Ralegh, which Sir Christopher acknowledged at his execution, beseeching Sir Walter's forgiveness for it, which was readily granted.

from her progress, her last Parliament met, in which Sir Walter sat as one of the members for Cornwall. This was a session full of important business, and Ralegh took an active part in it. In a debate touching the cultivation of hemp, he said: "I do not like this constraining of men to use or manure their grounds at our wills; but rather will to let every man use his ground for that for which it is most fit, and therein follow his own discretion." It is observed by Mr. Napier upon this—"Simple as this recommendation may now appear, its inculcation as a rule for the guidance of statesmen was a vast and a beneficial advance in the science of legislation; for the interference thus condemned was the favourite policy of all the greatest statesmen of that day—Lord Bacon among the rest. Its principle lies at the foundation of those laws of Henry VII., which the immortal regenerator of experimental science so emphatically extols in his life of that sovereign, for their extraordinary depth and comprehensiveness." Ralegh spoke to the same effect on the renewal of a debate on the repeal of the statute of tillage. It is quite apparent that he was no protectionist. He said, "I think this law fit to be repealed; for many poor men are not able to find seed to sow so much ground as they are bound to plough, which they must do, or increase the penalty of the statute." Besides, "The Low Countrymen and the Hollanders, who never sow corn, have by their industry such plenty, that they will serve other nations. . . . . And, therefore, I think the best course is to set it at liberty, which is the desire of a true Englishmen."

It was probably in the year 1602 that he sold his estate in Ireland to Mr. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, and it was in midsummer of the same year that he settled upon his son Walter his estate of Sherborne, having received a challenge from Sir Amias Preston, which, we have his own words for it, he "intended to answer." The cause of this quarrel is not known; but the two knights came to an understanding without proceeding to a duel. Fuller says he had been informed that Sir Walter, "without any abatement to his valour, wherein he had abundantly satisfied all possibility of suspicion," declined the challenge because of the inferiority, in point of position, of Preston. But I cannot think such a circumstance would have weighed with Ralegh; for Sir Amias was descended from a good family, and was a very brave

soldier and enterprising seaman. Indeed, it is clear it did not, or he would not have gone so far in pursuance of his intention as to settle his estate upon his son. We know, however, what was his opinion of duelling in his later years. His condemnation of the practice is one of the most remarkable digressions in his "History of the World," and, proceeding from a man whose personal courage it would have been ridiculous to question, it must have had its effect in checking a silly and bloodthirsty passion—or, rather, fashion—which, for some years then past, had been suffered to run its course almost with impunity.

"FUNERAL GAMES HELD BY SCIPIO—A DUEL BETWEEN TWO SPANISH PRINCES—A DIGRESSION CONCERNING DUELS.

"Scipio, returning into Spain, and resting that winter, took vengeance the next year upon those of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa. The conquest of the country being then in a manner at an end, he performed, at New Carthage, with great solemnity, some vows that he had made, and honoured the memory of his father and uncle with funeral games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needful that he should trouble himself with preparing slaves for that spectacle, to hazard their lives, as was used in the city of Rome; for there were enough that offered themselves as voluntaries, or were sent from their princes, to give proof, in single combat, of the valour of their several countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not or would not otherwise end, agreed to defer the decision of their controversies to trial of the sword, in single fight. Among these the most eminent were Corbis and Orsua, cousin-germans, that contended for the principality of a town called Ibes. Corbis was the elder, and the elder brother's son, wherefore he claimed the lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our Irish tanistry. But the father of Orsua stood lately seized of the principality, which, though himself received by the death of his elder brother, yet this his son would not let it go back, but claimed to hold it, as heir unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would Scipio have compounded the matter, but they answered peremptorily, that all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vain to take up that quarrel, and that neither God nor man, but only Mars, heir god of

battle, should be umpire between them. So they had their wills; and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilful at his weapon, easily vanquished the fool-hardiness of the younger.

"Such combats have been very ancient, and perhaps more ancient than any other kind of fight. We read of many performed before the war of Troy, by Theseus, Hercules, Pollux, and others; as also of two more at the war of Troy, the one between Paris and Menelaus, the other between Hector and Ajax. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrews, whereof that between David and Goliath, and others performed by some of David's worthies against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind appertains the fight between twelve of the tribe of Judah, and as many of the Benjamites. The Romans had many of them, whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their dominion upon the heads of three brethren, the Horatii, against the three brethren, Curiatii, that were Albans. The combat of Manlius Torquatus, and, shortly after, of Valerius Corvinus, with two champions of the Gauls, which challenged any Roman, were of less importance, as having only reference to bravery. In England there was a great combat fought between Edmund Ironside and Canute the Dane, for no less a matter than the kingdom. The use of them was very frequent in the Saxon times, almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reign of Edward the Third, who sustained the party of Mountfort against the Earl of Blois, contending for the Duchy of Brittany, there was a fight for honour of the nations, between thirty of the Bretons and thirty English, two of which English were Calverlie, a brave captain, and that Sir Robert Knollys, who afterwards became a renowned commander in the French wars, and did highly honour his blood, whereof the Lord Knollys is descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gaieté de cœur*, as the French term it, for honour of several nations, for love of mistresses, or whatsoever else gave occasion unto men desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats, which are, either upon accusation for life, or upon trial of title and inheritance, as in writ of right. And of this latter kind was that of which we spake even now, between Corbis and Orsua. Unto these, methinks,

may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon wager, such as were that between David and Goliath, or that between the Horatii and Curiatii, in which, without regard of title, the dominion of nations one over the other is adventured upon the head of champions. Upon an accusation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat performed by Sir John Anstey and one Cattrington, whom Anstey charged with treason, and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought between Robert of Mountfort and Henry of Essex. The like also between a Navarrois and one Welsh, of Grimsby, whom the Navarrois accused of treason; but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawn and hanged.

"Whether our trial by battle do determine that the false accuser, if he be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had been due to the offender if the accusation had been proved, I cannot affirm; but we everywhere find, that if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customs of Normandy, murder, rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, he shall suffer the pains appointed for those crimes. In combats for trial of right, it is not so; neither is the appellant or defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his champion, as did Paramour and Low, or offered to do, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And in this case, he that is beaten or yieldeth loseth only his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accusation, or trial of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery, but in camp close, that is, within rails. Now, this trial by combat was so ordinary in France, before the time of St. Louis and Philip the Fair, his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, ecclesiastical or temporal, had power to grant it within his own jurisdiction. And it seemeth that the French kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the *Memorials of the Chamber of Accounts* is found an article to this effect: that if a combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings and sixpence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit a hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custom grew the French proverb, which

they use whenas any man hath had a hard and unjust judgment, saying, that he was tried by the law of Lorraine, or Berne, *ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompense. Of these frequent trials by battle that greatly learned man Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, did often complain, and especially against the French churchmen, as appears by his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Archdeacon of Paris, to Rembert, Archbishop of Sens, and to others, wherein he rebukes the judgment of their churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kind of trial was retrenched by St. Louis, and Philip the Fair, so that no man could decree or grant it, save the king himself. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the French kings, as to the Lord of Carognes against Jaques le Gris, and to Julian Romero, the Spaniard, against Moro, his countryman, wherein Sir Henry Knevet, father to the Lord Knevet now living, was patron to Romero that had the victory; and, lastly, to the Lord of Chast. Now in those challenges, upon accusation of treason, murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those only), the rule held—that *le défendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences per un démentir* (the defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the lie). Otherwise it was concluded that the defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime* (silently confess the crime). But after such time as Francis, the French king, upon some dispute about breach of faith, had sent the lie unto the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, thereby to draw him to a personal combat, every petty companion in France, in imitation of their master, made giving of the lie mortality itself, holding it a matter of no small glory to have it said, that the meanest gentleman in France would not put up with what the great Emperor Charles the Fifth had patiently endured.

"From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were known to the ancients. For, the honour of nations, the trial of right, the wager upon champions, or the objection and refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of half so many duels as are founded upon mere private anger—yea, or upon matter seeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the duellists. So that in these days, wherein every man takes unto himself a kingly

liberty to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the lie, which ought to be the negation only in accusations for life, is become the most fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpardonable, as will admit no other recompense than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the French gentlemen, after the pattern of their king, is grown to be a custom, whence we have derived a kind of art and philosophy of quarrel, with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour and the dependencies thereof are deduced.* Yea, there are (among many

* In 1612 (the year in which Ralegh completed all that he has given us of his great work, which, however, was not published till two years after), James I. put forth an elaborate proclamation, consisting of more than a hundred pages, against duelling. In this performance the king enters into the question with laborious and pedantic particularity. In 1614, Sir Francis Bacon, then attorney-general, prayed the judgment of the Court of Star-Chamber upon Priest and Wright—the one for sending, the other, his second, for conveying a challenge. In this charge he said,—"My lords, I thought it fit for my place, and for these times, to bring to hearing before your lordships some cause touching private duels, to see if this court can do any good to tame and reclaim that evil, which seems unbridled; and I could have wished that I could have met with some greater persons as a subject of your censure, both because it had been more worthy of this presence, and also the better to have showed the resolution myself hath to proceed, without respect of persons, in this business. But finding this cause on foot in my predecessor's time, and published and ready for hearing, I thought to lose no time in a mischief that groweth every day; and, besides, it passeth not amiss sometimes in government, that the greater sort be admonished by an example made in the meaner, and the dog to be beaten before the lion. Nay, I should think, my lords, that men of birth and gentility will leave the practice, when it begins to be vilified and come so low as to barber-surgeons and butchers, and such base mechanical persons. Besides, certainly, both in divinity and policy, offences of presumption are the greatest. Other offences yield and consent to the law, that it is good, not daring to make defence or to justify themselves; but this offence expressly gives the law an affront, as if there were two laws,—one a kind of gown-law, and the other a law of *reputation*, as they term it; so that Paul's and Westminster, the pulpit and the courts of justice, must give place to the law (as the king speaketh in his proclamation) of ordinary tables, and such reverent assemblies; the year-books and statute-books must give place to some *French and Italian pamphlets, which handle the doctrine of duels.*" Shakspeare ridicules this in his "As You Like It," where Touchstone tells Jaques, that "he had had four quarrels, and like to have fought one;" and afterwards, that he "durst go no further than the *lie circumstantial*, nor he

no less ridiculous) some so mystical curiosities herein, as that it is held a far greater dishonour to receive from an enemy a slight touch with a cane, than a sound blow with a sword; the one having relation to a slave, the other to a soldier. I confess that the difference is pretty; though, for my own part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I would willingly have made with him such an exchange, and have given him the point of honour to boot.

"But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the lie, with their conditions who are commonly of all others the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the most of these who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them, use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life as to speak and swear falsely. Yea, it is thereby that they shift and shuffle in the world and abuse it. For how few are there

(his antagonist) durst not give me the *lie direct;*" whereupon says Jaques, "Can you nominate in order now the degrees of the lie?" "Oh, sir," says Touchstone, "we quarrel in print, by the book (meaning a treatise then in vogue, entitled, 'Of Honour and Honourable Quarrels,' printed in 1594), as you have books for good manners. ('The Boke of Nurture; or, School of Good Manners,' by Hugh Rhodes, 1577.) I will name you the degrees. The first, the retort courteous; the second, the quip modest; the third, the reply churlish; the fourth, the reproof valiant; the fifth, the countercheck quarrelsome; the sixth, the lie with circumstance; the seventh, the lie direct. All these you may avoid, but the lie direct; and you may avoid that too with an *If*. I knew when seven justices could not take up a quarrel; but when the parties were met themselves, one of them thought but of an *If*, as, *If you said so, then I said so*, and they shook hands, and swore brothers. Your *If* is the only peace-maker; much virtue in *If*."

So likewise Ben Jonson, in his "Alchymist"—

Abel Drugger.—"No, sir, a gentleman newly warm in his land, sir,
Of some three thousand a-year, and is come up
To learn to quarrel, and to live by his wits.
Face.—How! to quarrel?
Drugger.— Yes, sir, to carry quarrels,
As gallants do: to manage them by line.
Face.—'Slid, Nab, the doctor is the only man
In Christendom for him: he has made a table,
With mathematical demonstrations,
Teaching the art of quarrels: he will give him
An instrument to quarrel by."

among them which, having assumed and sworn to pay the moneys and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promise as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not liars by record, by being sued in some court or other of justice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promised that he will pay money by a day, or promised anything else, wherein he faileth, hath directly lied to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-a-days? What is the vowing of their service and of all they have, used in their ordinary compliments, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good morrow or salute, other than a courteous or court-like kind or lying? It is (saith a wise Frenchman, deriding therein the apish custom of his country), *un marché et complot fait ensemble, se mocquer, mentir, et piper les uns les autres*—a kind of merchandise and complot made among them, to mock, belie, and deride each other; and so far now-a-days in fashion and in use, as he that useth it not is accounted either dull or cynical. True it is, notwithstanding, (omitting the old distinction,) that there is great difference between these mannerly and complimental lies, with those which are sometime persuaded by necessity upon breach of promise, and those which men use out of cowardice and fear, the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men than of God; a vice of all others styled the most villanous.

"But now to the lie itself, as it is made the subject of all our eadly quarrels in effect. To it I say, that whosoever giveth another man the lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more heinously taken, then to tell him he hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth anything, tells him to whom he hath promised that he will perform it, and, in not performing it, he hath made himself a liar. On the other side, he that gives any man the lie, when he himself knows that he to whom it is given hath not lied, doth therein give the lie directly to himself. And what cause have I, if I say that the sun shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight, to prosecute such a one to death for making himself a foolish ruffian and a liar in his own knowledge? For he that gives the lie in any other dispute than in defence of his loyalty and life, gives it

impertinently and ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeness to tax any man in public with an untruth (if it be not pernicious and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered); but all that is rude ought not to be civilised with death. That were more to admire and imitate a French custom, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsel of God.

"But you will say that these discourses savour of cowardice. It is true, if you call it valour to fear neither God nor hell; whereas, he that is truly wise and truly valiant, knows that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an enemy's sword we shall find ten thousand seven-penny men (waged at that price in the wars), that fear it as little, or perchance less, than any professed swordsman in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui fortitudo:* fortitude is a diligent preserver of itself. It is (saith Aristotle) a mediocrity between doubting and daring. *Sicut non martyrem pœna, sic nec fortem pugna, sed causa:* as it is not punishment that makes the martry, so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man, but fighting in a good cause. In which, whosoever shall resolvedly end his life, resolvedly in respect of the cause—to wit, in defence of his prince, religion, or country—as he may justly be numbered among the martyrs of God—so may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the martyrs of the devil. Neither do we indeed take our own revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is to give him of whom we would be revenged cause to repent him; and not to lay the repentance of another man's death upon our own consciences—*animasq, in vulnere ponere*—and to drown our souls in the wounds and blood of our enemies. Hereupon you will again ask me if I condemn, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honours, being pressed with injuries? I say that I do not, if the injuries be violent. For the law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternal law, and the laws of all Christian kings and states, do favour him that is assailed in the slaughter of the assailant. You will, secondly, ask me, whether a nobleman or a gentleman, being challenged by cartel by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to satisfy the challenger in private combat? I answer, that he is not; because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of religion), the point of law is directly contrary and opposite to that

which they call the point of honour—the law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it—except you will style those acts honourable where the hangman gives the garland. For, seeing the laws of this land have appointed the hangman to second the conqueror, and the laws of God appointed the devil to second the conquered, dying in malice, I say that he is both base and a fool that accepts any cartel so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, that the kings of England, and other Christian kings, have seldom taken any such advantage over men of quality, who upon even terms have slain their private enemies. It is true that—as in times of trouble and combustion—they have not often done it; so did our noblemen and gentlemen, in former ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the king, to approve themselves by battle and public combat. For, as they dared not to brave the law, so did they disdain to submit themselves unto the shameful revenge thereof; the same revenge (because it deterreth murder) that it hath declared against a common cut-purse or other thieves. Nay, let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders, yet is not the manslayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by grand assize or by battle, upon his appeal, which (saith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denied; and he further saith (for I use his own words) that if the defendant (to wit, the man-slayer) be convicted either by great assize or by battle, upon that appeal, the man-slayer shall die notwithstanding the prince's pardon. So favourable (saith the same learned gentleman) are our princes, and the law of our realm, to justice and to the punishment of blood violently shed.

"It may further be demanded, how our noblemen and gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the start either in words or blows, shall lay on them an infamy insufferable? I say that a marshal's court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit ourselves for the recovery of our debts, goods, and lands, and for all things else by which the lives of ourselves, our wives, and children are sustained, to the judges of the law—because it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own—why should we not submit ourselves unto the judges of honour in cases of honour, because to recover our reputation by strong hand may be murder?

But yet again it may be objected, that the loss of honour ought to be much more fearful unto us than either the loss of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But what is this honour—I mean honour indeed, and that which ought to be so dear to us—other than a kind of history, and of fame following actions of virtue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the public good? In these, he that is employed and trusted, if he fail in the performance, either through cowardice or any base affection, it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of virtue, because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Christian kings; neither is it difficult, because even and equal in persons and arms; neither for a public good, but tending to the contrary; because the loss or mutilation of an able man is also a loss to the commonweal.

"Now, that a marshal of England hath power to save every man's fame and reputation, as far as reputation may sustain injury by words, I think no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evil words that we have given, and to confess that we have done him wrong unto whom we have given them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himself of them upon advisement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blows, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompense will be made for them, it shall appear by a notable example of a most worthy gentleman, Monsieur de Plessis, that was stricken in France not long since, by a baron of the same nation. The satisfaction, which was given him by a judgment of the constable and marshals of France, was this. In the open court, wherein the constable gave judgment, M. de Plessis was set in a chair under the degrees where the constable and marshals sat: the baron, who had given him the blow, did kneel before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himself, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado wherewith he had stricken M. de Plessis; both which weapons he delivered into Plessis's hands, submitting himself to such revenge as it should please him to take with either of those weapons, the constable and marshals having formerly left it to the will of Plessis, to use

his own discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now, whether the baron had reason to please himself, as one beforehand in point of honour (who struck M. de Plessis like a ruffian coming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horses ready, shifted himself away on the sudden, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himself in this shameful manner); or whether Monsieur de Plessis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not far juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him—let any wise man judge. To this, if it be said, that the baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced and not voluntary, and therefore no disgrace unto him, I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a thief when he is brought to the gallows, to repent him of the robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact; which (but for our sins to God) makes all repentance shameful, because all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a gentleman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance itself, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the fear of the ill that may befal us, or out of the acknowledgment of our own weakness. Certainly, as wise men and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or sudden injuries, that are not offered from malice forethought, than revenge them, so men, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour, and rather desire that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring than know any such resolution in themselves. For he that knows himself indeed to be an honest man, scorns to hunt after opinion.

"Now the same power which the constable and marshals of France have, hath also a marshal of England or his deputies, by whose judgment, in all disputes of honour, every man's reputation may be preserved. We may therefore as well submit ourselves to the judge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we do submit ourselves in all controversies of livelihood and life to the judges of the law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chivalry in England, in France, and elsewhere, was no less charitable than politic. For the blood of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth honey bees, as that of bulls doth, which sting but

the fingers or the face; but it produceth that monstrous beast, revenge, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of several nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatening the wrath of God upon supreme governors than the permission.

"His Majesty, therefore, (which Henry the Fourth of France also endeavoured,) hath done a most kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his predecessors could never do, in beating down and extinguishing that hereditary prosecution of malice, called the deadly feud; a conquest which shall give him the honour of prudence and kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope that his royal care shall be no less happy in preventing the like mischief, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and brave, yet outrageous vanity of duellists.

"Unto this that I have spoken of lying and of manslaughter, it must be added that each of these are of great latitude, and worthy of reproof and vengeance proportionably, more or less, in their several degrees. There is much difference between lies of necessity upon breach of promise, or complimental lies, and such pernicious lies as proceed from fear and cowardice, or are uttered by false witnesses; the former sort being excusable by weakness or levity, the latter being altogether detestable. No less, if not more, difference there is, between killing of a man in open field with even weapons, and that killing which the Scriptures call killing by guile—*dolo* or *per insidias*; though our laws do not much distinguish them in punishment. For, in the latter, God, forsaking his own privilege, commandeth that the guileful murderer be drawn by force from the protection of his altar. Neither is every guileful murder performed by the sword, nor by overt violence; but there is a guileful murder also by poisoning, and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found between coming presumptuously upon a man to slay him with guile, and lying in wait for blood, privily, for the innocent, without a cause, upon hope of spoil, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds. Francis the First, Queen Mary of England, and the king's majesty now reigning, have given notable testimony of their justice upon three noblemen, who committed guileful murder. Of the first kind, King Francis upon the Lord of Talard,

who being (saith the French historian) *de haute et ancienne lignée, et supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances*—'who being of high and ancient lineage, and supported by divers great alliances'—of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in especial favour with the king) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the hangman: Queen Mary upon a nobleman of her own religion, and in many other respects very dear unto her: His majesty upon a baron of Scotland, whose house was no less ancient and faithful than himself valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poison, and of punishment following such wicked artisans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speak of any English judge) the author of the 'French Recherches,' gives unto us two notable instances: the one of Des Eshars, who (saith Pasquier) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolaitre; et Dieu permit que depuis il fut pendu et estranglé*—'who caused Montaigu, great master of France, to die to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne), whom, at that time, Eshars worshipped as his idol, but God permitted that he himself was soon after hanged and strangled.' The other was of the Great Francis the First, upon his chancellor, Poyet, who, to satisfy the king's passion, practised the destruction of the Admiral Chabot—a man most nobly descended and of great service. For, as in other men, so in kings, the passion of love grows old, and wears out by time. So the king's affection being changed towards the admiral, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The admiral, presuming upon the great good service which he had done the king in Piedmont, and in the defence of Marseilles against the emperor, gave the king other language than became him, and desired nothing so much as a public trial. Hereupon, the king (it being easy to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the chancellor, as president, and other judges, upon an information of the king's advocate, to question the admiral's life. The chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience (which is not rare in men towards the law), hoping highly to content the king, wrought with some of the judges with so great cunning, with others with so sharp threats, and with the rest with so fair promises, as albeit nothing could be proved against the admiral worthy of the king's

displeasure, yet the chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his estate, offices, and liberty, though not able to prevail against his life. But what was the chancellor's reward (the king hating falsehood in so great a magistrate) other than his own degradation, arraignment, and condemnation? *Belle leçon certes* (saith Pasquier) *à tout juge pour demeurer tousiours en soy, et ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginaire faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge*—'a fair lesson to all judges, to dwell always in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginary favour, which in the end overwhelms them.' And as for the admiral, though it might have been answered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamity as undeserved, that he was tried according to his own desire, by the laws of his country, and by the judges of parliament; yet the king's justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his honour, his offices, his liberty, and his estate."

It is supposed to have been about the commencement of 1603 that Ralegh instituted that meeting of choice spirits at the Mermaid tavern in Friday-street which afterwards became so celebrated, and which brought together more talent, learning, and genius, than were probably ever combined, before or since, Johnson's Literary Club not excepted. It is not an improbable conjecture that this club, at its first institution, numbered, besides its founder, Camden, Hariot, Bacon, Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Daniel, Fletcher, and Sir Hugh Myddleton,* of New River celebrity, with other worthies whose names are less familiar. Beaumont, Donne, Selden, Cotton, and Carew, could hardly have been original members.

On the 24th of March, 1603, the long and glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth came to an end, and in the grave of that renowned princess was buried the worldly prosperity of Sir Walter Ralegh. Of the instability of fortune, and the vanity of human hopes and expectations, many moralists have written, and many examples

* I remember to have read somewhere that Ralegh often smoked a pipe with Sir Hugh Myddletou before the door of that worthy citizen and goldsmith's house (which, I think, was in Friday-street). Sir Walter was just the man to take an interest in a recital of Sir Hugh's scheme, which he did not bring to bear without much difficulty, and after several years.

have they drawn from history in illustration of the mournful fact, that the highest of this world may sink to the very dust, and that for the lowest there is yet a lower deep. But very few examples have been presented to us, of men who have suffered the successful shafts of malice, the persecution of enemies, the treachery of friends, the vengeance of outraged laws, and the loss of life, with more dignified magnanimity than Ralegh. If, in his brighter and happier years, he would not have said, in the magnificent lines of Dryden—

> "If joys hereafter must be purchased here
> With loss of all that mortals hold so dear,
> Then welcome infamy and public shame,
> And last, a long farewell to worldly fame,"

he would have disdained in his darker, but to posterity his most lustrious day, to exclaim—

> "'Tis said with ease; but, oh, how hardly tried
> By haughty souls to human honour tied!
> Oh sharp convulsive pangs of agonising pride!"

JAMES I.

CHAPTER V.

Before his accession to the throne of England, James I. had been strongly prejudiced by the Earl of Essex against Ralegh. These prejudices had been aggravated by Cecil, who had privately corresponded with the cowardly and suspicious king before the death of Elizabeth, and who, after the execution of Essex, perceived the likelihood of a rivalry for power between himself and his once so intimate friend. Cecil soon gained the entire confidence of the new King. He had a talent for fomenting and discovering plots, and the latter half of this qualification commended itself to the liking of James, to whom the ghost of his own deserts was ever appearing in the form of treason;* and he came to the throne

* "His carver once, at table, giving himself accidentally a nick on the finger

prepared for a conspiracy which the secretary, in his letters, had shadowed forth to him. There were involved other reasons which would cause James to dread and abhor Sir Walter. He, Lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, and others, would have obliged the king to sign certain articles, one of which was a limitation of the number of his countrymen, before he should be admitted to the throne. Again, the daughter and heiress of Bassett, of Umberleigh and Hinton Court, in Devonshire, was a ward of Ralegh, and from the infancy of both had been contracted to his son Walter. This family was descended from the Plantagenets, and was at that very time laying claim to the crown.

But if his majesty had had no cause of dislike to Ralegh, his first appearance before him, his known character as a man of war, and the proposal he made to his royal master, would have sufficed to alarm the "modern Solomon." Aubrey says—"He was such a man every way that (as King Charles I. says of the Lord Strafford) a prince would rather be afraid of than ashamed of. He had that awfulness and ascendancy in his aspect over other mortals, that the K . . . ." Then James thought that Sir Walter would engage him in a war;—and not without reason, for his first proposal to his majesty was, to carry two thousand men to invade the Spaniards, without any expense to the King; and he wrote a discourse against the peace, then in treaty with that country, and another in which he exposed a method of carrying on war against her.

It needed not the acuteness of a Ralegh to perceive, after a very short time, that he was far from welcome at the Court. He was removed from the captaincy of the guards, which was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Erskine, a favourite of James, and his countryman; and shortly afterwards he was charged with being engaged in a plot against the King and the royal family. This conspiracy has been very properly called a riddle of state, and has never been solved. The sum of what can be gleaned from our own writers is to this effect.

Matthew de Laurencie, a merchant of Antwerp, was one of the train of Count Aremberg, who, in June, 1603, came ambassador

(as he was routing in the dish), his Majesty, at the sight of his own blood, could not forbear calling out 'treason!' Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, used to make himself merry with this expression."—*The Regal Apology.*

from the arch-duke Albert, to congratulate James on his accession, and promote a general peace. The Lord Cobham had had some previous knowledge of this man, and renewed his acquaintance. Laurencie, five days after the arrival of Aremberg, took Cobham with him to visit the ambassador, with whom, it would seem, he had a very important interview, the substance of which he communicated to Ralegh. He said that Aremberg, knowing that he (Ralegh) was the chief of those who opposed the peace, had offered him a sum of money to promote it. This, indeed, was a repetition of a former offer, made by Aremberg, through Cobham, before the arrival of the ambassador.*

Early in the following month the conspiracy, or rather another branch of it, was discovered. In this George Brooke, brother of Lord Cobham, Watson and Clarke, two Romish priests, and others, were engaged.

Anthony Copley, one of the conspirators, deposed that the King's person was to be surprised by Lord Grey of Wilton and Brooke. Cecil (lately created Baron Essendon), before whom this confession was made, at once suspected that Lord Cobham, the brother of Brooke, might be one of the conspiracy, and, pursuing his conjectures, that Ralegh, again very intimate with Cobham, was joined with him. Accordingly Cecil, meeting Ralegh on the terrace at Windsor, told him that the Council, then sitting, wished to speak to him. The lords having examined him, touching Cobham's supposed understanding with Aremberg, Sir Walter fully cleared that nobleman, and remarked, that whatever correspondence there might have been between Cobham and the ambassador, Laurencie was the man most able to give an account of it. Ralegh being committed prisoner to his own house, Cobham sent to him to know what had passed. Ralegh despatched an answer by Capt. Keymis, "that he had cleared him of all," and Keymis bade Cobham "be of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn him." Ralegh, however, positively denied that he had ever sent such a message.

* How likely Ralegh was to further the interests of Spain, his whole public life has already shown. But the Duc de Sully, in his memoirs, expressly tells us that Ralegh called upon him at that very time to communicate to him the practices of the agents of Spain, especially of the English Catholics, to engage King James in an alliance with that court against France and the United Provinces.

A few days afterwards, Cobham was examined at Richmond, and denied stoutly all that was questioned against Ralegh and himself; but being artfully led to believe that Sir Walter had accused him of all, or more than he knew, he broke out into violent denunciations against Ralegh, and in rage, or possessed with the desperation of a liar and a coward, made the following confession: "That having a passport to go to the Spanish King, he intended first to confer with the arch-duke; and because he knew the latter had not money to pay his own army, meant from thence to go to Spain, to deal with the King for six hundred thousand crowns, and thence to return to Jersey; and that nothing should be done about the distribution of that money to the discontented in England till he had spoken with Sir Walter Ralegh." He said further, that "he should never have entered into these crimes but by his instigation." He spoke also of plots, but of the particulars could give no account; yet he acknowledged that he was afraid that Ralegh, upon his return to Jersey, "would have him and the money to the King." This miserable miscreant had not reached the stair-foot ere he came back and protested he had done wrong to Ralegh. In another part of his examination, he said he had had a book from Ralegh, written against the King's title, which he gave to his brother Brooke, and that Sir Walter said it was foolishly written.*

Upon this, and other parts of his confession concerning the setting up of the Lady Arabella (daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, the King's uncle) as the rightful heir to the crown, as also from the confession of his brother Brooke, a known enemy of Ralegh, "asserting that Cobham told him (though Cobham refused to own it) that Lord Grey and others were only on the

* Cobham retracted this also. Ralegh, on his trial, said that Cobham must have taken the book from his table; he himself had taken it to read (by permission of Cecil) from the late Lord Burghley's study. The Lord Treasurer was accustomed to procure all the libels he could get against Queen Elizabeth, and Ralegh observed that he himself had many of them. "I will teach you wit," said the brutal Coke, "before I have done. Englishmen will not be led by persuasion of words, but they must have books to persuade." Ralegh answered coolly, "It was written by a man of your profession, Mr. Attorney." To whom Coke said, "I would not have you impatient." Ralegh replied, "Methinks you fall out with yourself; I say nothing."

bye, but Ralegh and he were on the *main,*"* with Ralegh's own acknowledgment, "that Cobham offered him eight thousand crowns for his furtherance of the peace, though the Lord Cecil and the Earl of Northumberland were to have the same proffers,"—upon these circumstances Ralegh was indicted at Staines, on the 21st September, where that indictment was drawn up against him, upon which he was found guilty, notwithstanding that not one single criminal allegation could be proved against him. Three days afterwards Cobham and Grey were indicted at the same place, and the three, pending the trial, were confined in the Tower. In November, the trial drawing nigh, Ralegh got a poor fellow, employed in the Tower, to throw a letter, fastened to an apple, into Cobham's window, while the lieutenant was at supper, entreating him, for God's sake, to do him justice by his answer, and signify to him that he had wronged him in his accusation, and Cobham did so. But Ralegh, thinking this letter not so full and explicit as it might be, sent him a second letter, asking him to publish his innocence at his arraignment. He had not requested a further justification; but Cobham answered this appeal, and cleared him in the most solemn manner.

The plague then raging in London, the term was held at Winchester, whither the prisoners were conveyed. Here, as soon as he was brought, Cobham, dreading the vengeance of the law, but hoping to save himself by the sacrifice of Ralegh, subscribed fresh accusations in a letter to the Lords, and, armed with these, Sir Walter's trial was first proceeded with.

This trial—if by such a name it may be called—took place on the 17th November, 1603. The Commissioners were—the Right Honourable Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain; Charles Blount, Earl of Devon;† Robert Cecil, Baron Essendon, Edward Lord Wotton; Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain; Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton;‡ Lord

* The *main* was the "surprising treason"—the intent to "take away the king and his cubs;" the *bye* was the minor or collateral treason—the plot of Brooke and the Romish priests.

† This young nobleman, formerly Lord Mountjoy, had been the bosom friend of Essex, and was at least cognizant of his treason.

‡ Lord Henry Howard was afterwards implicated in the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; but it was not convenient to include him amongst the other culprits.

Chief Justice Popham; of the Common Pleas, Anderson; Justices Gawdie and Warburton; and Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower. It will not be necessary to give the names of the jury. Ralegh did not challenge one of them, and after their verdict, said emphatically, "they must do as they are directed." I hope the story may be true,—that, after the trial, some of them went on their knees before Ralegh, and begged his pardon.*

The indictment was opened by Sergeant Heale. Coke, the Attorney-General, followed, and enlarged upon the treason of the *bye*, with any participation in which Ralegh was not charged. He then informed the jury that another thing would be stood upon, namely, that they had but one witness, instructing them that one witness was sufficient. He next spoke of Ralegh's treason as a design to destroy the King and his progeny.

Upon this Ralegh interrupted him, saying, "To whom speak you this? You tell me news I never heard of."

"Oh Sir! do I," cried Coke; "I will prove you the notoriousest traitor that ever came to the bar."

And then commenced a scene, to be carried on to the end of the trial (the Attorney-General's brutal passions being aroused, which he could vent with safety), which brands the name of Coke with eternal infamy. Lord Campbell says: "His (Coke's) first appearance as public prosecutor in the new reign was on the trial of Sir Walter Ralegh, charged with high treason by entering into a plot to put the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne; and here, I am sorry to say that, by his brutal conduct to the accused, he brought permanent disgrace upon himself, and upon the English bar. He must have been aware that, notwithstanding the mysterious and suspicious circumstances which surrounded the affair, he had no sufficient case against the prisoner, even by written depositions, and according to the lax notions of evidence then subsisting." And "whilst he was detailing the charge, he knew it could not be established." We must give a few specimens of it.

* It is said that "there was appointed for Ralegh another jury, the foreman of which was Sir Michael Stanhope, the next Sir Edward Darcy, the next Sir William Killigrew, all men of honour, and near servants to the late Queen Elizabeth; but these being found not for their turn, they were all changed over night."

Attorney-General. "After you had taken away the king, you would alter religion, as you, Sir Walter, have followed them of the *bye* in imitation; for I will charge you with the words."

Ralegh. "Your words cannot condemn me: my innocency is my defence. Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment, and that I

SIR EDWARD COKE.

am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand thousand torments."

Attorney-General. "Stay, I will prove all: thou art a monster; thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart."

Ralegh. "Let me answer for myself."

Attorney-General. "Thou shalt not."

Ralegh. "It concerneth my life."

Attorney-General. "Oh, Sir! have I touched you?"

These charges, without proof, drawn from the deposition of Cobham, being proceeded with, Ralegh again interposed.

Ralegh. "You tell me news, Mr. Attorney."

Attorney-General. "Oh, Sir, I am the more large, because I

know with whom I deal; for we have to deal to-day with a man of wit."

Ralegh. "I will wash my hands of the indictment, and die a true man to the King."

Attorney-General. "You are the absolutest traitor that ever was."

Ralegh. "Your phrases will not prove it, Mr. Attorney. I do not hear yet that you have spoken one word against me: here is no treason of mine done. If my lord Cobham is a traitor, what is that to me?"

Attorney-General. "All he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor."*

Ralegh. "It becometh not a man of quality and virtue to call me so. But I take comfort in it; it is all you can do."

Attorney-General. "Have I angered you?"

Ralegh. "I am in no case to be angry."

The depositions were now read. "They did not," says Lord Campbell, "by any means make out the prisoner's complicity in the plot." The Attorney-General observed, "Ralegh saith, if the accuser be alive, he must be brought face to face to speak; and alleges that there must be two sufficient witnesses that must be brought face to face before the accused."

Ralegh. "You try me by the Spanish Inquisition, if you proceed only by the circumstances, without two witnesses."

Attorney-General. "This is a treasonable speech."

Ralegh. "Let Cobham be here; let him speak it. Call my accuser before my face, and I have done."

We hope we have already made it clear that a prisoner is being tried for his life on the deposition mainly of a man who had accused and retracted; retracted twice, and again accused; that a Winchester bushel of the wretch's oaths ought to have been as potential towards a conviction of Ralegh, as the same measure of the Attorney-General's foul-mouthed vituperations. It must ere this have been clear, not only to Sir Walter, but to every man

* It has often been remarked (and it is very probable,) that Shakspeare had this in his mind when he was writing that scene in "Twelfth Night," where Sir Toby sketches out for Sir Andrew the form of his challenge: "If thou *thou'st* him some thrice it shall not be amiss; and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper. Let there be gall enough in thy ink."

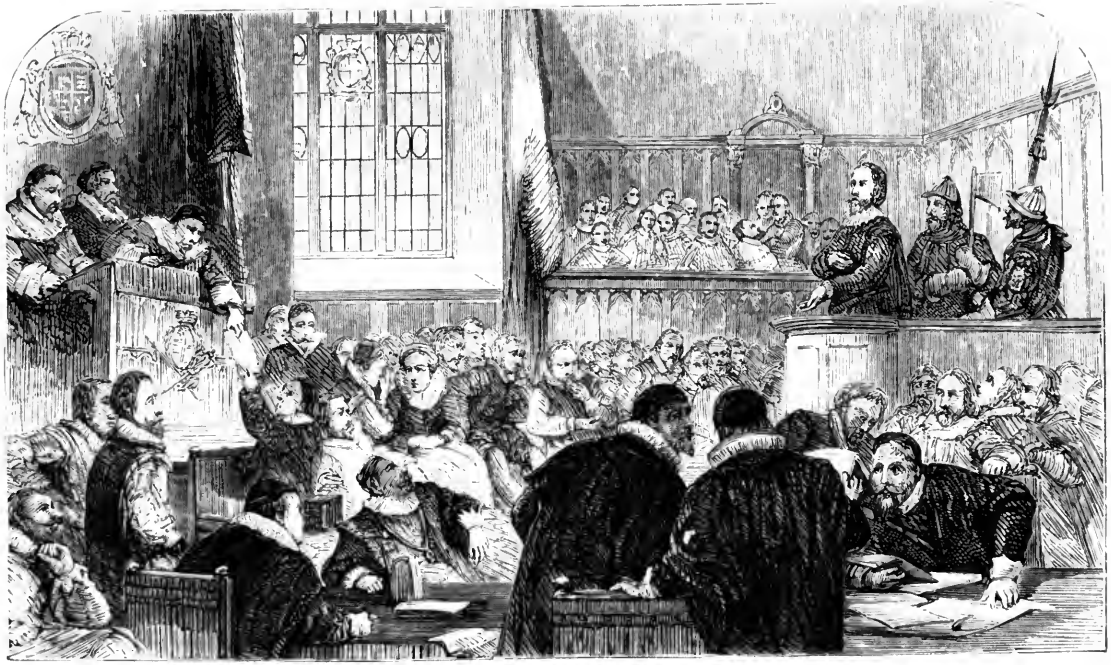
there present, that they wanted his life, and were determined to have it.

Not even Coke had the audacity to attempt an answer to the following statement of the prisoner:—

"As soon as Cobham saw my letter to have discovered his dealing with Aremberg, in his fury he accused me; but before he came to the stair-foot he repented, and said he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his accusation, he added, that if he had brought this money to Jersey, he feared that I would have delivered him and the money to the king. Mr. Attorney, you said this came out of Cobham's quiver—he is a simple man. Is he so simple? No; he hath a disposition of his own; he will not easily be guided by others; but when he has once taken head in a matter, he is not easily drawn from it: he is no babe. But it is strange for me to devise with Cobham that he should go to Spain to persuade the king to disburse so much money, he being a man of no love in England, and I having resigned my room of chiefest command, the Wardenship of the Stannaries.* Is it not strange for me to make myself Robin Hood, or a Kett, or a Cade, I knowing England to be in a better estate to defend itself than ever it was? I knew Scotland united, Ireland quieted, wherein of late our forces were dispersed; Denmark assured, which before was suspected. I knew that, having lost a lady whom time had surprised, we had now an active king, a lawful successor, who would himself be present in all his affairs. The state of Spain was not unknown to me: I had written a discourse, which I had intended to present unto the king, against peace with Spain. I knew the Spaniards had six repulses, three in Ireland, and three at sea, and once in 1588, at Cadiz, by my Lord Admiral.† I knew he was

* Ralegh, detested by the citizens of London, was very popular in Devon and Cornwall.

† In his letter to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, and Devon, and to Cecil, written a few days before his trial, he says, "I have been a violent persecutor of that nation. I have served against them in person; and how my Lord Admiral and Lord of Suffolk can witness. I discovered, myself, the richest part of all his Indies; I have planted in his territories; I offered his majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry two thousand men to invade him without the King's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of wrath, or be prevented by one man's word!"



TRIAL OF SIR WALTER RALEGH.

discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the king of Spain to be the proudest prince in Christendom; but now he cometh creeping to the king, my master, for peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his port six or seven score sail of ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty-four millions he had from his Indies, he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so poor that the Jesuits in Spain, who were wont to have such large allowance, were fain to beg at the church door. Was it ever read or heard that any prince should disburse so much money without a sufficient pawn? I knew her own subjects, the citizens of London, would not lend her majesty money without lands in mortgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the States money without Flushing, Brill, and other towns for a pawn. And can it be thought that he would let Cobham have so great a sum?"

We must give further portions of this extraordinary trial. Sir Edward Coke is held in reverence by the profession, and proclaimed the greatest lawyer that ever practised at the bar, or sat upon the bench. Doubtless he deserves this high reputation. But there is too much reason to believe that he who audaciously put the law on one side to curry favour with James, vindicated its supremacy to feed fat his malice against his memory. Let lawyers worship the *lawyer;* the rest of the world must ever regard the *man* with disgust.

Here is Laurencie's examination: "Within five days after Aremberg arrived, Cobham resorted unto him. That night that Cobham went to Aremberg with Laurencie, Ralegh supped with him." Upon this evidence of treason, Coke had the effrontery to exclaim, "The crown shall never stand one year on the head of the King, my master, if a traitor may not be condemned by circumstances." There was one Dyer, a pilot, called and sworn. He said:—

"I came to a merchant's house in Lisbon to see a boy that I had there. There came a gentleman into the house, and, inquiring what countryman I was, I said an Englishman. Whereupon he asked me if the King was crowned, and I answered, no; but that I hoped that he should be so shortly. 'Nay,' saith he, 'he shall never be crowned; for Don Ralegh and Don Cobham will cut his throat ere that day come.'" Coke had the unblushing impudence to offer this as evidence.*

* Sir John Hawles, Solicitor-General to King William III., in his answer

Ralegh urged again and again that his accuser should be brought before him. "My lords, vouchsafe me this grace: let him be brought, being alive, and in the house; let him avouch any of these things, I will confess the whole indictment, and renounce the King's mercy." Again: "Let me speak for my life: it can be no hurt for him to be brought: he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this favour, I am strangely used."

Chief Justice Popham remarked, that the acquitting of his old friend might move Cobham to speak otherwise than truth. To which Ralegh replied:—

"If I had been the infuser of all these treasons into him,—you, gentlemen of the jury, mark this. He said, I have been the cause of all his miseries, and the destruction of his house, and that all evil hath happened unto him by my evil counsel. If this be true, whom hath he cause to accuse and to be revenged on but me?"

Attorney-General. "He is a party, and may not come: *the law is against it!*"

Ralegh. "It is a toy to tell me of law. I stand on the fact. You have not proved anything against me by direct proofs, but all by circumstances."

to a pamphlet entitled, "The Magistracy and Government of England Vindicated," has some remarks on this trial. "I would know," he says, "by what law is the deposition of a person who might be brought face to face to the prisoner, read as evidence? I would know by what law it is forbidden that the accuser should be brought face to face to the accused? I would know by what law Brooke's deposition of what the Lord Cobham told him of Ralegh, was evidence against Ralegh? I would know by what law the story Dyer told of what an unknown man said to him at Lisbon of Don Ralegh, was evidence against Ralegh? I would know by what statute the statutes of the 25th of Edward III. and 5th of Edward VI. (which require two witnesses) are repealed? . . . . The circumstances of this trial, in which the court always overruled the prisoner, were somewhat like the Lord Russell's: he complains of the ill-usage of the king's counsel, as well as the Lord Russell; and both had reason so to do. Hearsay was admitted to be given in evidence against both; all that either of them said for themselves, though very material, was slighted. The principal witnesses in both cases had before the trials affirmed they knew nothing against them; they were both accused of having heard what other persons had said in their company, and had not discovered it. They both gave the same answer, that they could not help other men's talk. I think it is plain at this day, that of Sir Walter is thought a sham-plot; what the Lord Russell's is, let the author say."

Attorney-General. "Have you done? the king must have the last."

Ralegh. "Nay, Mr. Attorney, he which speaketh for his life must speak last. False repetitions and mistakings must not mar my cause. You should speak *secundum allegata et probata.* I appeal to God and the King in this point, whether Cobham's accusation be sufficient to condemn me."

Attorney-General. "The King's safety and your clearing cannot agree. I protest before God, I never knew a clearer treason. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back for the confidentest traitor that ever came at a bar."

And now even the "affable wolf," Cecil, thought it time to interpose.

Cecil. "Be not so impatient, Mr. Attorney: give him leave to speak."

Attorney-General. "If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage traitors, and discourage us. I am the King's sworn servant, and must speak. If he be guilty, he is a traitor; if not, deliver him."

Here Coke "sat down in a chafe," and would speak no more, until the commissioners urged and entreated him. After much ado he resumed, and made a long repetition of all the evidence, for the direction of the jury; and at the repeating of some things, Sir Walter interrupted him, and said he did him wrong. Whereupon, the following remarkable dialogue ensued:—

Attorney-General. "Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived."

Ralegh. "You speak indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly."

Attorney-General. "I want words sufficient to express thy viperous treasons."

Ralegh. "I think you want words, indeed; for you have spoken one thing half-a-dozen times."

Attorney-General. "You are an odious fellow; thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride."

Ralegh. "It will go near to prove a measuring-cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney."

Attorney-General. "Well, I will now make it appear to the world that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou."

With that he drew a letter from his pocket. It was from Cobham, and addressed to the Lords. The poor man "could be at no rest with himself, nor quiet in his thoughts," until he had, for the third or fourth time, made a clean breast of it.

"What though Cobham retracted," said Coke; "yet he could not rest nor sleep till he confirmed it again."

In this letter, Cobham protested on his soul, before God and his angels, that everything of which he had accused Ralegh was true.

"What say you now of the letter?" asked the Chief Justice.

"I say," said Ralegh, "that Cobham is a base, dishonourable, poor soul;" and pulled a letter out of his pocket, written to him by Cobham, and desired Cecil to read it, because he only knew his hand. It was read, and was in these terms:—

"Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my own conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me, I protest, upon my salvation, I never practised with Spain by your procurement: God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject, for anything I know. I will say as Daniel, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus.** So God have mercy upon my soul, as I know no treason by you!"

"Now I wonder," said Ralegh contemptuously, "how many souls this man hath: he damns one in this letter, and another in that."

"Here," says the account of the trial, "was much ado. Mr. Attorney alleged that his (Cobham's) last letter was politicly and cunningly urged from the Lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the truth."

And now, there being an end of the evidence, the jury retired, and in less *than a quarter of an hour* returned with their verdict, GUILTY.†

* Cobham's remembrance of the Scriptures must have been unsettled at this time. He meant Pilate, not Daniel.

† Sir Anthony Weldon, in his "Aulicus Coquinariæ," observes: "For Ralegh's defence, it was so brave and just, that (had he not wilfully cast himself, out of very weariness, as unwilling to detain the company longer), no jury could ever have cast him." But Ralegh was ever present to himself on this occasion. Even his enemy, Cecil, acknowledged that his victim urged in his own defence "all that the wit of man could devise." Lord Campbell

Being asked by the Clerk of the Crown what he could say why judgment and execution of death should not pass against him,

Ralegh replied: "My lords, the jury have found me guilty; they must do as they are directed. I can say nothing why judgment should not proceed. I desire the King should know of the wrongs done unto me since I came hither."

"You have had no wrong, Sir Walter," said the Chief Justice.

"Yes, of Mr. Attorney," answered Ralegh. "I submit myself to the King's mercy. I recommend my wife, and son of tender years, to his compassion."

Chief Justice Popham now proceeded to pass sentence of death. He said:—

"I thought I should never have lived to see this day, Sir Walter, to have stood in this place to give sentence of death against you, because I thought it impossible that one of so great parts could have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many benefits. You had been a man fit and able to serve the King in good place. It is best for a man not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall, nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden on. It was the posy (motto) of the wisest and greatest councillor in our time in England,* '*In medio spatio mediocria firma locantur.*' You have been taken for a wise man, and so have shown wit enough this day. . . . . Let it not grieve you if I speak a little out of zeal and love to your good. You have been taxed by the world with the defence of the most heathenish and blasphemous opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the authors and maintainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth. You shall do well, before you go out of the world, to give satisfaction therein, and not to die with the imputations upon you. Let not any devil persuade you to think there is no eternity in heaven; for, if you think thus, you shall find eternity in hell-fire." †

says, "*Of course*, there was a verdict of guilty;" by which I do not understand his lordship to mean that they were a packed jury, but that they were overborne by Coke.

* Sir Nicholas, father of the great Lord Bacon.

† This was a highly moral conclusion of a speech from a dignified judge, who, although not particularly squeamish as to straining the law at the commandment of the higher power, may be supposed to have been "respectable."

Ralegh, we are told, accompanied the sheriff back to the prison, "with admirable erection, yet in such sort as a condemned

in his own private character. Will it be believed that this smug censor of another man's falsely alleged religious opinions, from the time he could write man till he became thirty years of age, was the constant and intimate associate of the most profligate and desperate characters, in company with whom he obtained his livelihood by robbing travellers, at Shooter's Hill and elsewhere, of their purses, and everything of value they had about them; and that, by these means, he laid the foundation of "the largest estate," says Lord Campbell, "that ever had been amassed by any lawyer?" But this is not the worst. How came this excellent Christian possessed of Littlecote Hall, which, with his money, he left to his son (who made wings for the riches, wherewith they flew away)? Sir Richard Darrell, the owner of that "noble house, park, and manor," was tried for murder at Salisbury, before Sir John Popham, and convicted. The judge gave sentence according to law; but was bribed with the estate of Littlecote to procure a *nole prosequi*. A relation of this "horrible and mysterious crime," as Macaulay terms it, will be found interesting. We give it in the words of Walter Scott, who delivers it "exactly as told in the country." I copy it from Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chief Justices:"—"It was on a dark night, in the month of November, that an old midwife sat musing by her cottage fireside, when on a sudden she was startled by a loud knocking at the door. On opening it she found a horseman, who told her that her assistance was required immediately by a person of rank, and that she should be handsomely rewarded; but that there were reasons for keeping the affair a strict secret, and, therefore, she must submit to be blindfolded, and to be conducted in that condition to the bedchamber of the lady. With some hesitation the midwife consented; the horseman bound her eyes and placed her on a pillion behind him. After proceeding in silence for many miles, through rough and dirty lanes, they stopped, and the midwife was led into a house, which, from the length of her walk through the apartments, as well as the sounds about her, she discovered to be the seat of wealth and power. When the bandage was removed from her eyes, she found herself in a bedchamber, in which was a lady, on whose account she had been sent for, and a man of a haughty and ferocious aspect. The lady was delivered of a fine boy. Immediately the man commanded the midwife to give him the child, and, catching it from her, he hurried across the room and threw it on the back of the fire that was blazing in the chimney. The child, however, was strong, and by its struggles rolled itself off upon the hearth, when the ruffian again seized it with fury, and, in spite of the intercession of the midwife, and the more piteous entreaties of the mother, thrust it under the grate, and, raking the live coals upon it, soon put an end to its life. The midwife, after spending some time in affording all the relief in her power to the troubled mother, was told that she must be gone. Her former conductor appeared, who again bound her eyes, and conveyed her behind him to her own home; he then paid

man should do." Many testimonies remain of the address, skill, temper, and dignity, with which he encountered, not his judges, but his adversaries, on this trial. "Sir Walter Ralegh," says Sir Dudley Carleton, "served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. He answered with that temper, wit, courage, learning, and judgment, that—save that it went with the hazard of his life—it was the happiest day that ever he spent." One of his auditors says:—"He behaved himself so worthily, so wisely, so temperately, that in half a day the mind of all the company was changed from the extremest hate to the extremest pity." Sir Thomas Overbury, in his "Arraignment of Sir Walter Ralegh," observes, that his carriage was most remarkable—first, to the lords humble, yet not prostrate; towards the jury affable, but not fawning, rather showing loss of life than fear of death; towards the king's counsel patient, but not insensibly neglecting; not yielding to imputations laid against him in words; and it was wondered that a man of his heroic spirit could be so valiant in suffering. "The two first," says Carleton, "that brought the news to the king were Roger Ashton and a Scotchman, whereof one affirmed that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do it in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas, when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he could have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted,

her handsomely, and departed. The midwife was strongly agitated by the horrors of the preceding night, and she immediately made a deposition before a magistrate. Two circumstances afforded hopes of detecting the house in which the crime had been committed: one was, that the midwife, as she sat by the bedside, had, with a view to discover the place, cut out a piece of the bed-curtain and sewn it in again; the other was, that, as she descended the staircase, she had counted the steps. Some suspicion fell upon one Darrell, at that time the proprietor of Littlecote House, and the domain around it. The house was examined and identified by the midwife, and Darrell was tried at Salisbury for the murder. *By corrupting the judge he escaped the sentence of the law*, but broke his neck, by a fall from his horse in hunting, in a few months after. The place where this happened is still known by the name of 'Darrell's stile,' and is dreaded by the peasant whom the shades of evening have overtaken on his way."—I am sorry to be obliged to add, that Sir John Popham, the owner of Littlecote, was in a manner related to Ralegh, his daughter having been the wife of Sir Richard Champernon, the nephew, as I take it, of Ralegh's mother.

have gone a thousand to have saved his life." In a word, Sir John Denham's lines on the demeanour of the Earl of Strafford on a like occasion, may be applied to Ralegh:—

> "Such was his force of eloquence, to make
> The hearers more concern'd than he that spake;
> Each seem'd to act the part he came to see,
> And none was more a looker-on than he."

The Bishop of Winchester was sent to Sir Walter to prepare him for his end, and to induce him to confess his treason. But the prelate was not able to accomplish the latter part of what had been entrusted to him. He found him indeed "well settled, and resolved to die a Christian, and a good Protestant;" but "for the point of confession he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation." "No man," says Mr. Southey, "ever asked for life with more dignified submission to his fortune" than did Ralegh, in a letter he addressed at this time to the King. But this praise cannot be accorded to the latter, or to the spirit in which the author composed it, consistently with Southey's singular belief of Ralegh's guilt. Sir Walter wrote likewise the following letter to his wife:—

"You shall receive, my dear wife, my last words, in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows, dear Bess: let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with a heart like yourself.

"*First:* I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words express, for your many travails and cares for me, which, though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this world.

"*Secondly:* I beseech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide yourself many days, but by your travails seek to help my miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child: your mourning cannot avail me, that am but dust.

"*Thirdly:* You shall understand that my lands were conveyed *bonâ fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at Midsummer

was twelvemonths, as divers can witness. And I trust my blood will quench their malice who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you and your's with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct you I know not; for all mine have left me in the true time of trial, and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, that being thus surprised by death, I can leave you in no better estate. God hath prevented all my determinations—even that great God which worketh all in all! If you can live free from want, care for no more; for the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on Him; in Him you shall find true, everlasting, and endless comfort. When you have travailed and wearied yourself over all sorts of worldly cogitations, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God while he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be a husband to you, and a father to him—a husband and a father that can never be taken from you.

"Bailey oweth me a thousand pounds, and Adrian (Gilbert) six hundred. In Jersey also I have much owing me. Dear wife, I beseech you, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you shall be sought unto by many, for the world thinks I am very rich; but take heed of the fair pretences of men and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befal you in this life than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine; death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and me from you.

"Remember your poor child for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life; but it is true, I disdain myself for begging it. You know it, dear wife, your son is the son of a true man, and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death and all his mis-shapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much. God he knoweth how hardly I steal this time, when others sleep; and it is also time for me to separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which, living, was denied thee;

and either lay it in Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more. Time and Death call me away. The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and inscrutable God Almighty, who is goodness itself, and true light, and true life, keep thee and thine; have mercy upon me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in His glorious kingdom!

"My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy; pray for me; and let my true God hold you both in his arms. Written with the dying hand of sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown. Yours that was, but now not mine own,

"WALTER RALEGH."

It was probably at Winchester, where he was kept nearly a month in daily expectation of death, that he drew up his "Advice to his Son and to Posterity," in which we view the results of a sagacious experience dealing with the ordinary affairs of life.

"SIR WALTER RALEGH'S INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON AND TO POSTERITY.

"CHAPTER I.

"Virtuous Persons to be made choice of for Friends.

"THERE is nothing more becoming any wise man than to mak choice of friends, for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them, therefore, be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain; but make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy; for if thou givest hourly gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will be thy mortal enemies. Take, also, special care that thou never trust any friend or servant with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself always to his mercy. And be sure of this—thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such, therefore, as are thy inferiors will eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy

estate, will always be had; and if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things—the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will bless thee), then therein trust no man; for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And though I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy estate with any of the great ones that shall attempt unlawful things; for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee. Thou shalt be sure to part (have part) with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present in hope of a better in future is mere madness; and great men forget such as have done them service when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

"I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life:—when thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy promise, and thine own estate before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to day hateth to morrow: but let reason be thy school mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

"CHAPTER II.

"Great care to be had in the choosing of a Wife.

"THE next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife, and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men, in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery, yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof. But remember, that though these affections do not last,

yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life, and therefore better to be borne withal in a mistress than in a wife; for when thy humour shall change, thou art free to choose again (if thou give thyself that vain liberty).

"Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and, when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all; for the desire dieth when it is obtained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after which thou didst love thy dry-nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be in thy liking in older years. And, therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love.

"Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches: have care, therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair wife and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want, for she is the companion of plenty and honour; for I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, '*Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity:*' she saith, further, that '*a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*'

"Have, therefore, ever more care that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her. And thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations—first, if thou perceive she has a care for thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in conversation without thy instruction; for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: let her have equal part of thy estate whilst thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger,

and most times to an enemy; for he that shall marry thy wife shall despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet always remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate, especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But, howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy the second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest upon this earth, whilst it lasteth. To conclude: wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

"Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for, believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirty; for as the younger times are unfit either to choose or to govern a wife and family, so, if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which, being left to strangers, are in effect lost; and better were it to be unborn than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late before thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy time and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life. And be sure of this:—that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself, for there never was any such affection which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon:—'*There is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death;*' for howsoever a lewd woman pleases thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee.

* * * *

Bestow, therefore, thy youth so that thou mayest have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof. Whilst thou art young, thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once—that it never turns again. Use it, therefore, as the spring time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

"CHAPTER III.

"Wisest Men have been abused by Flatterers.

"TAKE care that thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing; but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies, as thou shalt never, by their will, discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And, because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool; neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue—they are ever base, creeping, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling: it is said by Isaiah in this manner—'*My people, they that praise thee, seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet;*' and David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer.

"But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious and full of protestations; for as a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayest be sure, that he that will in private tell thee thy faults is thy friend; for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

"CHAPTER IV.

"Private quarrels to be avoided.

"BE careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables, among choleric or quarrelsome persons, and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with ruffians; for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battle wherein thou mayest get honour to thyself and safety to thy prince and country. But if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after.* To shun, therefore, private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

"Jest not openly at those that are simple; but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed, and will seek to be avenged of thee; and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest than to do wrong, so truth herself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, '*He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.*' Do, therefore, right to all men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained), and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

"Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to treason itself) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee for any respect lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace; far better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself. If it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms than to hazard thyself; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law; if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured.

* So Polonius in "Hamlet."

"————Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in,
Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

If thou, therefore, contend or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it where it may do thee honour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

"Speaking much is also a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and, as Soloman saith, '*The mouth of a wise man is in his heart; the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh he uttereth.*' And by thy words and discourses, men will judge thee; for, as Socrates saith, "Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds." Therefore, be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest, whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from speaking is like a city without walls; and less pains in the world a man cannot take than to hold his tongue. Therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err: restrain thy choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good and the greatest evil which is done in the world.

"According to Solomon, '*Life and death are in the power of the tongue;*' and, as Euripides truly affirmeth, 'every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate;' for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also than by their vices. And, to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised speech; and in much speech there are many errors out of which thy enemies shall take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy if thou thyself shun these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men's estates; that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not. For, assure thyself, such persons

are most base and unworthy; and I never knew any of them prosper or respected amongst worthy or wise men.

"Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward, for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man—he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and, if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in St. John saith, that it is a vice proper to Satan, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth: and the gain of lying is nothing else but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs that '*God hateth false lips: and he that speaketh lies shall perish.*" Thus thou mayst see and find in all the books of God how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world—believe it that it never did any man good, (except in the extremity of saving life); for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

"CHAPTER V.

"Three rules to be observed for the preservation of a Man's Estate.

"AMONGST all other things of the world, take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve if thou observe three things:—first, that thou know what thou hast, what everything is worth that thou hast, and to see that these are not wasted by thy servants and officers; the second is, that thou never spend anything before thou have it, for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate; the third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and, above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men. If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare: if he press thee further, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion, by a syllable or word, to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a

rich man, it need not. Therefore, from suretyship, as from a manslayer or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this—that if thou force him, for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar. And believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it ever so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Besides, poverty is ofttimes sent as a curse of God. It is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt never help thyself or others; thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to show them; thou shalt be a burden and an eyesore to thy friends; every man will fear thy company: thou shalt be driven basely to depend on others; to flatter unworthy men; to make dishonest shifts; and, to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let not vanity, therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

"If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy older years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live and defend themselves and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, '*that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship is sure;*' it is further said—'*the poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.*' Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost; be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

"CHAPTER VI.

"What sort of servants are fittest to be entertained.

"LET thy servants be such as thou mayst command; and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards for tediousness neglect it. I myself have, therefore, lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will not thank thee, but

laugh thy simplicity to scorn. And, besides, it is the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

"CHAPTER VII.

"Brave rags wear soonest out of fashion.

"EXCEED not in the humour of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion;* but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments but by fools and women.

"CHAPTER VIII.

"Riches not to be sought by evil means.

"ON the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means. Destroy no man for his wealth, nor take anything from the poor, for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest anything from the needy and labouring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein: but use thy poor neighbours and tenants well; pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expenses to thyself. He that hath pity on another man's sorrow shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall, one time or other, fall into it himself. Remember this precept—'*He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord, and the Lord will recompense him that he hath given.*'

"I do not understand those for poor which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live; such as are old and cann travail; such poor widows and fatherless children as are orderea to be relieved; and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expenses. On such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful; defer not thy

* "Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy,
But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy,"

Is the advice of Polonius to his son, I almost wonder that a man so splendid in his apparel as Ralegh should have offered this counsel. He says, however, "*exceed*" not.

gift to the needy; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of Him that made him.

"CHAPTER IX.

"What inconveniences happen to such as delight in wine.

"TAKE especial care that thou delight not in wine; for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thyself, and companions, for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And, remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it, for all other vanities and sins are recovered; but a drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastliness, for the longer it possesseth a man the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

"Take heed, therefore, that such a careless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a man was their father. Anacharsis saith—"*The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness;*" but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And, therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat; and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art. '*Who have misfortune,*' saith Solomon, '*who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes?—even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.*' Pliny saith, 'Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery,

the night unquiet, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.'

"Whosoever loveth wine shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say—what offence they give: they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health and a life free from pain; and yet by drunkenness and gluttony (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, 'a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age.' And St. Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner:—'*Ebrietas est blandus dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipse est peccatum:*'—'Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself; which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.'

"Innocentius saith:—'*Quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui premit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? Nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?*'—'What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; which uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? There is no secresy where drunkenness rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom hath not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?"

"When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was given to drink, 'I thought at the last,' quoth Diogenes, 'he would spue out a whole house.'—'*Sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*'

"CHAPTER X.

"Let God be thy Protector and Director in all thy actions.

"Now, for the world—I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in

thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe but he that is honest.

"Serve God: let him be the author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavours to Him that must either wither or prosper them. Please Him with prayer, lest, if He frown, He confound all thy fortunes and labours like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice and fatherly instructions sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all His ways, and fill thy heart with His grace."

There are two poems, which I am about to quote, the composition of which has been frequently referred to this critical period of his life. The former (the "Pilgrimage,"*) may have been written in 1603; but the latter ("The Farewell," by some entitled "The Lie") was written years before, for it is to be found in a MS. collection of poems in the British Museum, dated 1596; but that Ralegh was the author, is undoubted. Poets sometimes place themselves, in imagination, in the condition of other men, and write what they suppose those others would (if they could) have written under certain circumstances. It is a mere conjecture of mine, that Ralegh, when he was composing "The Farewell," might have had Sir John Perrot in his mind, who, in 1592, lay under sentence of death in the Tower. Had that valorous knight been a poet, he would probably have produced some such pieces as this. The "giving them all the lie" at the end of each verse would have enchanted the violent and free-speaking (reputed) son of Harry the Eighth.

HIS PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my scallop shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon;
My scrip of joy, immortal diet;
My bottle of salvation;
My gown of glory (hope's true gage),
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,
No other balm will here be given,
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
Travels to the land of heaven,

* Some think that Bunyan had read this poem, and borrowed from it the idea of a "Pilgrim's Progress."

Over all the silver mountains,
Where do spring those nectar fountains.

And I there will sweetly kiss
The happy bowl of peaceful bliss;
Drinking mine eternal fill,
Flowing on each milky hill;
My soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.

In that happy, blissful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd fresh like me.
I'll take them first
To slake their thirst,
And then taste of nectar suckets,
At those sweet wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

And when our bottles and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then those holy paths we'll travel,
Strew'd with rubies thick as gravel;
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire floors,
Hill walls of coral, and pearly bowers.
From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl;
No conscience molten into gold,
No forged accuser, bought or sold;
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the king's attorney,
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels, but no fees.
And when the grand twelve million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
'Gainst our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads His death, and then we live.
Be Thou my speaker, taintless pleader,
Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder!
Thou giv'st salvation even for alms,
Not with a bribèd lawyer's palms.
Then this is mine eternal plea
To Him that made heaven, earth, and sea,
Seeing my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,

Just at the stroke of death, my arms being spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head;
So shall I ready, like a palmer fit,
Tread those blest paths shown in Thy holy writ.
Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell,
Who often think, must needs die well!

THE FAREWELL.

Go, soul, the body's guest,
Upon a thankless errand,
Fear not to touch the best;
The truth shall be thy warrant.
Go, since I needs must die,
And give them all the lie.

Go, tell the court it glows,
And shines like rotten wood;
Go, tell the church it shows
What's good, but does no good.
If court and church reply,
Give court and church the lie.

Tell potentates they live
Acting; but oh their actions!
Not lov'd unless they give;
Not strong but by their factions.
If potentates reply,
Give potentates the lie.

Tell men of high condition,
That rule affairs of state,
Their purpose is ambition,
Their practice only hate;
And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell those that brave it most,
They beg the more by spending;
Who in their greatest cost
Seek nothing but commending.
And if they make reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

Tell zeal it lacks devotion;
Tell love it is but lust;
Tell time it is but motion;
Tell flesh it is but dust;
And wish them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

Tell age it daily wasteth;
Tell honour how it alters;
Tell beauty that it blasteth;
Tell favour that she falters.
And as they do reply,
Give every one the lie.

Tell wit how much it wrangles
In fickle points of niceness;
Tell wisdom she entangles
Herself in over-wiseness;
And if they do reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Tell physic of her boldness;
Tell skill it is pretension;
Tell charity of coldness;
Tell law it is contention;
And if they yield reply,
Then give them still the lie.

Tell fortune of her blindness;
Tell nature of decay;
Tell friendship of unkindness;
Tell justice of delay;
And if they do reply,
Then give them all the lie.

Tell arts they have no soundness,
But vary by esteeming;
Tell schools they lack profoundness,
And stand too much on seeming.
If arts and schools reply,
Give arts and schools the lie.

Tell faith it's fled the city;
Tell how the country erreth;
Tell manhood, shakes off pity;
Tell virtue, least preferreth;

And if they do reply,
Spare not to give the lie.

So, when thou hast, as I
Commanded thee, done blabbing;
Although to give the lie,
Deserves no less than stabbing;
Yet stab at thee who will,
No stab the soul can kill.

A few days after Sir Walter's trial, the Lords Cobham and Grey of Wilton, and Sir Griffith Markham, were arraigned, found guilty, and sentenced to death.* "Cobham, on his trial," says Carleton, "made such a fasting day's work of it, that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling," &c. But young Grey of Wilton was a nobleman of undaunted resolution. He made a long and eloquent speech, and, when asked why sentence of death should not pass against him, he remarked, "I have nothing to say;" and then he paused long, adding at length—"and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind: '*Non eadem omnibus decora;*' the house of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his." "There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord."

It would seem that "there was no small doings at court, concerning Cobham, Grey, Markham, and Ralegh," for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another.† But James said that justice must take its course, and then proceeded to put in execution a piece of his darling king-craft.

Markham being first brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained grievously of his hardship. (He had been privately told by his friends that the sentence would not be

* Brooke and the popish priests were tried previously. Brooke was beheaded, and the priests, Watson and Clarke, were hanged. Whether from brutality or inexpertness, they were, as an eye-witness has recorded, "very bloodily handled."

† We learn but of one who interceded for Ralegh—the Countess of Pembroke, sister of Sir Philip Sidney. The "*antiquæ vestigia flammæ*" are said to have incited the noble and gentle lady to plead for his life. We are willing to believe that this story may be true.

carried into effect upon him). Nevertheless, he so far recovered his composure as to prepare himself with decency to the block. He was now told that a two hours' respite was granted him, and he was led away to the great hall, "to walk with Prince Arthur." Grey's turn came next: he was conducted to the scaffold by a troop of young courtiers, and supported on both sides by two of his dearest friends. "He had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom." Having said

THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

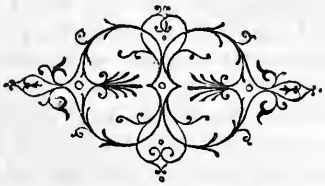
his prayers, the sheriff informed him that he had received orders to change the order of the execution, and that Lord Cobham was to die first. Thereupon he was "likewise led to Prince Arthur's Hall." Of Cobham let Sir Dudley Carleton speak:—"The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and, by his former actions, promised nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much cozen the world, for he came to the scaffold with good assurance and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so out-prayed the company that helped to pray with him,

that a stander-by said, 'he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.' He took it upon his soul's resurrection that what he had said of Ralegh was true, and then would have taken a short farewell of the world, when Mr. Sheriff again interposed, and told him that he was to be confronted with Cobham and Grey. These being brought back to the scaffold, 'looked strange, one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world.' All having assented to the justness of their sentence, and the lawfulness of their trials, 'Then,' said the sheriff, 'see the mercy of your prince, who of himself hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives.'"

"Ralegh," says Carleton, "you must think (who had a window opened that way) had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him, with the two lords, to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure." James gained some present popularity by this course; but we have a word to say touching what Dr. Lingard has remarked, and Southey assents to, of this proceeding of the king. The Doctor observes—"James reaped the full fruit of this device. The existence of the plot was proved by the confessions made on the scaffold; the guilt of Ralegh could no longer be doubted *after the solemn asseveration of Cobham*, and the royal ingenuity, as well as clemency, was universally applauded." Of what worth, we would ask, was the solemn asseveration of Cobham? How the cur conducted himself at his trial is on record. Who can doubt that his "good assurance and contempt of death" on the scaffold were the consequence of his knowledge that he had no present death to fear? Markham, we have seen, had a private intimation that he was not to suffer—why not Cobham? Is this unlikely? Taking his conduct on the scaffold in connection with another circumstance, of which neither Lingard nor Southey was aware, it is the most probable thing in the world. *Cobham was Cecil's brother-in-law*, the secretary being the husband of his sister.

Lord Grey of Wilton died in the Tower in 1614. Cobham, who, whilst in the Tower, is said, on the authority of Sir Anthony Weldon and others, to have once more cleared Sir Walter, seems to have been released a short time before his death, which took place

within three months after Ralegh's execution. His end, as likewise that (to be told hereafter) of another treacherous friend of Sir Walter, was regarded as a direct judgment of the Almighty. Weldon and Osborn agree as to the manner of Cobham's death. The latter says:—"Cobham died in a room, ascended by a ladder, at a poor woman's house in the Minories, formerly his laundress, rather of hunger, than of any more natural disease."



CHAPTER VI.

On the 15th of December, 1604, Sir Walter Ralegh was removed to the Tower, where he remained immured nearly thirteen years. A grant was made of his goods and chattels, forfeited by his attainder, to trustees appointed by himself, for the benefit of his family and creditors. Lady Ralegh earnestly solicited, and soon obtained, the privilege of sharing her husband's imprisonment, and in this mansion of murder, death, and despair, Carew, the second son of Ralegh, was born early in the following year.*

That Ralegh entered the Tower, prepared to endure with fortitude the rigours of what threatened to prove a life-long imprisonment, I can readily imagine; but his feelings of mortification, resentment, rage at having been sacrificed—but, worse than that, of having been, as the court-friends of both would say, *outwitted* by Cecil—if they can be conceived, cannot with any assurance of truth be described.† He was an ambitious man,—scorning popularity indeed, but eager for fame. The splendour of a court, himself to be a partaker of it, had no charms for him. To be engaged in active and perilous enterprises, for the advancement, the welfare, and the glory of his country—and, we may add, for his own welfare and glory—to be one of the chief luminaries from which issued that

* The persons permitted to have access to Sir Walter were—"His lady and son (Walter), and her waiting-maid; John Talbot, Peter Dean, John Talbot, a boy (these to remain in the Tower with him); Gilbert Hawthorne, a preacher (supposed to have been his chaplain), Dr. Turner, Dr. John, a surgeon, John Shelbery (one of his trustees), Thomas Hariot (the philosopher), his steward of Sherborne—(to repair to him at convenient time)."

† I had deemed it unnecessary to press the fact (which even now I believe will be obvious to the reader), that Sir Walter was the victim of a sham plot; but Mr. Tytler, whose abilities I respect, and to whose judgment I defer, has made a reference to a letter from Lord Henry Howard (afterwards Earl of Northampton) to Cecil, at that time supposed to be Ralegh's fast friend, written during the life of Queen Elizabeth. That letter is too long for quotation; but in it is to be clearly discerned the outline of the treacherous scheme which was put in practice against Ralegh in the first year of James.

splendour—this had been the constant object of his thoughts—this had ever been the incitement to his actions; and to have been debarred from this, when he might have shone with a brightness all his own; when all his great rivals, or contemporaries and sharers of renown, were no more, when a king had just ascended the throne, who most of all should have valued, because such a king most of all wanted, such a man, must have filled his soul with a bitterness little short of death. Any other man would probably have abandoned himself to despair; but his hopes, though scotched, were not killed.

The following two poems may be supposed to have been (indeed, most probably were) written when he was acquiring that state of mind which, while worldly hope lies torpid and to all seeming dead, has tranquillity shed over it by philosophy and religion.

DE MORTE.

Man's life's a tragedy; his mother's womb,
From which he enters, is the tiring-room;
This spacious earth the theatre, and the stage
That country which he lives in: passions, rage,
Folly, and vice, are actors; the first cry,
The prologue to the ensuing tragedy.
The former act consisteth of dumb shows;
The second, he to more perfection grows;
I' th' third he is a man, and doth begin
To nurture vice, and act the deeds of sin;
I' th' fourth declines; i' th' fifth diseases clog
And trouble him; then death's his epilogue.

HYMN.

Rise, O my soul! with thy desires to heaven,
And with divinest contemplation use
Thy time, where time's eternity is given,
And let vain thoughts no more thy thoughts abuse;
But down in darkness let them lie;
So live thy better, let thy worse thoughts die.

And thou, my soul, inspir'd with holy flame,
View and review with most regardful eye
That holy cross whence thy salvation came,
On which thy Saviour and thy sin did die!
For in that sacred object is much pleasure,
And in that Saviour is my life, my treasure.

To thee, O Jesu! I direct my eyes,
To thee my hands, to thee my humble knees;
To thee my heart shall offer sacrifice;
To thee my thoughts, who my thoughts only sees:
To thee myself—myself and all I give;
To thee I die, to thee I only live!

Whatever, and however irksome, his constrained inactivity of body, the mind of Ralegh could not but be active; and he must speedily have felt the want of some continuous and absorbing pursuit. In a happy hour for himself and for his enduring fame, he lighted upon a subject for his labour to exhaust itself upon, which is characteristic of his enterprising and adventurous spirit, and which promised to solicit every available hour of his imprisonment, even were it prolonged to the end of a long-extended life. But of this more presently.

It would appear that the first year or two of the prisoner's confinement was devoted to the pursuits of chemistry. In a letter from Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower, dated in 1605, we are told that "Sir Walter Ralegh hath like access (with Cobham) of divers to him; the door of his chamber being always open all the day to the garden, which, indeed, is the only garden the lieutenant hath. And in the garden he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." In a subsequent letter, however, from the same person, we see that he did sometimes a little relax from his labour:—"Sir Walter Ralegh doth show himself upon the wall in his garden to the view of the people, who gaze upon him, and he stareth upon them." This indulgence, it seems, caused him to be restrained.

Sir Walter, it will be remembered, toward the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, had settled his Sherborne estate upon his son Walter. His enemies, ill at ease until his ruin was complete, caused the deed of conveyance to be scrutinised with malignant particularity, and it was then referred to Sir John Popham, the chief justice, who gave it as his opinion that the deed, wanting a single word, could convey nothing: yet he owned that the omission was clearly the fault of the clerk who had engrossed the document. Some time afterwards, Robert Carr, afterwards Earl of Somerset, a young Scotch favourite of James, took an opportunity of calling

his majesty's attention to the flaw in Sir Walter's conveyance, and solicited Sherborne of his royal master—and obtained it! The letter of Ralegh to this soulless, shallow, rapacious, and villanous minion was of course of no avail. Neither was the appeal of Lady Ralegh on her knees with her children, to James, more effectual with that despicable monarch. He only answered, and reiterated, "I mun have the land; I mun have it for Carr." Elizabeth Ralegh was a woman of a high spirit. There, on her knees, before that ignoble presence of majesty, she prayed to God that He would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her children to ruin.*

Sir William Wade's letter has shown us that Sir Walter bestowed a portion of his time upon chemistry. He also engaged in medical pursuits, to which he discovered a strong partiality; and here he prepared that celebrated cordial which was in such high reputation in the time of Charles II., and on which a treatise was written in French, under the auspices of that monarch.†

* That prayer was not, nor long, unanswered. For no length of time did Carr enjoy Sherborne. Committed to the Tower for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, he was at length released (James having invoked the Almighty's heaviest curses upon himself if he spared his life), and restricted to his house in the country. There, in constant companionship with the wife, for the guilty love of whom he had become the murderer of his friend, he passed the remainder of his life, loathing the partner of his crimes, and by her as cordially detested. Need we tell of the doomed Stuarts? The hog, James, lost his pearl, Prince Henry, in 1612, whilst Ralegh was yet in the Tower. That most hopeful prince, had heaven permitted, might have averted the doom which fell upon his brother Charles, who, like a dishonourable gentleman, had played fast and loose, in this very matter of Sherborne, with Ralegh's son, Carew. Lady Ralegh, who survived her husband many years, lived long enough to be assured of that misgnided king's impending fate.

† It was entitled, "Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh," and was published in 1665, having been previously translated into English, and published in 1664. The recipe is given by the author, Le Febure; but Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Alexander Frazer introduced other ingredients. The recipe, as simplified in the "London Pharmacopœia," under the title, "Aromatic Confection," is subjoined.

Recipe.—Zedoary in coarse powder, and saffron, each . . $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Distilled water . . . . . 3 pints
Macerate for 24 hours, then press and strain. Reduce the strained liquor by evaporation to $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints, to which add the following, rubbed to a very fine powder;—

A very strong attachment subsisted between Prince Henry and Ralegh. The Prince had been heard to say, "No king but my

Compound powder of crabs' claws	16 oz.
Cinnamon and nutmegs, each	2 ,,
Cloves	1 ,,
Smaller Cardamom seeds, husked	½ ,,
Double-refined sugar	2 lbs.

Make a confection.

Evelyn, in his diary, under the date 1662, says—"I accompanied his majesty to Monsieur le Febure, his chemist (and who had formerly been my master in Paris), to see his accurate preparation for the composing Sir Walter Ralegh's rare cordial. He made a learned discourse before his majesty, in French, on each ingredient."

Ralegh appears to have kept the preparation of his cordial a secret during his life. His reason for so doing may probably be found in the following passage:—"There lived at that time in Syracuse, Archimedes, the noble mathematician, who, at the request of Hiero, the late king, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of war as, being in this extremity put in use, did more mischief to the Romans than could have been wrought by the cannon, or any instruments of gunpowder, had they in that age been known. This Archimedes, discoursing once with Hiero, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proof of this bold assertion, he performed some strange works, which made the king entreat him to convert his study unto things of use, that might preserve the city from danger of enemies. To such mechanical works Archimedes and the philosophers of those days had little affection. They held it an injury done to the liberal sciences, to submit learned propositions unto the workmanship and gain of base handicraftsmen. And of this opinion Plato was an author, who greatly blamed some geometricians, that seemed unto him to profane their science by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly task a man so wise as Plato with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularity in his reprehension; for it hath been the unhappy fate of great inventions to be vilified as idle fancies, or dreams, before they were published; and, being once made known, to be undervalued—as falling within compass of the meanest wit, and things that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of Columbus's discovery, with the much different sorts of neglect which he underwent before and after it), in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proof. He that looks upon our English brewers and their servants, that are daily exercised in the trade, will think it ridiculous to hear one say, that the making of malt was an invention proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in natural philosophy. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the less, for that the labour of workmanship grows to be the trade of ignorant men. The

father would keep such a bird in a cage;" and he had reason to think highly of the illustrious captive, for it was to him that Ralegh dedicated his observations on the royal navy and sea-service, and he addressed to him, in the form of a letter, a treatise touching the model of a ship which it was the Prince's intention to build. Hearing that Sherborne had been, or was to be given to Carr, Prince Henry "came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherborne upon him; alleging that it

like may be said of many handicrafts, and particularly in the printing of books, which being devised and bettered by great scholars and wise men, grew afterward corrupted by those to whom the practice fell; that is, by such as could slubber things easily over, and feed their workmen at the cheapest rate. In this respect, therefore, the alchymists, and all others that have, or would seem to have, any secret skill, whereof the publication might do good unto mankind, are not without excuse of their close concealings; for it is a kind of injustice, that the long travails of an understanding brain, beside the loss of time and other expense, should be cast away upon men of no worth—yield less benefit unto the author of a great work than to mere strangers, and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of envy have in it anything allowable and natural—as having anger, fear, and other like affections—it is in some such cases as this, and serveth against those which would usurp the knowledge wherewith God hath denied to endue them. Nevertheless, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to bear unto the generality of mankind, after the example of Him 'that suffereth his sun to shine upon the just and unjust,' it will appear more commendable in wise men to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world those good things that lie buried in their own bosoms. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning that may be perverted by evil men to a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare antidote contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison, much better it were that such a jewel remain close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than, being made common, bind all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to do mischief. But the works which Archimedes published were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were engines, serving unto the defence of Syracuse; not fit for the Syracusans to carry abroad, to the hurt and oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge how to use them, but reserved so much to his own direction, that after his death more of the same kind were not made, nor those of his own making were employed by the Romans. It sufficed unto this worthy man that he had approved unto the vulgar the dignity of his science, and done especial benefit to his country. For to enrich a mechanical trade, or teach the art of murdering men, it was beside his purpose."

was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked; but, indeed, with an intention of giving it back to Ralegh." He at last prevailed with his father, and the king gave Carr £25,000 by way of recompense. But the Prince's death, in November, 1612, prevented the accomplishment of this generous design, and herborne was given to Carr.

HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

During the last illness of this noblest of the Stuarts, the Queen applied to Sir Walter for some of his cordial, the good effects of which she had herself experienced. Ralegh, in a letter of condolence, hazarded his belief that his cordial "would certainly cure the prince, or any other, of a fever, except in case of poison." After the Prince's death, the Queen, in the agony of her grief, showed this letter of Ralegh, and to her dying day could never be dissuaded from the opinion that her beloved son had had foul play done him.* There were some at that time who, not altogether without reason, shared that opinion.

* Oldys remarks upon "the unsteady and incoherent opinions which were entertained of one and the same man's loyalty; that he who was accused at

The various political discourses of Sir Walter Ralegh were composed in the Tower. One of these, "The Cabinet Council," was edited and given to the world by Milton, who says in the preface, "Having had the MS. of this treatise, written by Sir Walter Ralegh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers, upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public, which was given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death." In this treatise there are several things which it had been well indeed if James, and his successor Charles, had read, committed to memory, and practically assented to.

But the chief employment of his prison hours was his composition of "The History of the World," or rather the first part of it—a work of such stupendous labour and research, of such extensive learning and vigorous genius, that in his own and in every succeeding age—in this and in other countries—it has excited the astonishment and admiration of the studious and the learned. It was noted in his busiest days that he had acquired a vast amount of knowledge; it was known that he never proceeded on a voyage, or retired for a season into the country, without being accompanied by large chests of books: wit, judgment, and sagacity, even his enemies never denied him, nor his keen observation of life and deep knowledge of human nature. But that a man, overthrown by the successful practice of his enemies, supposed to be writhing under the pangs of mortified pride, cozened of his fortune, cheated of his fame, consigned to the prison in which he had once attempted his life*—that he should have

his trial of a plot to extirpate the royal family, should yet be so far relied on to save it, as to have the lives, first of Queen Anne, and now of Prince Henry, trusted to his experiments."

* We have Cecil's written word for it, that when he was first committed to the Tower on the Cobham accusation, he attempted to stab himself to the heart; but he only succeeded in inflicting a deep wound in the left breast. The letter addressed to his wife before he committed the act, is that of a frantic man. How his enemies will triumph over his destruction, is the thought that drives him to outrageous despair. If this letter is genuine, I am sorry for it. What makes me doubt its genuineness is, that he commends his daughter to the love of his boy, Walter. It would seem that this illegitimate child was brought up by Lady Ralegh; but we never afterwards hear of her; and far

summoned such a magnanimous resolution, fortified by a steadfast reliance upon his own powers, as to design the composition of a work (which he would, if spared, have undoubtedly completed), one-half of which appeared the labour of a long and unembarrassed life, might well have been considered, as it must in this day be deemed, nothing short of marvellous.*

We propose to give some extracts from this book. They supply but a taste of its quality; but they will afford an indication of his manner of treating historical subjects, and of the spirit in which

more in relation to Sir Walter, of one sort and the other, has been told by his contemporaries than of any man of that age.

* Mr. Disraeli, the elder, some twenty years since, made one of his most remarkable discoveries, which he communicated to the world in his very amusing work, "The Curiosities of Literature." He had previously lighted upon a minor discovery, which we cannot omit quoting. He says—"Another remarkable instance of this sort is the name of Sir Walter *Rawley*, which I am myself uncertain how to write, although I have *discovered* a fact which proves how it should be pronounced." This he proceeds to "establish by the following fact:" When Sir Walter was first introduced to James I., on the king's arrival in England, the Scottish monarch gave him this broad reception—"Rawly! Rawly! true enough; for I think of thee very *rawly*, mon!" If this "broad reception" were ever given, we do not think, being uttered in broad Scotch, that it would be quite conclusive as to the pronunciation of Ralegh's name. But it is an idle story: he received Ralegh on the first interview, and treated him for some time with apparent cordiality. He would not have dared to make this speech, for Sir Walter's presence ever inspired him with fear. There are multitudes of pamphlets and books, printed during his life-time and long afterwards, in which the pronunciation of the name is satisfactorily established. In these he is called Sir Walter *Rawley*. Mr. Disraeli's great discovery, which he calls the "Secret History of Rawleigh's History of the World," amounts to nothing less than this, that Ralegh was indebted to his literary and learned friends for the composition of the whole of that great work, except the elegant, the grand, and the pathetic passages. The levity with which this charge was made, and the perverseness and obstinacy with which it was afterwards persisted in, make us by no means regret the ridicule and chastisement Mr. Disraeli brought upon himself. "This piece of "secret history,'" says Mr. Napier, "alike revolting and preposterous, was well rebutted by Mr. Tytler; but it has more recently been examined, and with signal chastisement, given to the winds, in a small publication, little known, we suspect, though forming one of the most learned and acute contributions to literary history that has appeared in our day." This little work is entitled, "Curiosities of Literature, by I. Disraeli, Esq., Illustrated by Bolton Corney, Esq."

he viewed the course of human events. They will display his thoughtfulness, his morality, and his wisdom, and they will suffice to show (what cannot be shown from the works of any other prose writer of that period) with how much vigour, vivacity, freedom, and elegance the English language could be written in the reign of James I. And first let us present a portion of the preface and the concluding passage of the work, not because they show off Ralegh's powers as a writer to the best advantage, but because they explain the design of the whole work, and the summing up of what he had completed.

"How unfit and unworthy a choice I have made of myself to undertake a work of this mixture, mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open itself to my younger years, and before any wound received either from fortune or time, I might yet have doubted that the darkness of age and death would have covered over both it and me, long before the performance.

"For, beginning with the creation, I have proceeded with the 'History of the World,' and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my discourse with this our renowned island of Great Britain. I confess that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travails, to have set together as I could the unjointed and scattered frame of our English affairs, than of the universal, in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough—the day of a tempestuous life drawn on to the very evening, ere I began. But those inmost and soul-piercing wounds which are ever aching while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those few friends which I have tried by the fire of adversity,—the former enforcing, the latter persuading,—have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and myself the subject of every opinion, wise or weak.

"To the world I present them; to which I am nothing indebted; neither have others that were,—fortune changing,—sped much better. For prosperity and adversity have evermore tied and untied vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, that dogs do always bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours, so it is with

the inconsiderate multitude who, wanting that virtue which we call honesty in all men, and that especial gift of God which we call charity in Christian men, condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given; led thereunto by uncertain report only, which his Majesty truly acknowledges for the author of all lies. 'Blame no man,' saith Siracides, 'before you have inquired the matter: understand first and then reform righteously.' *Rumor, res sine teste, sine iudice, maligna, fallax.* 'Rumour is without witness, without judge—malicious and deceivable.' This vanity of vulgar opinion it was that gave St. Augustine argument to affirm, 'that he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the evil.' And herein no man hath given a better rule than this of Seneca: *Conscientiæ satisfaciamus, nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis.* 'Let us satisfy our own consciences, and not trouble ourselves with fame: be it never so ill, it is to be despised, so we deserve well.'

"For myself, if I have in anything served my country, and prized it before my private, the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time than doth a fair sunshine day to a seaman after shipwreck, and the contrary no other harm than an outrageous tempest after the port attained. I know that I lost the love of many for my fidelity towards her whom I must still honour in the dust; though, further than the defence of her excellent person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the world hath taken the account; so, as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, *Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.*

"As for other men—if there be any—who have made themselves fathers of that fame which hath been begotten for them, I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mishap in that kind; but content myself to say with Virgil, *sic vos non vobis* in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction were an effect of frenzy, not of hope, seeing it is not truth, but opinion, that can travel the world without a passport. For, were it otherwise, and were there not as many internal forms of the mind as there are external figures of men, there were then some possibility to persuade by the mouth of one advocate—even equity alone.

"But such is the multiplying and extensive virtue of dead earth, and of that breath-giving life which God hath cast upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and hear, and among those that are, whom we see and converse with, every one hath received a several picture of face, and every one a diverse picture of mind; every one a form apart, every one a fancy and cogitation differing; there being nothing wherein nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh that there is so great diversity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural and unnatural, wise, foolish, manly, and childish affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and form of plants, and of reasonable creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one and of condition in the other, but the form internal.

"And though it hath pleased God to reserve the art of reading men's thoughts to himself, yet, as the fruit tells the name of the tree, so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to guess at the rest; nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the world's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it hath, to qualify and mask over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, *Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest:* 'No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures.' 'Neither can any man,' saith Plutarch, 'so change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongue's end.'

"In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable creatures, if we direct ourselves to the multitude, *omnis honestæ rei malus judex est vulgus;* 'The people are ill judges of honest things,' and 'whose wisdom,' saith Ecclesiastes, 'is to be despised;' if to the better sort, every understanding hath a peculiar judgment, by which it both censureth other men and valueth itself. And, therefore, unto me it will not seem strange, though I find these my worthless papers torn with rats; seeing the slothful censurers of all ages have not spared to tax the reverend fathers of the Church with ambition; the severest men to themselves with hypocrisy;

the greatest lovers of justice with popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude with vain-glory. But of these natures which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing Solomon complained long since, and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious, I must leave the professors to their easy ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

"If the phrase be weak, and the style not everywhere like itself, the first shows their legitimative and true parent; the second will excuse itself upon the variety of matter. For Virgil, who wrote his eclogues *gracili avena*, used stronger pipes when he sounded the wars of Æneas. It may also be laid to my charge that I use divers Hebrew words in my first book, and elsewhere; in which language others may think (and I myself acknowledge it) that I am altogether ignorant. But it is true that some of them I find in Montanus; others in Latin character in St. Senensis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But,—say I had been beholden to neither, yet were it not to be wondered at, having had an eleven years' leisure to attain the knowledge of that or of any other tongue. Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, that I might have been more pleasing to the reader if I had written the story of mine own times, having been permitted to draw water as near the well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoever, in writing a modern history, shall follow truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no mistress or guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance, I know not whether I should call that kind of course temper or baseness. It is true that I never travelled after other men's opinions when I might have made the best use of them, and I have now too few days remaining to imitate those that, either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me, being in that state I am, to write of the eldest times; wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past I point at the present, and tax the vices of those that are yet living in their persons that are long since dead—and have it

laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any that, finding themselves spotted like the tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly and me falsely.

"For I protest before the majesty of God that I malice no man under the sun. Impossible I know it is to please all, seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I, *Unus mihi pro populo erat;* and to the same effect Epicurus, *Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi;* or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient philosopher, *Satis est unus, satis est nullus.* For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian world, that I undertook this work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the world without a master, from which all that is presented hath received both blows and thanks. *Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendibus; hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur.*

"But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably, so against those, *qui gloriantur in malitia,* my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already, and therefore have not far to fall; and for rising again, as in the natural privation there is no recession to habit, so it is seldom seen in the privation politic. I do therefore forbear to style my readers *gentle, courteous,* and *friendly,* thereby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done may be thought enough, and too much; and it is certain, let us claw the reader with never so many courteous phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools, who write foolishly. For conclusion: all the hope I have lies in this—that I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous readers of my love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall do again. For, had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leisure to make myself a fool in print.

* * * * *

"By this which we have already set down, is seen the begin-

ning and end of the three first monarchies of the world, whereof the founders and erecters thought that they could never have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up, or cut down, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of barbarous nations enter the field, and cut her down.

"Now these great kings and conquering nations have been the subject of those ancient histories which have been preserved, and yet remain among us, and withal of so many tragical poets, as in the persons of powerful princes, and other mighty men, have complained against infidelity, time, destiny, and, most of all, against the variable success of worldly things, and instability of fortune. To these undertakings these great lords of the world have been stirred up, rather by the desire of fame, which plougheth up the air and soweth in the wind, than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true the good advice of Cineas to Pyrrhus proves. And certainly, as fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so it is to the dead of no use at all, because separate from knowledge; which, were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargain of buying this lasting discourse understood by them which are dissolved, they themselves would then rather have wished to have stolen out of the world without noise, than to be put in mind that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world by rapine, oppression, and cruelty—by giving in spoil the innocent and labouring soul to the idle and insolent—and by having emptied the cities of the world of their ancient inhabitants, and filled them again with so many and so variable sorts of sorrows.

"Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germans, which had neither greatness nor continuance) there hath been no state fearful in the east, but that of the Turk; nor in the west any prince that hath spread his wings far over his nest, but the Spaniard, who since the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moors out of Granada, have made many attempts to make themselves masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of

both Indies, and by the many kingdoms which they possess in Europe, they are at this day the most powerful. But as the Turk is now counterpoised by the Persian, so, instead of so many millions as have been spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easy to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pounds, continued but for two years, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swelling and overflowing streams may be brought back into their natural channels and old banks. These two nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one seeking to root out the Christian religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to join all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spain.

"For the rest, if we seek a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundless ambition in mortal men, we may add to that which hath been already said, that the kings and princes of the world have always laid before them the actions, but not the ends, of those great ones which preceded them. They are always transported with the glory of the one, but they never mind the misery of the other, till they find the experience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsel of death upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word, which God, with all the words of his law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is always deferred. 'I have considered,' saith Solomon, 'all the works that are under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.' But who believes it till death tells it us? It was death which, opening the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoin his son Philip to restore Navarre; and King Francis the First, of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them cry, complain, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed happiness. He takes the account of the rich and proves him a beggar, a

naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness—and they acknowledge it.

"O 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.*

"Lastly: whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself 'The First Part of the General History of the World,' implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn out; besides many other discouragements, persuading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never-enough-lamented loss hath taught me to say with Job, '*Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*'"

Title to "Sir Walter Ralegh's History of the World."

SELECTIONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

THE MIND OF THE FRONT.

WRITTEN BY BEN JONSON.

BEN JONSON.

From death and dark oblivion (near the same),
The mistress of man's life, grave history,
Raising the world to good or evil fame,
Doth vindicate it to eternity.

High Providence would so, that nor the good
Might be defrauded, nor the great secur'd;
But both might know their ways are understood,
And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamy hand
Of truth, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by experience, whose straight wand
Doth mete, whose line doth sound the depth of things;

She cheerfully supporteth what she rears,
Assisted by no strengths but are her own;
Some note of which each varied pillar bears,
By which, as proper titles, she is known,

Time's witness, herald of antiquity,
The light of truth, and life of memory.

THE JUDGMENTS OF THE ALMIGHTY.

"To repeat God's judgment in particular, upon those of all degrees which have played with His mercies, would require a volume apart; for the sea of examples hath no bottom. The marks set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth, and their fortunes written only in the memory of those that lived with them, so as those that succeed, and have not seen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. God's judgments upon the great and greatest have been left to posterity—first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their virtue who have gathered the acts and ends of men mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point far off, and to speak of the conversion of angels into devils for ambition; or of the greatest and most glorious kings, who have gnawn the grass of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards God; or of that wise-working of Pharaoh, when he slew the infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their cradles; or of the policy of Jezebel, in covering the murder of Naboth by a trial of the elders, according to law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other than to make an hopeless proof that far-off examples would not be left to the same far-off respects, as heretofore? For, who hath not observed what labour, practice, peril, bloodshed, and cruelty the kings and princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed, to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, no flower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds. No, their very roots and ruins do hardly remain. *Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando et durando deficiunt:* 'All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by standing and continuing, consumed.' The reasons of whose ruins are diversely given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All kingdoms and states have fallen (say the politicians) by outward and foreign force, or by inward negligence and dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, that the greatest have sunk down under their own weight, of which Livy hath a touch: *eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret*

sua: others, that the divine providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set down the date and period of every estate before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give myself a day over to resolve.

"For, seeing the first books of the following story have undertaken the discourse of the first kings and kingdoms; and that it is impossible for the short life of a preface, to travel after and overtake far-off antiquity and to judge of it, I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own kings, and their neighbour princes, who having beheld, both in divine and human letters, the ill success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty, have notwithstanding planted after the same pattern.

"True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable, nor (which is more strange) the affections of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature. But every one is touched most with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private, or otherwise best suiteth with his apprehension. But the judgments of God are for ever unchangeable; neither is He wearied by the long process of time, and won to give His blessing in one age to that which He hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded, will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages removed far from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no less appear by evident proofs than by asseveration, that ill-doing hath always been attended by ill success, I will here, by way of preface, run over some examples, which the work ensuing hath not reached.

"Among our kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of God's justice upon the children of Henry I. For that king, when both by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossessed, overreached, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his own sons lords of this land, God cast them all, male and female, nephews and nieces (Maud excepted), into the bottom of the sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were noble, and of the king dearly beloved.

"To pass over the rest, till we come to Edward II., it is certain that after the murder of that king, the issue of blood then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did again break out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our princes of the masculine race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward III. made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious, yet in that he afterwards caused his own uncle, the Earl of Kent, to die for no other offence than the desire of his brother's redemption, whom the earl as then supposed to be living, the king making that to be treason in his uncle which was indeed treason in himself (had his uncle's intelligence been true); this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had passed, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise, though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

"This cruelty, the secret and unsearchable judgment of God revenged on the grand-child of Edward II.; and so it fell out, even to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruins of those buildings of which the mortar had been tempered with innocent blood. For Richard II., who saw both his treasurers, his chancellor, and his steward, with divers others of his councillors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies, yet he always took himself for over-wise to be taught by examples. The Earls of Huntingdon and Kent, Montague and Spencer, who thought themselves as great politicians in those days as others have done in these, hoping to please the king, and to secure themselves, by the murder of Gloucester, died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that duke. And as for the king himself (who in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing himself by breach of faith, charters, pardons, and patents), he was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his cousin-german and vassal, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV.

"This king, whose title was weak, and his obtaining the crown traitorous; who broke faith with the lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himself, and brake faith with all the

kingdom in parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed king should live. After that he had enjoyed this realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his subjects, and never free from conspiracies and rebellions, he saw (if souls immortal see and discern anything after the body's death) his grand-child, Henry VI., and his son, the prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murdered; the possession of the crown (for which he had caused so much blood to be poured out) transferred from his race, and, by the issues of his enemies, worn and enjoyed—enemies whom, by his own practice, he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the kingdom questionless, by entailing the same upon his own issues by parliament. And out of doubt, human reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the father, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his son Henry V., had buried the hopes of every competitor, under the despair of all reconquests and recovery;—I say, that human reason might so have judged, were not this passage of Casaubon also true—*Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ:* 'A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that seemed to have been founded and rooted in adamant.'

"Now for Henry VI., upon whom the great storm of his grandfather's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard, the grand-child of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac of the house of Navarre, the greatest of the princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France), and married the daughter of Anjou (by which he lost all that he had in France); so in condescending to the unworthy death of his uncle of Gloucester, the main and strong pillar of the house of Lancaster, he drew on himself and this kingdom the greatest joint loss and dishonour that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest; of whom it may truly be said, which a counsellor of his own spake of Henry III. of France, *Q'uil estoit un fort gentil prince, mais son regne est advenu en un fort mauvais temps:* 'That he was a very gentle prince, but his reign happened in a very unfortunate season.'

"It is true that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practisers and

contrivers of the duke's death; Buckingham and Suffolk, because the duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the queen had been absolute; the queen, in respect of her personal wound, *spretæque injuria formæ*, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed—success to the counsel; for after the cutting down of Gloucester, York grew up so fast as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel Suffolk and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of oath by sacrament, it pleased God to strike down York, yet his son, the Earl of March, following the plain path which his father had trodden out, despoiled Henry the father, and Edward the son, both of their lives and kingdom. And what was the end now of that politic lady the queen, other than this,—that she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that she lived to look on, while her husband, the king, and her only son, the prince, were hewn in sunder, while the crown was set on his head that did it? She lived to see herself despoiled of her estate, and of her moveables; and lastly, her father, by rendering up to the crown of France the earldom of Provence, and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crowns for her ransom, to become a stark beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth *fine*, but *unrighteous;* for other fruit hath it never yielded since the world was.

"And now it came to Edward the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one only Earl of Richmond excepted, whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittany, but could not hold him; and yet was not this of Edward such a plantation, as could any way promise itself stability. For this Edward the king (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the prince in his own presence, of which tragical actors there was not one that escaped the judgment of God in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry VI., his predecessor, taught him also by the same art to kill his own sons and successors, Edward and Richard. *For those kings which have*

sold the blood of others at a low rate, have but made the market for their own enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

"To Edward IV. succeeded Richard III., the greatest master in mischief of all that forewent him, who, although, for the necessity of his tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own person, than all the rest, yet he so well fitted every affection that played with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the queen and to all her kindred, as he easily allured them to condescend,* that Rivers and Grey, the king's maternal uncle and half-brother, should (for the first) be severed from him; secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned; and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience), to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common precept which the devil hath written on every post, namely, to depress those whom they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had depressed, he urged that argument so fair and so forcibly, as nothing but the death of the young king himself, and of his brother, could fashion the conclusion; for he caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's head, that whensoever the king or his brother should have able years to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that cureless wrong offered to their uncle and brother, Rivers and Grey.

"But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his master's sons was without suspect; and yet the devil, who never dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him, and so he did. But when he found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not fordable, he first resolved to kill him sitting in council, wherein, having failed with his sword, he set the hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight; and because nothing else could move his appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off before he ate his dinner. A greater judgment of God than this upon Hastings, I have never observed in any story; for the self-same day that the Earl Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without trial of law or

* Ralegh, and other writers of that age, frequently use the word "condescend" in the sense of "consent,"—but a consent with reluctance, or after persuasion.

offence given) by Hastings' advice executed at Pomfret—I say, Hastings himself in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer, and with an eloquent oration persuaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king; and having received the earldom of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the king's only son, after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant, he had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his peers. And what success had Richard himself after all these mischiefs and murders, policies, and counter-policies, to Christian religion, and after such time as with a most merciless hand he had pressed out the breath of his nephews and natural lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end ere he himself could well look over and discern it? The great outcry of innocent blood obtained at God's hands the effusion of his, who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

"This cruel king Henry VII. cut off, and was therein (no doubt) the immediate instrument of God's justice. A politic prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisdom beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after he wore the crown, as ever king of England did;—I say by his wisdom, because as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazard than so much as cannot be denied it in all human actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Louis XI., whom he followed in all that was royal or royal-like; but he was far more just, and began not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as Louis did.

"He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants,—and therein exceeding wise, for whatsoever himself gave, he himself received back the thanks and the love, knowing it well, that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings than great subjects. On the contrary, in whatsoever he grieved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoever, the taking off of Stanley's head, who set the

crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, son to George, Duke of Clarence, shows, as the success also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his ancestors; for his possession in the first line ended in his grandchildren, as that of Edward III. and Henry IV. had done.

"Now for King Henry VIII.: if all the pictures and patterns of a merciless prince were lost in the world, they might all again be painted to the life out of the story of this king. For, how many servants did he advance in haste (but for what virtue no man could suspect), and with the change of his fancy ruined again, no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather honey, and in the end of harvest burnt them in the hive? How many wives did he cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many princes of the blood (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawl towards the block), with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common chronicles have kept the account), did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to have given his account to God for the abundance of blood already spilt, he imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk, the father, and executed the Earl of Surrey, the son; the one whose deservings he knew not how to value, having never omitted anything that concerned his own honour and the king's service; the other never having committed anything worthy of his least displeasure; the one exceeding valiant and advised, the other no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows which he heaped upon the fatherless and widows at home, and besides the vain enterprises abroad, wherein it is thought that he consumed more treasure than all our victorious kings did in their several conquests, what causeless and cruel wars did he make upon his own nephew, King James V.? what laws and wills did he devise to establish this kingdom in his own issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off and cut down those branches which sprang from the same root that he himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his own, without increase, though, for themselves in their several kinds, all princes of eminent virtue. For these words of Samuel to Agag, king of the Amalekites, have been verified upon many others — 'As thy sword hath made

other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women.' And that blood which the same King Henry affirmed that the cold air of Scotland had frozen up in the north, God hath diffused by the sunshine of His grace, from whence his majesty now living, and long to live, is descended; of whom I may say it truly, that if all the malice of the world were infused into one eye, yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul spots by which the consciences of all the fore-named princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent blood on the sword of his justice, with which the most that forewent him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this crown of England, it may truly be avowed, that he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath staid the time of putting it on, howsoever he were provoked to hasten it; that he never took revenge of any man that sought to put him beside it; that he refused the assistance of her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever princess did; that his majesty entered not by a breach, nor by blood, but by the ordinary gate, which his own right set open, and into which, by a general love and obedience, he was received; and howsoever his majesty's preceding title to this kingdom was preferred by many princes (witness the treaty at Cambray in the year 1559), yet he never pleased to dispute it during the life of that renowned lady, his predecessor; no, notwithstanding the injury of not being declared heir in all the time of her long reign.

"Neither ought we to forget or neglect our thankfulness to God for the uniting of the northern parts of Britain to the south—to wit, of Scotland to England; which, though they were severed but by small brooks and banks, yet, by reason of the long-continued war, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affection of the nations they were infinitely severed. This I say, is not the least of God's blessings which his majesty hath brought with him unto this land:—no, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to their height, they will appear but as a mole-hill compared with the mountain of this concord. And if all the historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the red rose and the white for the greatest happiness (Christian religion excepted) that ever this kingdom received from God; certainly the peace between the two lions

of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former. For by it, besides the sparing of our British blood, heretofore and during the difference so often and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the kingdom more enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet find the effect; but had the Duke of Parma, in the year 1588, joined the army which he commanded with that of Spain, and landed it on the south coast, and had his majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the north, it is easy to divine what had become of the liberty of England,—certainly we would then, without murmur, have bought this union at a far greater price than it hath since cost us. It is true that there was never any commonweal or kingdom in the world wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it; they are not infinite to examine every man's cause or to relieve every man's wants: and yet, in the latter, though to his own prejudice, his majesty hath had more compassion of other men's necessities than of his own coffers:—of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, '*Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis;*' which if other men do not understand, with Pineda, to be meant by 'liberality,' but by 'latitude of knowledge,' yet may it be better spoken of his majesty, than of any king that ever England had, who, as well in divine as human understanding, hath exceeded all that forewent him by many degrees.

"I could say much more of the king's majesty, without flattery, did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withal suspect that it might befal these papers of mine (though the loss were little) as it did the pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilful and common painters, which, by her own commandment, were knocked in pieces and cast into the fire. For ill artists, in setting out the beauty of the external, and weak writers, in describing the virtues of the internal, do often leave to posterity of well-formed faces a deformed memory, and of the most perfect and princely minds a most defective representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse, if the honest reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of

our former kings, and of other their neighbour princes (of whom, for that purpose, I have inserted this brief discourse), with his majesty's temperate, revengeless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest reader weigh them justly and with an even hand, and withal but bestow every deformed child on his true parent, he shall find that there is no man that hath so just cause to complain as the king himself hath.

"Now, as we have told the success of the trumperies and cruelties of our kings and other great personages, so we find that God is everywhere the same God; and as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of Henry I., and of our third Edward, in their children for many generations, so dealt he with the sons of Louis Debonaire, the son of Charles the Great, or Charlemagne; for after such time as Debonaire of France had torn out the eyes of Bernard, his nephew—the son of Pepin the eldest son of Charlemagne, and heir of the empire—and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother, there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poisonings, imprisonments, and civil war, till the whole race of that famous emperor was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himself of his nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard brothers by a civil death—having inclosed them, with sure guard, all the days of their lives within a monastery—held himself secure from all opposition; yet God raised up against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him;—his own sons, with whom, to satisfy their ambition, he had shared his estate and given them crowns to wear, and kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Yea, his eldest son, Lothaire (for he had four—three by his first wife and one by his second—to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Louis, and Charles), made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence towards his brothers and kinsmen, and that he had suffered his nephew, whom he might have delivered, to be slain:—'*Eo quod*,' saith the text, '*fratribus, et propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit:*' 'because he used violence to his brothers and kinsmen, and suffered his nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered.'

"Yet did he that which few kings do, namely, repent him

of his cruelty; for, among many other things which he performed in the General Assembly of the States, it follows:—'*Post hæc autem palam se errasse confessus; et imitatus imperatoris Theodosii exemplum, pœnitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat:*' 'after this he did openly confess himself to have erred, and, following the example of the Emperor Theodosius, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences as for that which he had done against Bernard, his own nephew.'

"This he did, and it was praiseworthy. *But the blood that is unjustly spilt is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These medicines, ministered to the dead, have but dead rewards.*

"This king, as I have said, had four sons: to Lothaire, his eldest, he gave the kingdom of Italy—as Charlemagne, his father, had done to Pepin, the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the empire; to Pepin, the second son, he gave the kingdom of Aquitaine; to Louis, the kingdom of Bavier; and to Charles, whom he had by a second wife, called Judith, the remainder of the kingdom of France;—but this second wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, persuaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitaine, thereby to greaten Charles, which, after the death of his son Pepin, he prosecuted to effect against his grand-child, bearing the same name. In the meanwhile, being invaded by his son Louis of Bavier, he dies for grief.

"Debonaire dead, Louis of Bavier, and Charles (afterwards called the Bald), and their nephew, Pepin of Aquitaine, join in league against the Emperor Lothaire, their eldest brother. They fight near to Auxerre the most bloody battle that ever was struck in France; in which the marvellous loss of nobility and men of war gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy, to the Huns to fall upon Almaine, and the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald, by treason, seizeth upon his nephew Pepin—kills him in a cloister. Carloman rebels against his father, Charles the Bald; the father burns out the eyes of his son Carloman. Bavier invades the Emperor Lothaire, his brother; Lothaire quits the empire; he is assailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his rebellion against his father and for his other cruelties, and dies in a monastery.

Charles the Bald, the uncle, oppresseth his nephews, the sons of Lothaire; he usurpeth the empire to the prejudice of Louis of Bavier, his elder brother; Bavier's armies and his son Carloman are beaten—he dies of grief, and the usurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias, a Jew, his physician; his son, Louis de Beque, dies of the same drink. Beque had Charles the Simple and two bastards, Louis and Carloman; they rebel against their brother, but the eldest breaks his neck—the younger is slain by a wild boar. The son of Bavier had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a window, in sporting with his companions. Charles the Gross becomes lord of all that the sons of Debonaire held in Germany; wherewith not contented, he invades Charles the Simple; but, being forsaken of his nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding, he dies a distracted beggar. Charles the Simple is held in wardship by Eudes, mayor of the palace; then by Robert, the brother of Eudes; and lastly, being taken by the Earl of Vermandois, he is forced to die in the prison of Peron. Louis, the son of Charles the Simple, breaks his neck in chasing a wolf; and, of the two sons of this Louis, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the prison of Orleans; after whom Hugh Capet, of another race and a stranger to the French, makes himself king.

"These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire; who, after he had once apparelled injustice with authority, his sons and successors took up the fashion, and wore that garment so long, without other provision, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable and naked beggars. The wretched success they had, saith a learned Frenchman, shows—'*Que en ceste mort il y a voit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice:*' that, in the death of that prince—to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heir of Charlemagne—'men had more meddling than either God or justice had.'

"But, to come nearer home, it is certain that Francis I., one of the worthiest kings (except for that fact) that ever the Frenchmen had, did never enjoy himself after he had commanded the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol and Cabrieres to the parliament of Provence, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murdered—men, women, and children.

It is true that the said king Francis repented himself of the fact, and gave charge to Henry, his son, to do justice upon the murderers, threatening his son with God's judgments if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment; for, after Henry himself was slain in sport by Montgomery, we all may remember what became of his four sons—Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules; of which, although three of them became kings, and were married to beautiful and virtuous ladies, yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world without stock or seed. And, notwithstanding their subtlety and breach of faith, with all their massacres upon those of the religion and great effusion of blood, the crown was set on his head whom they all laboured to dissolve; the Protestants remain more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than ever they had.

"Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spain as in England and France; towards whom we will look no further back than to Don Pedro of Castile, in respect of which prince all the tyrants of Sicily, our Richard III., and the great Evan Vasilowick of Moscovy, were but petty ones—this Castilian, of all Christian and heathen kings, having been the most merciless. For, besides those of his own blood and nobility, which he caused to be slain in his own court and chamber—as Sancho Ruis, the great master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom he cut in pieces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of Gomez Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomez, and the great commander of Castile, he made away the two infants of Arragon, his cousin-germans, his brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendez de Toledo, Guttiere, his great treasurer, and all his kindred—and a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent princes, whom, after he had kept in close prison from their cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years and the other fourteen, he murdered them there; nay, he spared not his mother, nor his wife, the Lady Blanche of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo and the Dean to be killed of purpose to enjoy their treasures, so did he put to death

Mahomet Aben Alhamar, king of Barbary, with thirty-seven of his nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great sum of money, to levy, by his favour, some companies of soldiers to return withal; yea, he would needs assist the hangman with his own hand in the execution of the old king, insomuch as Pope Urban declared him an enemy both to God and man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his kingdom, and re-established by the valour of the English nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster, he was stabbed to death by his younger brother, the Earl of Astramara, who dispossessed all his children of their inheritance—which, but for the father's injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

"If we can parallel any man with this king, it must be Duke John of Burgoigne, who, after his traitorous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend churchmen, the Earl of Grandprè, Hector of Chartres, and, in effect, all the officers of justice—of the Chamber of Accounts, Treasury, and Request, with sixteen hundred others to accompany them—to be suddenly and violently slain; hereby, while he hoped to govern and to have mastered France, he was soon after struck with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin, and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slain. These were the lovers of other men's miseries, and misery found them out.

"Now for the kings of Spain, which lived both with Henry VII., Henry VIII., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. Ferdinand of Arragon was the first, and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness; for this king did not content himself to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his ancestor, and to fasten thereunto the kingdom of Castile and Leon—which Isabel, his wife, held by strong hand and his assistance from her own niece, the daughter of the last Henry—but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own niece out of the kingdom of Navarre, and, contrary to faith and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This king,

I. say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick, kings of Naples—princes of his own blood, and by double alliance tied unto him—sold them to the French, and with the same army, sent for their succour under Gonsalvo, cast them out and shared their kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

"This wise and politic king, who sold heaven and his own honour to make his son, the Prince of Spain, the greatest monarch of the world, saw him die in the flower of his years; and his wife, great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest daughter, married unto Don Alphonso, Prince of Portugal, beheld her first husband break his neck in her presence, and, being with child by her second, died with it: a just judgment of God upon the race of John, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished, who had not only left many disconsolate mothers in Portugal by the slaughter of their children, but had formerly slain with his own hand the son and only comfort of his aunt, the Lady Beatrix, Duchess of Viseo. The second daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Archduke Philip, turned fool, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry VIII., he saw cast off by the king,—the mother of many troubles in England, and the mother of a daughter that, in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent blood, lost Calais to the French, and died heart-broken, without increase. To conclude: all those kingdoms of Ferdinand have masters of a new name, and by a strange family are governed and possessed.

"Charles V., son to the Archduke Philip—in whose vain enterprises upon the French, upon the Almans, and other princes and states, so many multitudes of Christian soldiers and renowned captains were consumed; who gave the while a most perilous entrance to the Turks, and suffered Rhodes, the key of Christendom, to be taken—was, in conclusion, chased out of France, and, in a sort, out of Germany, and left to the French, Mentz, Toulon, and Verdun (places belonging to the empire), stole away from Inspurg, and scaled the Alps by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice, having hoped to swallow up all those dominions wherein he concocted nothing save his own disgraces; and having, after the slaughter of so many millions of

men, no one foot of ground in either, he crept into a cloister, and made himself a pensioner of an hundred thousand ducats by the year to his son Philip—from whom he very slowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

"His son again, King Philip II., not satisfied to hold Holland and Zealand (wrested by his ancestors from Jacqueline, their lawful

PHILIP II.

Princess), and to possess in peace many other provinces of the Netherlands, persuaded by that mischievous Cardinal of Granvile, and other Romish tyrants, not only forgot the most remarkable services done to his father the Emperor, by the nobility of those countries; not only forgot the present made him upon his entry, of forty millions of florins, called the *Noval aid;* not only forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the general States to maintain and preserve their ancient rights, privileges, and customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five earls before him, conditional princes of those provinces; but, beginning first to constrain them, and enthral them by the

Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new-devised and intolerable impositions, he lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself, not only an absolute monarch over them, like unto the kings and sovereigns of England and France, but, Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their natural and fundamental laws, privileges, and ancient rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a dispensation of his former oaths (which dispensation was the true cause of the war and bloodshed since then), and after he had tried what he could perform by dividing of their own nobility, under the government of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinal Granvile, he employed that most merciless Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerful army of strange nations, by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of Egmont, Prince of Gavare, and Philip Montmorency, Earl of Horn; made away Montague, and the Marquis of Bergues, and cut off in those six years that Alva governed, of gentlemen and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred by the hands of the hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders and massacres by whose ministry, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtlety which he had failed to perform by force, he sent for Governor, his bastard brother, Don John of Austria, a prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papal advantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take oath upon the holy Evangelists, to observe the treaty made with the general States, and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, and other strangers therein garrisoned,—towards whose pay and passport the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of six hundred thousand pounds; which moneys received, he suddenly surprised the citadels of Antwerp and Nemours, not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possessed himself of all the mastering places of those provinces; for whatsoever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary counsel with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, ministers of the Spanish tyranny formerly practised, and now again intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the duke's cruelties. First, for himself: after he had mur-

dered so many of the nobility; executed, as aforesaid, eighteen thousand six hundred in six years, and most cruelly slain man, woman, and child, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, and other places; and after he had consumed six and thirty millions of treasure in six years, notwithstanding his Spanish vaunt that he would suffocate the Hollanders in their own butter-barrels and milk-tubs, he departed the country, no otherwise accompanied than with the curse and detestation of the whole nation, leaving his master's affairs in a tenfold worse state than he found them at his first arrival. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himself overcame the greatest difficulties, though his judgment were over-weak to manage the least, what wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the king's (his brother's) jealousy and distrust, with the untimely death that seized him even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo, his sharp-witted secretary, who, in his own imagination, had conquered for his master both England and the Netherlands, being sent into Spain upon some new project, he was at the first arrival, and before any access to the king, by certain ruffians appointed by Antonio Perez (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the king of Spain's carriage, his counsel and success in this business, there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkable; for he hath paid above an hundred millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Christians, for the loss of all those countries which, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equal his West Indies; for the loss of a nation which most willingly obeyed him; and who, at this day, after forty years' war, are, in despite of all his forces, become a free estate, and far more rich and powerful than they were when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

"Oh! by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politic subtlety, have these fore-named kings, both strangers and of our own nation, pulled the vengeance of God upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to pass for their enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels and cruelties, as the one could never have hoped for

themselves, and the other never have succeeded, if no such opposition had ever been made. God hath said it and performed it ever: *Perdam sapientiam sapientum*—'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.'

"But what of all this, and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living the fall and fortunes of the dead, seeing the world is the same that it hath been, and the children of the present time will still obey their parents? It is in the present time that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawful, and either we hope to hold them for ever, or at least we hope that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledge in all things that concern ourselves, or persuade ourselves that God hath given us letters patent to pursue all our irreligious affections with a *non obstante*, so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true that the quantity which we have is of the body; we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth, and we inhabit it. The heavens are high, far off, and unsearchable; we have sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel, then, that our thoughts are also earthly; and it is less to be wondered at that the words of worthless men cannot cleanse them, seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the prophet Isaiah cried out long ago, 'Lord, who hath believed our reports?' And out of doubt, as Isaiah complained then for himself and others, so are they less believed every day after other. For although religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who for the greatest number are but idols of vanity, what is it other than an universal dissimulation? We profess that we know God, but by works we deny him; for beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life; for the devils know them better than men. *Beatitudo non est divinorum cognitio, sed vita divina.* And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual war, massacres, and murders

for religion among Christians, the discourse whereof hath so occupied the world, as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the world. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires than the purchase of heaven; and that the world itself were but used as it ought, and as an inn or place wherein to repose ourselves in passing on towards our celestial habitation? when, on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soul hath nothing but hypocrisy. We are all, in effect, become comedians in religion; and while we act in gesture and voice, divine virtues, in all the course of our lives we renounce our persons, and the parts we play. For charity, justice, and truth have but their being in terms, like the philosopher's *materia prima.*

"Neither is it that wisdom which Solomon defineth to be the schoolmistress of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world; it is enough that we give it our good word, but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the world, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain honour, with the many respects which attend it; these, indeed, be the marks which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true that the care is our own—the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we ourselves enjoy no more thereof than so much as belongs to one man; for the rest, he that had the greatest wisdom and the greatest ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the use: 'When goods increase,' saith Solomon, 'they also increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners but the beholding thereof with their eyes?' As for those that devour the rest, and follow us in fair weather, they again forsake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steer away before the sea and wind, leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master Dannet, and use his own words: Whilst the Emperor Charles V., after the resignation of his estates, staid at Flushing for wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain, he conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinand's ambassador, till the deep of the

night; and when Seldius should depart, the Emperor, calling for some of his servants, and nobody answering him (for those that attended upon him were, some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleep), the Emperor took up the candle himself, and went before Seldius to light him down the stairs; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the stairs' foot, he said thus unto him: 'Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperor, when he shall be dead and gone—that him whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty armies and guards of soldiers, thou hast also seen alone, abandoned and forsaken, yea, even of his own domestical servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of God, which I will by no means go about to withstand.'

"But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first is the reverent respect that is held of great men, and the honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true, indeed, provided that an inward love for their justice and piety accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the multitude but as the outcry of an herd of animals, who, without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For, seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish virtue and fortune, the most impious, if prosperous, have ever been applauded—the most virtuous, if unprosperous, have ever been despised; for as fortune's man rides the horse, so fortune herself rides the man—who, when he is descended and on foot, the man taken from his beast, and fortune from the man, a base groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other with equal liberty.

"The second is the greatening of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their souls departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly said of them, which Lactantius spake of certain heathen philosophers, '*Quod sapientes sunt in re stulta;*' for when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by God, there remaineth in them no other joy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone which sleepeth in the wall of a king's palace;

nor any other sorrow for their poverty than there doth of shame in that which beareth up a beggar's cottage. '*Nesciunt mortuis etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non intersunt:*' 'The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living—no, not of their own children; for the souls of those departed are not conversant with their affairs that remain.' And if we doubt of St. Augustine, we cannot of Job, who tells us, 'That we know not if our sons shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree.' Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth—'Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living,' saith he, 'know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for who can show unto man what shall be after him under the sun?' He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities to labour and travail in the world, not knowing after death whether a fool or a wise man should enjoy the fruits thereof;—'which made me,' saith he, 'endeavour even to abhor mine own labour.' And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowful estates after death God hath reserved? man's knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the prophet Isaiah confesseth of the elect, that Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark night of death (of whose following day we shall never behold the dawn till his return that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more; after which, and when we shall again receive organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of angelical affections; in so great admiration shall the souls of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy, nor any return of foregone and mortal affection towards friends, kindred, or children,—of whom, whether we shall retain any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can assure us, and the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary, if a divine life retain any of those faculties which the soul exercised in a mortal body, we shall not at that time so divide the joys of heaven as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the world. No, be their estates greater than ever the world gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detest their consideration; and

whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity which we exercised living, and in that piety, justice, and firm faith for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of us and receive us. Shall we, therefore, value honour and riches at nothing, and neglect them as unnecessary and vain? Certainly no; for that infinite wisdom of God which hath distinguished his angels by degrees; which hath given greater and less light and beauty to heavenly bodies; which hath made differences between beasts and birds; created the eagle and the fly, the cedar and the shrub; and among stones, given the fairest tincture to the ruby, and the quickest light to the diamond; hath also ordained kings, dukes, or leaders of the people, magistrates, judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity for a mark and ensign of the virtue and understanding of their ancestors, so (seeing Siracides preferreth death before beggary, and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other men's pity) I account it foolishness to condemn such a case, provided that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own buildings out of other men's ruins. For, as Plato doth first prefer the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, *divitias nulla fraude quæsitas*,—so Jeremiah cries, 'Woe unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without equity;' and Isaiah the same, 'Woe to those that spoil and were not spoiled.' And it was out of the true wisdom of Solomon that he commandeth us 'Not to drink the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for blood; and not to swallow them up alive whose riches we covet; for such are the ways,' saith he, 'of every one that is greedy of gain.'

"And if we could afford ourselves but so much leisure as to consider, that he which hath most in the world hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever: I say, if both—to wit, our proportion in the world and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding that we so much prize the one, which hath (in effect) no being, and so much neglect the other, which hath no

ending; coveting those mortal things of the world as if our souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if ourselves after the world were but mortal.

"But let every man value his own wisdom as he pleaseth.—Let the rich man think all fools that cannot equal his abundance; the revenger esteem all negligent that have not trodden down their opposites; the politician all gross that cannot merchandise their faith; yet when we once come in sight of the port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal anchor which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end, then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations formerly beaten from us by our health and felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past: it is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when ourselves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is only then that we are struck through the soul with this terrible sentence—that God will not be mocked. For if, according to St. Peter, 'the righteous scarcely be saved,' and that God spared not his angels, where shall those appear who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think that the severe commandments of the all-powerful God were given but in sport, and that the short breath which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends), is sufficient? *O quam multi*, saith a reverend father, *cum hac spe ad æternos labores et bella descendunt!* I confess that it is a great comfort to our friends to have it said that we ended well, for we all desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall we call a disesteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God, if those men do not oppose him, disesteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God to ask him forgiveness at leisure with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? 'We beseech thee, O God, that all the falsehoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our lives past may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do anything for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity foolishness. For I shall prejudice my son (which I am

resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confess myself to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed.' Certainly these wise worldlings have either found out a new God, or made one, and in all likelihood such a leaden one as Louis the Eleventh wore in his cap, which, when he had caused any that he feared or hated to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiss it, beseeching it to pardon him this one evil act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did when, by the practice of a Cardinal and a falsified sacrament, he caused the Earl of Armagnac to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be used towards a leaden, but not towards the ever-living God. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the world, that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings; they fear the opinions of men, which beat but upon shadows; they flatter and forsake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they friends or kings; yea, they dive under water like ducks at every pebble-stone that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and, on the contrary, they show an obstinate and giant-like valour against the terrible judgments of the all-powerful God; yea, they show themselves gods against God, and slaves towards men—towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.*

"Now for the rest. If we truly examine the difference of both conditions—to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate, and of the poor and oppressed, whom we account wretched—we shall find the happiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to interchange (witness the sudden downfall of the greatest princes, and the speedy uprising of the meanest persons), as the one

* An allusion to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who was dying of a complaint sufficiently indicated by the adjective, whilst Ralegh was writing the above words. This is all the revenge he ever took upon his enemy. A very bitter epitaph on Cecil is generally ascribed to Sir Walter—so bitter, indeed, that James the First said he hoped the author might die before him. But it is the offensive personality of an ill-bred man. That Sir Walter never wrote it, I am as certain as though I could hear his indignant denial of the authorship. Nothing is more conspicuous in the writings of Ralegh than his modest and manly decency. I will not sully the page by quoting this epitaph.

hath nothing so certain whereof to boast, nor the other so uncertain whereof to bewail himself. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life, but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour or day to come. *Quid vesper vehat, incertum est:* 'what the evening will bring with it, is uncertain.' 'And yet ye cannot tell (saith St. James) what shall be to-morrow. To-day he is set up, and to-morrow he shall not be found, for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth.' And although the air which compasseth adversity be very obscure, yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearness thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will, to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other men's misfortunes and to those under the cross grievous; yet this is true, that for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Solomon) in them all we have rejoiced; or be it that we have measured the same length of days, and therein have evermore sorrowed; yet, looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other—to wit, the joy and the woe—sailed out of sight, and death, which doth pursue us and hold us in chase from our infancy, hath gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet:* 'whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it.' So as whosoever he be to whom fortune hath been a servant, and the time a friend, let him but take account of his memory (for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past), and truly examine what it hath reserved either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights; what it hath saved, that it might last of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment then unvaluable, and he shall find that all the art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions than heavy, secret, and sad sighs. He shall find nothing remaining but those sorrows which grow up after our fast-springing youth; overtake it when it is at a stand, and over-top it utterly when it begins to wither, insomuch as, looking back from the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature hath as little sense of all his former miseries and pains, as he that is most blessed in common opinion hath of his fore-past pleasure and delights. For what-

soever is cast behind us is just nothing, and what is to come deceitful hope hath it; *omnia quæ ventura sunt, in incerto jacent.* Only those few black swans I must except, who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price, do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both as necessary guides to endless glory.

"For myself, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrows of this life are but of two sorts, whereof the one hath respect to God, the other to the world. In the first we complain to God against ourselves for our offences against him; and confess, *et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos:* 'and thou, O Lord, art just in all that has befallen us.' In the second we complain to ourselves against God, as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours answering our appetites, or for taking them again from us, having had them; forgetting that humble and just acknowledgment of Job,—'the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken:'—to the first of which St. Paul hath promised blessedness; to the second, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ungrateful to God, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater than that which God oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet far less than those which are due unto him. And if an heathen wise man call the adversities of the world but *tributa vivendi*—'the tributes of living,'—a wise Christian man ought to know them, and bear them but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolvedly, and not as those whining soldiers do, *qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.*

"For seeing God (who is the author of all our tragedies) hath written out for us and appointed us all the parts we are to play, and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty princes of the world; that gave unto Darius the part of the greatest emperor, and the part of the most miserable beggar—a beggar begging water of an enemy to quench the great drought of death; that appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the morning, and in the same day the footstool of Tamerlane (both of which parts Valerian had also played, being taken by Sapores); that made Belisarius play the most victorious captain,

and last, the part of a blind beggar—of which examples many thousands may be produced; why should other men, who are but as the least worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world than to resolve, that the change of fortune on the great theatre, is but as the change of garments on the less. For when on the one and the other, every man wears but his own skin—the players are all alike. Now if any man out of weakness prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, *magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus)*, it is by reason of that unhappy fantasy of ours, which forgeth in the brains of man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is that misfortune and adversity work all that they work. For seeing death, in the end of the play, takes from all whatsoever fortune or force takes from any one, it were a foolish madness in the shipwreck of worldly things, where all sinks but the sorrow, to save it. That were, as Seneca saith, '*fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato*,' 'to fall under fortune, of all other the most miserable destiny.'"

"HOW AHAZIAH PERISHED WITH THE HOUSE OF AHAB; AND HOW THAT FAMILY WAS DESTROYED BY JEHU.

"The whole army of Israel, with all the principal captains, lying in Ramoth Gilead, a disciple of Elisæus the prophet, came in among the captains that were sitting together, who, calling out among them Jehu, a principal man, took him apart, and anointed him king over Israel, rehearsing unto him the prophecy of Elias against the house of Ahab, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him the executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the messenger was such as bred in the captains a desire to know the errand, which Jehu thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had overheard all the talk or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forthwith proclaimed him king. For the prophecy of Elias was well known among them, neither durst any one oppose himself against him that was by God ordained to perform it.

"Jehu, who had upon the sudden this great honour thrown upon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but used

the first heat of their affections, who joined with him in setting on foot the business which nearly concerned him, and was not to be foreslowed, being no more his own than God's.

"The first care taken was, that no news of the revolt might be carried to Jezreel, whereby the king might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away to take the court while it was yet secure. King Jehoram was now so well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad; for which cause it seems that there was much feasting and joy made, especially by Queen Jezabel, who kept her state so well, that the brethren of Ahaziah coming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the queen as to visit the king.

"Certain it is, that since the rebellion of Moab against Israel, the house of Ahab did never so much flourish as at this time. Seventy princes of the blood royal there were that lived in Samaria: Jehoram, the son of Queen Jezabel, had won Ramoth Gilead, which his father had attempted in vain, with loss of his life; and he won it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amity was so great between Israel and Judah, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of success to any rebellious enterpriser; so that now the prophecy of Elias might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembered than as an unlikely tale, by them that beheld the majestical face of the court, wherein so great a friend as the King of Judah was entertained, and forty princes of his blood expected.

"In the midst of this security, whilst these great estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosecution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Moab, Edom, and other rebels and enemies, or else were triumphing in joy of that which was already achieved, and the Queen-mother dressing herself in the bravest manner to come down amongst them, tidings were brought in, that a watchman had from a tower discovered a company coming. These news were not very troublesome; for the army that lay in Ramoth Gilead to be ready against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stir. Only the king sent out an horseman to know what the mat-

ter was, and to bring him word. The messenger coming to Jehu, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the king as little warning as might be. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance; yet the king, to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and he was likewise detained by Jehu. These dumb shows bred some suspicion in Jehoram, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so near, that they might, though not perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of Jehu himself, by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the king, that was loth to discover any weakness, caused his chariot to be made ready, and issued forth with Ahaziah, King of Judah, in his company, whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had been more needful. This could not be done so hastily but that Jehu was come even to the town's end, and there they met each other in the field of Naboth. Jehoram began to salute Jehu with terms of peace; but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him; so that, crying out upon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to have fled. But Jehu soon overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he struck him dead, and threw his carcase into that field which, purchased with the blood of the rightful owner, was to be watered with the blood of the unjust possessor. Neither did Ahaziah escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

"The king's palace was joining to the wall, by the gate of the city, where Jezabel might soon be advertised of this calamity, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her when she least expected it. But she, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made herself ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious looks to daunt the traitor, or at least to utter some apophthegm that should express her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she think upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the *stibium* with which she besmeared her eyes would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith

she armed her tongue could trouble the ears of him that had her in his power. As Jehu drew near, she opened her window, and, looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of Zimri, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treason and murder of the king his master. This was, in mere human valuation, stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly, as are all things, howsoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to God, the Lord of all. Her own eunuchs that stood by and heard her were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune, much less was her enemy daunted with her proud spirit. When Jehu saw that she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vex him, he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her servants to know which of them would be on his side, and soon found them ready to offer their service before the very face of their proud lady. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down headlong; which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatness and estate, wherein she had a few hours before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men,—of men that considered not the judgments of God that had been denounced against her.

"So perished this accursed woman, by the rude hands of her own servants, at the commandment of her greatest enemy, that was yesterday her subject, but now her lord; and she perished miserably, struggling in vain with base grooms, who contemptuously did hale and thrust her, whilst her insulting enemy sat on horseback, adding indignity to her grief, by scornful beholding the shameful manner of her fall, and trampling her body under foot. Her dead carcass that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memory was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her idolatry, murder, and oppression, with slow, but sure payment, and full interest.

"Ahaziah, king of Juda, fleeing apace from Jehu, was overtaken by the way, where he lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdom of Samaria, was suffered to get him gone (which he did in all haste), and seek his burial in his own kingdom; and this favour he obtained for his grandfather's sake, not for his father's, nor his own. He died at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Jerusalem, where he was interred with his ancestors, having reigned about one year."

"OF THE UNWARLIKE ARMY LEVIED BY DARIUS AGAINST ALEXANDER—THE UNADVISED COURSES WHICH DARIUS TOOK IN THIS EXPEDITION—HE IS VANQUISHED AT ISSUS, WHERE HIS MOTHER, WIFE, AND CHILDREN, ARE MADE PRISONERS—OF SOME THINGS FOLLOWING THE BATTLE OF ISSUS.

"In the mean season Darius approached, who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand soldiers out of divers nations; Justine musters them at three hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse; Plutarch at six hundred thousand.

"The manner of his coming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of war, and like one that took more care to set out his glory and riches than to provide for his own safety, persuading himself, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pomp and sumptuous pageants. For before the army there was carried the holy fire, which the Persians worshipped, attended by their priests; and after them three hundred and three score and five young men, answering the number of the days of the year, covered with scarlet; then the chariot of Jupiter drawn with white horses, with their riders clothed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; and, after it, the horse of the sun. Next after these follow ten sumptuous chariots inlaid and garnished with silver and gold; and then the vanguard of their horse, compounded of twelve several nations, which, the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each other's language; and these, marshalled at the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very fitly to disorder all that followed them. In the tail of these horses the regiment of foot marched, with the Persians called immortal, because, if any died, the number was presently supplied, and these were armed with chains of gold, and their coats with the same metal embroidered, whereof the sleeves were garnished with pearls, baits either to catch the hungry Macedonians withal, or to persuade them that it were great incivility to cut and to deface such glorious garments. But it was well said, '*Sumptuose indutus miles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in prœliis oportet fortitudine animi, et non vestimentis se muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur:*' 'Let no man think that he exceedeth those in valour whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on,

that enemies are beaten.' And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this advice was borrowed—who, when he fought against the Samnites in that fatal battle wherein they all swore either to prevail or die, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crests and great plumes of feathers,' bade the Roman soldiers to lay aside all fear: '*Non enim cristas vulnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum:* 'For these plumed crests would wound nobody, and the Roman pile would bore holes in painted and gilded shields.'

"To second this court-like company, fifteen thousand were appointed more rich and glittering that the former, but apparelled like women (belike to breed the more terror), and these were honoured with the title of the king's kinsmen. Then came Darius himself, the gentlemen of his guard-robe riding before his chariot, which was supported with the gods of his nation, cast and cut in pure gold: these the Macedonians did not serve, but they served their turns of these, by changing their massive bodies into thin, portable, and current coin. The head of this chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden idols, covered with an open-winged eagle of the same metal. The hinder part being raised high, whereon Darius sat, had a covering of inestimable value This chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand horsemen, their lances plated with silver, and their heads gilt, which they meant not to imbrue in the Macedonian blood, for fear of marring their beauty. He had for the proper guard of his own person two hundred of the blood royal; blood too royal and precious to be spilt by any valorous adventure—(I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellows, like the Switzers, would have done him more service)—and these were backed with thirty thousand footmen, after whom again were led four hundred spare horses for the king, which, if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer him.

"Now followed the rearward, the same being led by Sysigambis, the king's mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious chariots, followed by a great train of ladies, their attendants, on horseback, with fifteen waggons of the king's children, and the wives of the nobility, waited on by two hundred and fifty concubines, and a world of nurses and eunuchs, most sumptuously apparelled:—by

which it should seem that Darius thought that the Macedonians had been comedians or tumblers; for this troop was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battles. Between these and a company of slight-armed slaves, with a world of valets, was the king's treasure, charged on six hundred mules and three hundred camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the Macedonians. In this sort came the May-game king into the field, encumbered with a most unnecessary train of strumpets, attended with troops of divers nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and, for the most part, so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but have encouraged the nakedest nation of the world against them. We find it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of national virtue, of religion, of liberty, and whatsoever else hath been wont to move and encourage virtuous men, hath no force at all with the common soldier, in comparison of spoil and riches. The rich ships are boarded upon all disadvantages, the rich towns are furiously assaulted, and the plentiful countries willingly invaded. Our English nation have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards headlong, in hope of their royals of plate and pistolets; which, had they been put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in any poor country, they would have turned their pieces and pikes against their commanders, contesting that they had been brought without reason to the butchery and slaughter. It is true that the war is made willingly, and for the most part with good success, that is ordained against the richest nations; for as the needy are always adventurous, so plenty is wont to shun peril, and men that have well to live, do rather study how to live well—I mean wealthily—than care to die (as they call it) honourably. '*Car où il n'y a rien à gagner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas:* 'No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blows.'

"Now, if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his soothsayers, he would have satisfied himself by the outsides of the Persians, and never have looked into the entrails of beasts for success. For, leaving the description of this second battle (which is indeed nowhere well described, neither for the confusion and hasty running away of the Asians could it be), we have enough by the slaughter that was made of

them, and by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to inform us what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that three score thousand Persian footmen were slain in this battle, with ten thousand of their horsemen—or (as Curtius saith) an hundred thousand footmen with the same number of horsemen, and, besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexander's army there miscarried but two hundred and four score of all sorts, of which numbers Arrianus and other historians cut off almost the one half—I do verily believe that this small number rather died with the over-travail and pains-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And surely if the Persian nation (at this time degenerate and the basest of the world) had had any savour remaining of the ancient valour of their forefathers, they would never have sold so good-cheap, and at so vile a price, the mother, the wife, the daughters, and other the king's children, had their own honour been valued by them at nothing, and the king's safety and his estate at less. Darius by this time found it true, what Charidemus, a banished Grecian of Athens, had told him, when he made a view of his army about Babylon—to wit, that the multitude which he had assembled of divers nations, richly attired, but poorly armed, would be found more terrible to the inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would devour, than to the Macedonians, whom they meant to assail; who, being all old and obedient soldiers, embattled in gross squadrons, which they call their phalanx, well covered with armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make so little account of his delicate Persians—loving their ease and their palate, being withal ill-armed and worse disciplined, as, except it would please him to entertain (having so great abundance of treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number of the same Grecians, and so to encounter the Macedonians with men of equal courage—he would repent him over late, as taught by the miserable success like to follow.

"But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius (who had been accustomed to nothing so much as to his own praises, and to nothing so little as to hear truth), as he commanded that this poor Grecian should be presently slain; who, while he was sundering in the tormentor's hand, used this speech to the king:—'That Alexander, against whom he had given this good counsel

should assuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punishment upon Darius for despising his advice.'

"It was the saying of a wise man, '*Desperata ejus principis salus est, cujus aures ita formatæ sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat:*' that 'prince's safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is profitable to be too sharp, and will entertain nothing that is unpleasant.'

"'For liberty in counsel is the life and essence of counsel:' '*Libertas consilii est ejus vita et essentia, qua erepta consilium evanescit.*'

"Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the Grecian soldiers that served him, who entreated him not to fight in the straits. But had they been counsellors and directors in that war—as they were underlings and commanded by others—they had, with the help of a good troop of horsemen, been able to have opposed the fury of Alexander, without any assistance of the Persian footmen. For when Darius was overthrown with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Grecians, under their captain, Amyntas, held firm, and marched away in order, in despite of the vanquishers. Old soldiers are not easily dismayed. We read in histories, ancient and modern, what brave retreats have been made by them, though the rest of the army in which they have served hath been broken.

"At the battle of Ravenna, where the imperials were beaten by the French, a squadron of Spaniards, old soldiers, came off unbroken and undismayed; whom, when Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, and nephew to Louis the Twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their escape, he was overturned and slain in the place. For it is truly said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, that '*neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur:*' 'they go about the business itself, how hard soever it be, not standing to consider of the danger which the mischief hanging over their heads may bring;' and as truly of those that know the wars but by hearsay—'*Quod valentes sunt et pævalentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt:*' 'they have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear, but when peril indeed comes, they get them gone.'

"These Grecians also that made the retreat, advised Darius to

retire his army into the plain of Mesopotamia, to the end that Alexander being entered into those large fields and great champaigns, he might have environed the Macedonians on all sides with his multitude; and, withal, they counselled him to divide that his huge army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of fortune, whereby he might have fought many battles, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they persuaded Darius to environ the Grecians which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as traitors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work always by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of kingdoms and estates, by taking understanding from the governors, so as they can neither give nor discern of counsels. For Darius, that would needs fight with Alexander upon a straightened piece of ground, near unto the city of Issus, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could (who by the advice of Parmenio stayed there, as in a place of best advantage), was utterly overthrown, his treasure lost, his wife, mother, and children (whom the Grecians, his followers, had persuaded him to leave in Babylon, or elsewhere), taken prisoners, and all their train of ladies spoiled of their rich garments, jewels, and honour. It is true that both the queen with her daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexander's presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, their honours preserved, and their jewels and rich garments restored unto them. And though Darius's wife was a most beautiful lady, and his daughters of excellent form, yet Alexander mastered his affections towards them all; only, it is reported out of Aristobulus, the historian, that he embraced the wife of the valiant Memnon, her husband lately dead, who was taken, flying from Damascus, by Parmenio, at which time the daughters of Ochus, who reigned before Darius, and the wives and children of all the nobility of Persia, in effect, fell into captivity. At which time, also, Darius's treasure (not lost at Issus) was seized, amounting to six thousand and two hundred talents of coin, and of bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

"Darius himself, leaving his brother dead, with divers other of his chief captains (casting the crown from his head), hardly escaped.

"After this overthrow given unto Darius, all Phœnicia (the city of Tyre excepted) was yielded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made governor.

"Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, maritimate cities of great importance, of which one Strato was king (but hated of the people), acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heels; for Antigonus, Alexander's lieutenant in Asia the less, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonians, and others lately revolted; Aristodemus, Darius's admiral, had his fleet partly taken and in part drowned, by the Macedonians newly levied. The Lacedæmonians that warred against Antipater were beaten; four thousand of those Greeks which made the retreat at the last battle, forsaking both the party of Darius and Alexander, and led by Amyntas into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide kingdoms.

"Alexander, to honour Ephestion, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the kingdom of Zidon. A man of a most poor estate, that laboured to sustain his life, being of the royal blood, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his spade into a sceptre, so as he was beheld both a beggar and a king in one and the same hour.

"It was a good desire of this new king, when speaking to Alexander, he wished that he could bear his prosperity with the same moderation and quietness of heart that he had done his adversity; but ill-done of Alexander, in that he would not perform in himself that which he commended in another man's desire, for it was a sign that he did but accompany, and could not govern, his felicity.

"While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, importing the ransom of his wife, his mother, and his children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a conqueror than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his direction, to style Alexander king. It is true that the Romans, after they had received an overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned him a more scornful answer upon the offer of peace than they did before the trial of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the spring, so that of Darius had already cast leaf—the one a resolved, well-armed and disciplined nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and sent him word that

he not only directed his letters to a king, but to the king of Darius himself."

"OF ALEXANDER'S PERSON AND QUALITIES.

"Alexander's cruelties cannot be excused, any more than his vanity to be esteemed the son of Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drink and drunkenness, which others make the cause of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should do when he had conquered the world, Augustus Cæsar found just cause to deride him, as if the well-governing of so many nations and kingdoms as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than abundant to busy his brains withal. That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted; Sir Francis Bacon, in his first book of the 'Advancement of Learning,' hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said that when he gave a whole city to one of his servants, he to whom it was given did, out of modesty, refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune; to whom Alexander replied, 'That he did not inquire what became him to accept, but the king to give;' of which Seneca—'*Animosa vox videtur et regia, cum sit stultissima. Nihil enim per se quemquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, etc., sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum et dignitatum proportio, et cum sit ubique virtutis modus, æque peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit:*' 'It seems a brave and royal speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish; for nothing, simply considered by itself, beseems a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like—without which considerations no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons; for whereas virtue is ever limited by measure, the excess is as faulty as the defect.'

"So much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest states and commonweals, the erection of monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equal bodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, converted the fearful passions of his own followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardice. Such spirits have been stirred up in

sundry ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and cast down again, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, persons, and states, to the same certain ends, which the infinite Spirit of the Universal, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainly the things that this king did were marvellous, and would hardly have been undertaken by any man else; and, though his father had determined to have invaded the lesser Asia, it is like enough that he would have contented himself with some parts thereof, and not have discovered the River of Indus, as this man did. The swift course of victory wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the world in so short a space, may justly be attributed unto this—that he was never encountered by an equal spirit, concurring with equal power, against him. Hereby it came to pass that his actions, being limited by no greater opposition than desert places and the mere length of tedious journeys could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes—not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praiseworthy, as for the huge bulk; for certainly the things performed by Xenophon discover as brave a spirit as Alexander's, and working no less exquisitely, though the effects were less material, as were also the forces and power of command by which it wrought. But he that would find the exact pattern of a noble commander, must look upon such as Epaminondas, that, encountering worthy captains, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular virtue overtopped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those that would not have yielded one foot to any other. Such as these are, do seldom live to obtain great empires; for it is a work of more labour and longer time to master the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered state, than to tread down and utterly subdue a multitude of servile nations compounding the body of a gross, unwieldy empire. Wherefore, these *Parvo Potentes*—men that, with little, have done much upon enemies of like ability—are to be regarded as choice examples of worth; but great conquerors, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions than the exquisite managing—exactness and greatness concurring so seldom, that I can find no instance of both in one—save only that brave Roman, Cæsar.

"For his person, it is very apparent that he was as valiant

as any man—a disposition, taken by itself, not much to be admired; for I am resolved that he had ten thousand in his army as daring as himself. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that virtue with the hardiness of thieves, ruffians, and mastiff dogs; for certainly it is no way praiseworthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawful enterprises in which we are employed for the service of our kings and commonweals.

"If we compare this great conqueror with other troublers of the world who have bought their glory with so great destruction and effusion of blood, I think him far inferior to Cæsar and many others that lived after him; seeing he never undertook any warlike nation (the naked Scythians excepted), nor was ever encountered with any army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of weapons and commanders—every one of his father's old captains by far exceeding the best of his enemies. But it seems fortune and destiny—if we may use those terms—had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his own, both heaps of men that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and kingdoms that invited and called in their own conquerors. For conclusion, we will agree with Seneca, who, speaking of Philip the father and Alexander the son, gives this judgment of them:—'*Quod non minores suere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit:* 'They were no less plagues to mankind than an overflow of waters, drowning all the level; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorched up."*

* We subjoin the characters of Epaminondas and Agesilaus, which have been highly extolled, and which are drawn in a masterly manner.

"OF EPAMINONDAS.

"So died Epaminondas, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that nation of Greece, and hardly to be matched in any age or country; for he equalled all others in the several virtues, which in each of them were singular. His justice and sincerity, his temperance, wisdom, and magnanimity, were noway inferior to his military virtue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a wary, a valiant, a politic, a bountiful, or an industrious and a provident captain. Neither was his private conversation unanswerable to those high parts which gave him praise abroad. For he was grave, and yet very affable and courteous;

"THE DEPARTURE OF HANNIBAL FROM THE CISALPINE GAULS INTO ETRURIA —FLAMINIUS, THE ROMAN CONSUL, SLAIN, AND HIS ARMY DESTROYED BY THE CARTHAGINIANS, AT THE LAKE OF THRASYMENE.

"The winter growing on apace, was very sharp and unfit for service,—to the great contentment of the Romans, who, being not able to keep the field, lay warm in Placentia and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did not suffer them to rest very quiet, but vexed them

resolute in public business: but in his own particular easy, and of much mildness: a lover of his people; bearing with men's infirmities; witty and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keep love. To these graces were added great ability of body, much eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of philosophy and learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, rested not in the sweetness of contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto Thebes, which had evermore been an underling, a dreadful reputation among all people adjoining, and the highest command in Greece."

"OF AGESILAUS.

"He was a prince very temperate and valiant, a good leader in war, free from covetousness, and not reproached with any blemish of lust, which praises are the less admirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparta was such as did endue every one of the citizens (not carried away by the violent stream of an ill nature) with all or the chief of these good qualities. He was nevertheless very arrogant, perverse, unjust, and vainglorious, measuring all things by his own will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of Xenophon had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the empire of Persia should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans and their allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto Thebes, as compelled that estate by mere necessity to grow warlike and able, to the utter dishonour of Sparta, and the irreparable loss of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by Xenophon, his good friend, have caused Plutarch to lay his name in the balance against Pompey the Great, whose actions (the solemn gravity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truly say, that as Pompey made great wars under sundry climates, and in all the provinces of the Roman empire, exceeding in the multitude of employments all that were before him, so Agesilaus had, at one time or other, some quarrel with every town in Greece, had made a war in Asia, and meddled in the business of the Egyptians, in which variety he went beyond all his predecessors; yet not winning many countries, as Pompey did many, but obtaining large wages, which Pompey never too Herein also they were

with continual alarms, assailing divers places, and taking some; beating the Gauls, their adherents, and winning the Ligurians to his party, who presented him, in token of their faithful love, with two Roman questors, or treasurers, two colonels, and five gentlemen, the sons of senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in general all such prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in strait places, laden with irons, and miserably fed; those of their followers he not only well entreated, but sent them to their countries without ransom, with this protestation, that he therefore undertook the war in Italy, to free them from the oppression of the Romans. By these means he hoped, and not in vain, to draw many of them to his party and assistance. But the Gauls were not capable of such persuasions. They stood in fear lest he should make their country the seat of war, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their territory. Wherefore, some of them conspired against his life, others admonished him of the danger; and these that gave him the advice were ready soon after to practise against him, but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to use periwigs of hair, and false beards of divers colours, to the end that he might not be descried, nor known to those that should undertake to make him away. Fain he would have passed the Apennines upon the first appearance of spring, but was compelled, by the violence of the weather, to tarry among the Gauls till he had seen more swallows than one. At length, when the year was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take

very like: each of them was the last great captain which his nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his country by his own lordly wilfulness. We may, therefore, well say, *Similia magis omnia quam paria:* 'the resemblance was nearer than the equality.' Indeed, the freedom of Rome was lost with Pompey falling into the hands of Cæsar, whom he had enforced to take arms; yet the Roman empire stood, the form of government only being changed. But the liberty of Greece, or of Sparta itself, was not forfeited unto the Thebans, whom Agesilaus had compelled to enter into a victorious war; yet the seigniory and ancient renown of Sparta was presently lost; and the freedom of all Greece, being wounded in this Theban war, and after much blood lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, upon the death of Agesilaus, give up the ghost, and the lordship of the whole country was seized by Philip King of Macedon."

his leave of these giddy companions, and bring the war nearer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, having his army greatly increased with Ligurians and Gauls—more serviceable friends abroad than in their own country. That the passage of the Apennine mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet since the Roman armies found no memorable impediment in their marches that way, the great vexation which fell upon Hannibal when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of winter, that makes all ways foul, than to any intolerable difficulty in that journey. Nevertheless, to avoid the length of way, together with the resistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have been erected upon the ordinary passages towards Rome, he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travel through the fens and rotten grounds of Tuscany. In those marshes and bogs he lost all his elephants save one, together with the use of one of his eyes, by the moistness of the air, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In brief, after he had, with much ado, recovered the firm and fertile plains, he lodged about Arretium, where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard news of the Roman consuls.

"C. Flaminius and Cn. Servilius had of late been chosen consuls for this year:—Servilius a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the senate; Flaminius a hot-headed popular orator, who, having once been robbed (as he thought) of his consulship by a device of the senators, was afraid to be served so again, unless he quickly finished the war. This jealous consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome when he entered into his office, lest his adversaries, by feigning some religious impediment, should detain him within the city, or find other business for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the town, and meant to take possession of his office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The fathers (so the senators were called), highly displeased with this, revoked him by ambassadors; but he neglected their injunction, and hastening to meet with the Carthaginians, took his way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

"The fiery disposition of this consul promised unto Hanniba-

great assurance of victory. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman, hoping thereby to draw him unto fight ere Servilius came with the rest of the army. All the country between Fiesole and Arretium he put to fire and sword, even under the consul's nose; which was enough to make him stir, that would not have sitten still though Hannibal had been quiet. It is true that a great captain of France hath said, '*Pays gasté n' est pas perdu:*' 'A wasted country is not thereby lost;' but by this waste of the country, Flaminius thought his own honour to be much impaired, and therefore advanced towards the enemy. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) to have patience a while, and stay for his colleague; but of this he could not abide to hear, saying, that he came not to defend Arretium, whilst the Carthaginians went, burning down all Italy before them, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse and commanded the army to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their ensigns stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the ensign-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, Tully makes a jest, saying, that the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight), having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of Flaminius (if it were true) disagreeable hereto; for he commanded that it should be digged up, if fear had made the hands too weak to lift it; asking, withal, whether letters were not come from the senate to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousy, both he and the senate that did give him cause, are likely to repent.

"All the territory of Cortona, as far as to the lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire; which, whilst the consul thought to quench with his enemy's blood, he pursued Hannibal so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole army into an ambush, cunningly laid for him, between the mountains of Cortona and the lake. There was he charged unawares, on all sides (save only where that great lake of Perusia permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to fly from them), knowing not which way to turn or make resistance. So was he slain in the place, accompanied with fifteen thousand dead carcasses of his countrymen. About six thousand of his men, that had the vanguard, took courage—as for the most part it happens—out of desperation, and, breaking through the enemies that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the mountains. If

these had returned, and given charge upon the Carthaginians' backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their fear, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardiness, was well assuaged when they ceased to despair of saving their lives by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, upon the hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great fog that held all that morning. When it grew toward noon the air was cleared, and they might plainly discern the lamentable slaughter of their fellows. But they stayed not to lament it, for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were descried and attacked by the enemy's horse. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no mind to return unto the fight. For descried they were, and Maharbal sent after them; who overtook them by night in a village, which he surrounded with his horse, and so they yielded the next day, rendering up their arms, upon his promise of their lives and liberties.

"This accord Hannibal refused to confirm, saying, that it was made by Maharbal without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his own honour) what it was to keep no faith; and fitted them with a trick of their own. For if it were lawful under the Romans to alter covenants, or add unto them what they listed; if the Carthaginians must be fain to pay certain hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargain; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in their Spanish conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present advantage is more ample than the conditions of the late concluded peace; then can Hannibal be, as a Roman, as themselves, and make them know that perfidiousness gaineth no more in prosperity than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands, of which all that were not Romans he set free without ransom,—protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyranny, that he had undertaken this war. But the Romans he kept in strait prison and in fetters, making them learn to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of Italy, if not a love of Carthage, yet a contempt of

Rome; as if this war had not concerned the general safety, but only the preserving of her own neck from the yoke of slavery, which her over-strong enemies would have thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by success of many ages, is not lost in one or two battles. Wherefore more is to be done ere the Carthaginians can get any Italian partisans.

"Presently after the battle of Thrasymene, C. Centronius, with four thousand Roman horse, drew near unto the camp of Hannibal. He was sent from Ariminum by Servilius, the other consul, to increase the strength of Flaminius; but, coming too late, he increased only the misadventure. Maharbal was employed by Hannibal to intercept this company, who, finding them amazed with the report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them, and, killing almost half of them, drove the rest to an high piece of ground, whence they came down, and simply yielded to mercy the next day. Servilius himself was, in the meanwhile, skirmishing with the Gauls, against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the news was brought him of his colleague's overthrow and death in Etruria, that made him hasten back to the defence of Rome.

"In these passages it is easy to discern the fruits of popular jealousy, which persuaded the Romans to the yearly change of their commanders in the wars, which greatly endangered and retarded the growth of that empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errors than by the examples of their foregoers. Flaminius had heard in what a trap Sempronius had been taken up but the year before by this subtle Carthaginian, yet suffered he himself to be caught soon after in the same manner. He had also belike forgotten how Sempronius, fearing to be prevented by a new consul, and ambitious of the sole honour of beating Hannibal in battle, without help of his companion Scipio, had been rewarded with shame and loss; else would he not, contrary to all good advice, have been so hasty to fight before the arrival of Servilius. If Sempronius had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush, both which this new consul Flaminius neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being

continued in his government of France ten years, Cæsar brought that mighty nation, together with the Helvetians and many of the Germans, under the Roman yoke, into which parts, had there been every year a new lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have been subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the world can do, to inform itself, within one year's compass, of the nature of a great nation, of the factions of the places, rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to prosecute a war to the best effect. Our princes have commonly left their deputies in Ireland three years; whence, by reason of the strictness of that their time, many of them have returned as wise as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of war and government fitting the country, they have been called home, and new apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that estate. But it hath ever been the course of the world rather to follow old errors than to examine them; and of princes and governors, to uphold their slothful ignorance by the old examples and policy of other ages and people, though neither likeness of time, of occasion, nor of any other circumstance, have persuaded the imitation.

HOW Q. FABIUS, THE ROMAN DICTATOR, SOUGHT TO CONSUME THE FORCE OF HANNIBAL, BY LINGERING WAR—MINUTIUS, THE MASTER OF THE HORSE, HONOURED AND ADVANCED BY THE PEOPLE FOR BOLD AND SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTING, ADVENTURES RASHLY UPON HANNIBAL, AND IS LIKE TO PERISH WITH HIS ARMY, BUT RESCUED BY FABIUS.

"Greatly were the Romans amazed at this their ill success, and at the danger apparent, which threatened them in more terrible manner than ever did war since Rome itself was taken. They were good soldiers, and so little accustomed to receive an overthrow, that when Pyrrhus had beaten them, once and again, in open field, all Italy was strangely affected with his success, and held him in admiration, as one that could work wonders. But Pyrrhus' quarrel was not grounded upon hate: he only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a bravery, demeaning himself like a courteous enemy. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name, against which he burned with desire of revenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasymene witnessed his purpose and his ability, which to withstand they fled unto a

remedy that had long been out of use, and created a dictator. The dictator's power was greater than the consul's, and scarcely subject unto the control of the whole city. Wherefore this officer was seldom chosen but upon some extremity, and for no longer time than six months. He was to be named by one of the consuls, at the appointment of the senate, though it were so, that the consul (if he stood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one consul being dead, and the other too far off, the people took upon them, as having supreme authority, to give the dignity, by their election, to Q. Fabius Maximus, the best reputed man of war in the city. *Novum factum, novum consilium expetit:* 'contrary winds, contrary courses.' Q. Fabius chose M. Minutius Rufus master of the horse, which officer was customarily as the dictator's lieutenant, though this Minutius grew afterwards famous by taking more upon him.

"The first act of Fabius was the reformation of somewhat amiss in matter of religion—a good beginning, and commendable, had the religion been also good. But if it were true (as Livy reports it) that the books of Sibyl were consulted, and gave direction in this business of devotion, then must we believe that those books of Sibyl, preserved in Rome, were dictated by an evil spirit. For it was ordained that some vow, made in the beginning of this war to Mars, should be made anew, and amplified as having not been rightly made before; also that great plays should be vowed unto Jupiter, and a temple to Venus, with such other trumpery. This vehemency of superstition proceeds always from vehemency of fear. And surely this was a time when Rome was exceedingly distempered with passion, whereof that memorable accident of two women that suddenly died when they saw their sons return alive from Thrasymene, may serve to bear witness, though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the city were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon rivers were broken down, and all care taken for defence of Rome itself. In this tumult, when the dictator was newly set forth against Hannibal, word was brought that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply that was going to Cneius Scipio, in Spain. Against these Carthaginians, Fabius commanded Servilius, the consul, to put to sea, and, taking up all the ships about Rome and Ostia, to pursue them, whilst he, with the

legions, attended upon Hannibal. Four legions he had levied in haste; and from Ariminum he received the army, which Servilius the consul had conducted thither.

"With these forthwith he followed apace after Hannibal—not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well what advantage the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he always lodged himself on high grounds, and of hard access. Hannibal, in the meanwhile pursuing his victory, had ranged over all the country, and used all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants, especially to those of the Roman nation, of whom he did put to the sword all that were able to bear arms. Passing by Spoletum and Ancona, he encamped upon the Adriatic shores; refreshed his diseased and over-travelled companies, armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans, and made his despatches for Carthage; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the citizens, with part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded soldiers, and (as Polybius hath it) healed his horse-heels of the scratches, by washing their pasterns in old wine, he followed the coast of the Adriatic Sea towards Apulia—a northern province of the kingdom of Naples, spoiling the Marrucini, and all other nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he overran, he had not taken any one city; only he had assailed Spoletum, a colony of the Romans, and finding it well defended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great army is broken, and the force of it spent in a great siege. This the Protestant army found true at Poictiers, a little before the battle of Moncountour, and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. Jean d'Angely. But Hannibal was more wise. He would not engage himself in any such enterprise as should detain him, and give the Romans leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation, knowing, that when once he was absolute master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented Fabius with battle as soon as he saw him, and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But Fabius would not bite. He well knew the differences between soldiers bred up ever since they were boys in war and in blood, trained and hardened in Spain, made proud and adventurous by many victories there, and of late by some notable acts against the

Romans, and such as had no oftener seen the enemy than been vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the Carthaginian so near as he kept him from straggling too far, and preserved the country from utter spoil. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees, and he brought them first to look on the lion afar off, that in the end he might sit on his tail.

"Now Minutius had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as Flaminius, taxing Fabius with cowardice and fear. But all stirred not this well-advised commander. For wise men are no more moved with such noise, than with wind bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion and danger than to pursue misfortune: it wasteth itself sooner by sufferance than by opposition. It is the invading army that desires battle; and this of Hannibal was both the invading and victorious. Fabius therefore suffered Hannibal to cross the Apennines, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant territory of Campania; neither could he by any arguments be persuaded to adventure the Roman army in battle: but being far too weak in horse, he always kept the hills and fast grounds. When Hannibal saw he could by no means draw this wary dictator to fight, that the winter came on, and that the towns stood firm for the Romans, whose legions were in sight though afar off, he resolved to rest his army, that was laden with spoil, in some plentiful and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can be done, he must pass along by the dictator's camp, that hung over his head upon the hills of Callicula and Casilinum: for other way there was none by which he might issue out of that goodly garden-country, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by mere error of his guide that he first entered within these straits. For he would have been directed unto Cassinum, whence he might both assay the fair city of Capua, which had made him friendly promises under hand, and hinder the Romans from coming near it to prevent him. But his guide misunderstood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from Cassinum to Casilinum, whence Fabius hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisdom of Fabius to grow into credit, as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap, and won the victory without blows. But Hannibal reformed this opinion, and freed himself by

a slight invention, yet serving the turn as well as a better. In driving the country, he had got about two thousand kine, whose horns he dressed with dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the dark night, caused them to be driven up the hills. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be the work of a terrible enemy. What it should mean Fabius could not tell, but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his trenches. They that kept the hill-tops were horribly afraid when some of these monsters were gotten beyond them, and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, and fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no less afraid of them; so Hannibal, with his whole army, recovered sure ground without molestation, where he staid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this Hannibal made semblance of taking his journey towards Rome, and the dictator coasted him in the wonted manner, keeping still on high grounds between him and the city, whilst the Carthaginians wasted all the plains. The Carthaginian took Geryon, an old ruinous town in Apulia, forsaken by the inhabitants, which he turned into barns and store-houses for winter, and encamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none; but the time passed idly, till the dictator was called away to Rome about some business of religion, and left the army in charge with Minutius, the master of the horse.

"Minutius was glad of this good occasion to show his own sufficiency. He was fully persuaded that his Romans, in plain field, would be too hard for the Africans and Spaniards, by whom, if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtlety and ambush, which he thought himself wise enough to prevent. All the army was of his opinion, and that so earnestly, as he was preferred, by judgment of the soldiers, in worthiness to command, before the cold and wary Fabius. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight; yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to do by the dictator, the breach of whose command was extreme peril of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his own, and the love of the army, and the friends that he had at home bearing office in Rome, were

enough to save him from the dictator's rods and axes, took he the matter never so heinously. Hannibal, on the other side, was no less glad that he should play with a more adventurous gamester: therefore he drew near, and, to provoke the Romans, sent forth a third part of his army to waste the country. This was boldly done, seeing that Minutius encamped hard by him; but it seems that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two camps; which, because it would be commodious to him that could occupy it, the Carthaginians seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But Minutius, by plain force, won it from them the next day; and, intrenching himself thereupon, became their nearer neighbour.

"The main business of Hannibal at this time was to provide abundantly, not only for his men but for his horses, which he knew to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next summer. If besides this he could give the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, encourage his own men, terrify his enemies, and give him leave to forage the country at will. Since, therefore, Minutius did not in many days issue forth of his camp, the Carthaginians sent out (as before) a great number of his men to fetch in harvest. This advantage Minutius wisely espied and took. For he led forth his army, and, setting it in order, presented battle to Hannibal, that was not in case to accept it, even at his own trenches. His horses and all his light armature, divided into many companies, he sent abroad against the foragers; who being dispersed over all the fields, and laden with booty, could make no resistance. This angered Hannibal, that was not able to help them; but worse did it anger him when the Romans took heart to assail his trenches. They perceived that it was mere weakness which held him within his camp, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the business, Asdrubal came from Geryon with four thousand men, being informed of the danger by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This emboldened Hannibal to issue forth against the Romans, to whom, nevertheless, he did not such hurt as he had received.

"For this piece of service Minutius was highly esteemed by

the army, and more highly by the people at Rome, to whom he sent the news with somewhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter that the Roman army had recovered spirit so far forth that it dared to set upon Hannibal in his own camp, and that, in so doing, it came off with the better. Every man, therefore, praised the master of the horse that had wrought this great alteration, and, consequently, they grew as far out of liking with Fabius, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done anything wisely in all his dictatorship, saving that he chose such a worthy lieutenant—whereas, indeed, in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the dictator was not so joyful of a little good luck, as angry with the breach of discipline, and fearful of greater danger thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his own place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the master of the horse to do so likewise, and make him give account of what he had done if he were dictator,—speaking it openly, that good success issuing from bad counsel was more to be feared than calamity; forasmuch as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be wary. Against these sermons every one cried out, especially Metellus, a tribune of the people, which office warranted him to speak, and do what he list, without fear of the dictator. 'Is it not enough,' said he, 'that this, our only man, chosen to be general and lord of the town, in our greatest necessity hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italy to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State, unless he also hinder others from doing better than himself can, or dares? It were good to consider what he means by this. Into the place of C. Flaminius he hath not chosen any new consul all this while. Servilius is sent away to sea—I know not why. Hannibal and he have, as it were, taken truce: Hannibal sparing the dictator's grounds (for Hannibal had indeed forborne to spoil some grounds of Fabius, that so he might bring him into envy and suspicion), and the dictator giving him leave to spoil all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himself might be long in office, and have the sole government both of our city and armies. But this must not be so. It were better that the commonalty of Rome, which gave him this authority, should again take it from him, and confer it upon one more worthy. But lest, in moving the people hereto, I should seem to do him injury, thus

far forth I will regard his honour: I will only propound, that the master of the horse may be joined in equal authority with the dictator; a thing not more new, nor less necessary, than was the election of this dictator by the people.'

"Though all men, even the senators, were ill persuaded of the course which Fabius had taken against Hannibal, as being neither plausible nor seeming beneficial at the present, yet was there none so injurious as to think that his general intent and care of the weal public was less than very honourable. Whereas, therefore, it was the manner, in passing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should stand up and formally deliver his approbation, not one of the principal citizens was found so impudent as to offer that open disgrace, both unto a worthy personage, and (therewithal) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the state, at several times, from the greatest dangers. Only C. Terentius Varro, who the year before had been prætor, was glad of such an opportunity to win the favour of the multitude. This fellow was the son of a butcher, afterwards became a shopkeeper, and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take upon him as a pleader, dealing in poor men's causes. Thus by little and little he got into office, and rose by degrees, being advanced by those who in hatred of the nobility favoured his very baseness. And now he thought the time was come for him to give a hard push at the consulship; by doing that which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durst or would. So he made a hot invective, not only against Fabius, but against all the nobility, saying, that it grieved them to see the people do well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of government; that they sought to humble the commons by poverty, and to impoverish them by war, especially by war at their own doors, which would soon consume every poor man's living, and find him other work to think upon than matters of state. Therefore, he bade them to be wise; and since they had found one (this worthy master of the horse) that was better affected unto them and his country, to reward him according to his good deserts, and give him authority, according as it was propounded by the tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as he had begun. So the act passed.

"Before this busy day of contention, Fabius had despatched

the election of a new consul, which was M. Atilius Regulus, in the room of C. Flaminius; and, having finished all requisite business, went out of town—perceiving well that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the decree. The news of Minutius's advancement was at the camp as soon as Fabius, so that his old lieutenant and new colleague began to treat with him as a companion, asking him at the first in what sort he thought it best to divide their authority—whether that one one day, and the other the next, or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chief. Fabius briefly told him, 'That it was the pleasure of the citizens to make the master of the horse equal to the dictator, but that he should never be his superior; he would, therefore, divide the legions with him by lot, according to the custom.' Minutius was not herewith greatly pleased—for that, with half of the army, he could not work such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Nevertheless, he meant to do his best, and so, taking his part of the army, encamped about a mile and a half from the dictator. Needful it was—though Livy seems to tax him for it—that he should so do; for where two several commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joined in commission, but have each entire and absolute charge of his own followers, then are the forces—though belonging to one prince or state—not one, but two distinct armies; in which regard one camp shall not hold them both without great inconvenience. Polybius neither finds fault with this distinction, nor yet reports that Fabius was unwilling to command in chief successively (as the two consuls used) with Minutius, by turns. He said that Minutius was very refractory, and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the dictator, who thereupon referred it to his choice, either to divide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true; for natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more than to contest with it—as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty.

"It behoved the master of the horse to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore, he was no less careful of getting occasion to fight, than was Fabius of avoiding the necessity. That which Minutius and Hannibal equally desired could

not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush as could be wished; for that the sides of a naked valley adjoining had many and spacious caves, able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places Hannibal bestowed five hundred horse and five thousand foot, thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes, he made offer betimes in the morning to seize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand, whereby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the Romans from their more needful care to business little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion which not long before had provoked Minutius to adventure upon the Carthaginians. Hoping, therefore, to increase his honour in like sort as he got it, he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that Hannibal seconded his own troops with fresh companies) he followed in person with the legions. He was soon caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance nor any safe retreat. In this dangerous case, whilst the Romans defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men, Fabius drew near, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old captain, perceiving afar off into what extremity his new colleague had rashly thrown himself and his followers, did the office of a good citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his country than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approve himself by hasting to do good, than by suffering his enemy to feel the reward of doing ill. Upon Fabius's approach, Hannibal retired, fearing to be well wetted with a shower from 'the cloud' (as he termed the dictator) that had hung so long on the hill-tops. Minutius forthwith submitted himself to Fabius, by whose benefit he confessed his life to have been saved. So, from this time forwards, the war proceeded coldly, as the dictator would have it, both whilst his office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge to the consuls that followed his instructions.

"Servilius, the consul, had pursued in vain a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of Italy—took hostages of the Sardinians and Corsicans—passed over into Africa, and there, negligently falling

to spoil the country, was shamefully beaten aboard his ships, with the loss of a thousand men. Weighing anchor, therefore, in all haste, he returned home by Sicily, and, being so required by the dictator's letters, repaired to the camp with his fellow consul, where they took charge of the army."

"THE ROMAN PEOPLE, DESIROUS TO FINISH THE WAR QUICKLY, CHOOSE A RASH AND UNWORTHY CONSUL. GREAT FORCES LEVIED AGAINST HANNIBAL. HANNIBAL TAKETH THE ROMANS' PROVISIONS IN THE CASTLE OF CANNÆ. THE NEW CONSULS SET FORTH AGAINST HANNIBAL.

"With little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome hear the great commendations that were given to Fabius by the principal citizens. He had, indeed, preserved them from receiving a great overthrow, but he had neither finished the war, nor done anything in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seem that the reputation of this, his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardice (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the work to a great length. Else what meant the consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custom—since it was never heard before that any Roman general had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance—as if it were honourable to do just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what, and were ready, every man, to discharge the grief and anger of his own private loss upon the ill administration of the public.

"This affection of the people was very helpful to C. Terentius Varro, in his suit for the consulship. It behoved him to strike whilst the iron was hot—his own worth being little or none, and his credit over-weak—to make way into that high dignity. But the commonalty were then in such a mood as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to help, he had a kinsman, Bibius Herennius, then tribune of the people, who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all (any) regard of truth or modesty. This bold orator stuck not to affirm, that Hannibal was drawn into Italy, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure by the noblemen; that Minutius, indeed, with his two legions, was likely to have been overthrown, and was rescued by Fabius with the other

two; but, had all been joined together, what they might have done, it was apparent by the victory of Minutius when he commanded over all as master of the horse; that without a plebeian consul the war would never be brought to an end; that such of the plebeians as had long since been advanced to honour by the people, were grown as proud as the old nobility, and contemned the meaner sort ever since themselves were freed from the contempt of the more mighty; that, therefore, it was needful to choose a consul who should be altogether a plebeian, a mere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the people's love, nor could wish more than to keep it by the well-deserving of them. By such persuasions the multitude was won to be wholly for Terentius, to the great vexation of the nobles, who could not endure to see a man raised for none other virtue than his detracting from their honour, and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the people, it fell out, or at least was alleged, that neither of the two present consuls could well be spared from attending upon Hannibal, to hold the election; wherefore a dictator was named for that purpose, and he again deposed, either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the fathers desired an inter-regnum, wherein they might better hope to prevail in choice of the new consuls. This inter-regnum took name and being in Rome at the death of Romulus, and was in use at the death of other kings. The order of it was this: all the fathers, or senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselves into tens, or decuries, and governed successively by the space of five days, one decury after another in order; yet so, that the lictors, or vergers, carrying the fasces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited only upon the chief of them with these ensigns of power. This custom was retained in times of the consuls, and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary magistrates of the old year, to substitute new for the year following. The advantages of the fathers herein was, that if the election were not like to go as they would have it, there needed no more than to slip five days, and then was all to begin anew; by which interruption, the heat of the multitude was commonly well assuaged. Upon such change of those that were presidents of the election, it was also lawful unto new petitioners to sue for the magistracies that lay void, which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publicly

declare themselves to seek those offices. But no device would serve against the general favour borne unto Terentius. One inter-regnum passed over, and the malice of the fathers, against the virtue (as it was believed) of this mean, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the people had urged the business to despatch, only Terentius was chosen consul: in whose hands it was left to hold the election of his colleague. Hereupon all the former petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary mark had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiency and reputation should be joined with him, as both companion and opposite. So L. Æmilius Paulus, he who a few years since had overcome the Illyrians, and chased Demetrius Pharius out of his kingdom, was urged by the nobility to stand for the place; which he easily obtained, having no competitor. It was not the desire of this honourable man to trouble himself any more in such great business of the commonwealth. For notwithstanding his late good service, he, and M. Livius, that had been his companion in office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the people, and called unto judgment; wherein Livius was condemned, and Æmilius hardly escaped. But of this injustice they shall put the Romans well in mind, each of them in his second consulship, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying in the most grievous loss, the other bravely winning in the most happy victory that ever befel that commonwealth.

"These new consuls, Varro and Paulus, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the war; wherein, though Varro made the greatest noise, by telling what wonders he would work, and that he would ask no more than once to have a sight of Hannibal, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day, yet the providence and care of Paulus travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old consuls, Servilius and Atilius, desiring them to abstain from hazard of the main chance; but, nevertheless, to ply the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees, that when he and his colleague should take the field with the great army which they were now levying, they might find the four old legions well accustomed to the enemy, and the enemy well

weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his musters, wherein the whole senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this action they meant to refute the slanders with which Terentius and his adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is uncertain. Fourscore thousand foot at the least, and six thousand horse—they were strong in the field when the day came which Varro had so greatly desired of looking upon Hannibal.

"Hiero, the old king of Syracuse, as he had relieved the Carthaginians when they were distressed by their own mercenaries, so did he now send help to Rome, a thousand archers and slingers, with great quantity of wheat, barley, and other provisions; fearing nothing more than that one of these two mighty cities should destroy the other, whereby his own estate would fall to ruin, that stood upright by having them somewhat evenly balanced. He gave them also counsel to send forces into Africa, if (perhaps) by that means they might divert the war from home. His gifts and good advice were lovingly accepted, and instructions were given to Titus Octacilius the prætor, which was to go into Sicily, that he should accordingly pass over into Africa, if he found it expedient.

"The great levies which the Romans made at this time, do much more serve to declare their puissance than any, though larger account by poll, of such as were not easily drawn into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these armies of the consuls, and that which went into Sicily, twenty-five thousand, with L. Posthumius Albinus, another of the prætors, went against the Gauls, to reclaim that province, which the passage of Hannibal through it had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to do as they did. They sent ambassadors to Philip, the son of Demetrius, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliver into their hands Demetrius Pharius, who, having been their subject and rebel, was fled into his kingdom. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute, whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not known; only this is known, that Demetrius Pharius was not sent unto them, and that Philip henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appear, that the one half of it (how little

soever) would have been welcome to Rome, and accepted without any cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the whole.

"Whilst the city was busied in these cares, the old consuls lay as near unto Hannibal as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battle. Many skirmishes they had with him, wherein their success, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not only blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery following. Hannibal, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the winter. The Romans, to be near him, lodged about Cannusium; and, that they might not be driven to turn aside for all necessaries, to the loss of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the castle of Cannæ: for the town was razed the year before. This place Hannibal won, and thereby not only furnished himself, but compelled his enemies to want many needful things, unless they would be troubled with far carriage. Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himself to abide in that open country, fit for the service of his horse, longer than the Romans, having so many mouths to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battle, which he most desired. Of this mishap, when Servilius had informed the senate, letting them understand how this place, taken by Hannibal, would serve him to command no small part of the country adjacent, it then seemed needful, even unto the fathers themselves, to adventure a battle with the Carthaginian, rather than suffer him thus to take root in the ground of Italy. Nevertheless, answer was returned unto Servilius that he should have patience yet awhile, for that the consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to do as need required.

"When all things were ready in the city, and the season of the year commodious to take the field, the two consuls, with their army, set forth against Hannibal. This was always done with great solemnity, especially whensoever they went forth to war against any noble or redoubted enemy. For sacrifices and solemn vows were made unto Jupiter, and the rest of their gods, for good success and victory, which, being performed, the generals, in warlike attire, with an honourable train of the principal men, (not only such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the war as voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others

that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking and good wishes. At this time, all the fathers and the whole nobility waited upon Æmilius Paulus, as the only man whom they thought either worthy of this honour or likely to do his country remarkable service. Terentius's attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer citizens—a troop no less in greatness than the other was in dignity. At the parting, Fabius, the late dictator, is said to have exhorted the Consul Paulus with many grave words, to show his magnanimity, not only in dealing with the Carthaginians, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outrageous folly of his fellow-consul. The answer of Paulus was, 'That he meant not again to run into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would do his best for his country; but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would think it less rashness to adventure upon the enemy's sword than upon the malice of his own citizens.'"

OF THE GREAT SIMILITUDE OF WORLDLY EVENTS.

"Of the great similitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter hath been assigned as a probable cause; for, since nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded, the works of nature must needs be finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now, in those actions that seem to have their whole dependence upon the will of man, we are less to wonder if we find less variety, since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto human power, and since they are the same affections by which the wills of sundry men are overruled in managing the affairs of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of empires, how the Assyrians or Chaldeans invaded the kingdom of the Medes, with two hundred thousand foot and threescore thousand horses; but, failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the Greeks with such numbers of men as might have seemed resistless; but after that the Persians were beaten home again, their empire was never secure of the Greeks, who, at all times of leisure from intestine war, devised upon that conquest thereof which finally they made under the great Alexander. If Nebuchadnezzar, with his rough old soldiers, had undertaken the Medes,

or Cyrus, with his well-trained army, had made attempt upon Greece, the issue might, in human reason, have been far different. Yet would it then have been expedient for them to employ the travail and virtue of their men, rather than the greatness of their names, against those people, that were no less valiant, though less renowned, than their own. For the menacing words used by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greeks (in which kind it may be said that Nebuchadnezzar likewise offended the Medes and Persians) were not so available to victory as to draw on revenge in the future. Great kingdoms, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old lion for the oppression done in his youth, being pinched by the wolf, gored by the bull, yea, and kicked by the ass. But princes are often carried away from reason by misunderstanding the language of fame; and, despising the virtue that makes little noise, adventure to provoke it against themselves, as if it were not possible that their own glory should be foiled by any of less noted excellence."

"OF OUR BASE AND FRAIL BODIES, AND THAT THE CARE THEREOF SHOULD YIELD TO OUR IMMORTAL SOULS.

"That man was formed of earth and dust did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble fear he called unto God to save Sodom—'Let not my Lord now be angry if I speak, I that am but dust and ashes.' And, 'In these houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, do our souls inhabit,' according to Job. And though our own eyes do everywhere behold the sudden and resistless assaults of death, and nature assureth us by never-failing experience, and reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our bodies are but the anvils of pain and diseases, and our minds the hives of unnumbered cares, sorrows, and passions; and that, when we are most glorified, we are but those painted posts against which envy and fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappiness of our condition, and the dark ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we only prize, pamper, and exalt this vassal and slave of death, and forget altogether, or only remember at our cast-away leisure, the imprisoned, immortal soul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor perish with the mortal parts of virtuous men,—seeing God's justice

in the one and his goodness in the other is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account?—Never, while we have one vanity left us to spend. We plead for titles till our breath fail us; dig for riches whilst our strength enableth us; exercise malice while we can revenge; and then, when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that nature itself hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, that 'We must go the way from whence we shall not return, and that our bed is made ready for us in the dark.' And then I say, looking over late into the bottom of our conscience, which pleasure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives, we behold therein the fearful images of our actions past, and withal this terrible inscription—'That God will bring every work into judgment that man hath done under the sun.'

"But what examples have ever moved us; what persuasions reformed us; or what threatenings made us afraid? We behold other men's tragedies played before us—we hear what is promised and threatened; but the world's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights (with which we only see) do neither look up towards termless joys nor down towards endless sorrows, till we neither know, nor can look for anything else at the world's hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor:—

"'*Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil denique morbi*
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, iisque periclis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur unquam,
Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.'

"'Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What erst we were, we are—still in the same snare caught;
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In vice we dwell, in sin that hath no end.'

"But let us not flatter our immortal souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and know that we neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the peace which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorn, and deriding of God, his laws

and precepts. '*Frustra sperant qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur:* 'They hope in vain,' saith Bernard, 'which in this sort flatter themselves with God's mercy.'"

"THE UNALTERABLE LAW OF GOD.

"It was a good answer that Sixtus Quintus, the pope, made to a certain friar, coming to visit him in his popedom, as having long before in his meaner estate been his familiar friend. This poor friar, being emboldened by the pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him 'that he very much wondered how it was possible for his holiness, whom he rather took for a direct honest man than any cunning politician, to attain unto the papacy, in compassing of which, all the subtilty,' said he, 'of the most crafty brains, find work enough; and, therefore, the more I think upon the art of the conclave and your unaptness thereto, the more I needs must wonder.' Pope Sixtus, to satisfy the plain-dealing friar, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, 'Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what follies this world is governed, thou wouldst wonder at nothing.'

"Surely, if this be referred unto those exorbitant engines by which the course of affairs is moved, the pope said true, for the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which, requiring and finding mutual toleration, work more closely and earnestly than right reason either needs or can; but if we lift up our thoughts to that supreme Governor, of whose empire all that is true, which by the poet was said of Jupiter,—

"'*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat*
Ventosum, et urbes, regnaque tristia
Divosque mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit unus æquo:'

"'Who rules the duller earth, the wind-swoln streams,
The civil cities and th' infernal realms,
Who th' host of heaven, and the mortal band,
Alone doth govern by His just command:'

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In Him there is no uncertainty nor change; He foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to His own honour; He neither deceiveth nor can be deceived, but, continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly

govern all creatures by that law which He hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vain contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked is the way leading to their destruction; yea, this broad and headlong passage to hell is not so delightful as it seems at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poisons which infect the soul, many cruel thorns deeply wounding the body, all which, if any few escape, they have only this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect happiness, and hath in it a true, though not complete felicity, yielding such abundance of joy to the conscience as doth easily countervail all afflictions whatsoever, though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and make them wish themselves at their journey's end, in the presence of their Lord, whom they faithfully serve, in whose 'presence is the fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.'"

"THE CHASTISEMENTS OF THE ALMIGHTY.

"We commonly observe, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon His servants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have always tended unto the bettering of their good, in which respect, even the sufferings of the blessed martyrs (the death of His saints being precious in the sight of the Lord) are to their great advantage. But with evil and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and strict account, permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying His vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickedness be full, or not working their amendment by His correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses to their greater misery. So hath He dealt with many, and so it appears that He dealt with Joas; for this unhappy man did not only continue an obstinate idolater, but grew so forgetful of God and all goodness, as if he had striven to exceed the wickedness of all that went before him, and to leave such a villanous pattern unto others, as few or none of the most barbarous tyrants should endure to imitate."

OBSERVATIONS OUT OF THE STORY OF MOSES, HOW GOD DISPOSETH BOTH THE SMALLEST OCCASIONS AND THE GREATEST RESISTANCES, TO THE EFFECTING OF HIS PURPOSES.

"Now let us for instruction look to the occasions of sundry of the great events in the story of the life of Moses; for (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of this people) He wrought in all things else by the medium of men's affections and natural appetites. And so we shall find that the fear which Pharaoh had of the increase of the Hebrews, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss which befel himself and the Egyptian nation; which numbers, when he sought by cruel and ungodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the Hebrews to be slain, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor His purposes prevented by all the foolish and savage craft of mortal men) moved compassion in the heart of Pharaoh's own daughter to preserve that child, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flower of his nation; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of war, of his horse, and chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The grief which Moses conceived of the injuries and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrews in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Midian; the contention between the shepherds of that place, and Jethro's daughters, made him known to their father, who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those sisters; and in that solitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's sheep, far from the press of the world, contenting himself (though bred as a king's son) with the lot of a poor herdsman, God found him out in that desert, wherein He first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which He purposed that he should conduct His people toward the land promised, and therein appearing unto him, made him know His will and divine pleasure for his return into

Egypt. The like may be said of all things else which Moses afterward, by God's direction, performed in the story of Israel. There is not, therefore, the smallest accident which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by—yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered or forgotten."

"HUMAN AMBITION.

"Human ambition is a monster that neither feareth God—though all-powerful, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting—neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preservation of every being; but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty which never dieth, and with love that hath no end. All other passions and affections by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contraries oftentimes resisted or qualified; but ambition, which begetteth every vice and is itself the child and darling of Satan, looketh only to the ends by itself set down—forgetting nothing, how fearful and inhuman soever, which may serve it; remembering nothing, whatsoever justice, piety, right, or religion, can offer and allege on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts to the error or weakness of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like success. It was the first sin that the world had, and began in angels, for which they were cast into hell without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation; yet hath the devil, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting every age and man's condition."

"THE TEMPTATION OF SATAN.

"Now the devil, because he cannot play upon the open stage of this world as in those days, and being still as industrious as ever, finds it more for his advantage to creep into the minds of men, and, inhabiting in the temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectual adoration of himself than ever. For, whereas

he first taught them to sacrifice to monsters—to dead stones, cut into faces of beasts, birds, and other mixed natures, he now sets before them the high and shining idol of glory, the all-commanding image of bright gold. He tells them that truth is the goddess of dangers and oppressions, that chastity is the enemy of nature, and, lastly, that as all virtue in general is without taste, so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth every sense—for true wisdom, saith he, is exercised in nothing else than in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of riches to maintain plentifully our worldly delights. And if this arch-politician find in his pupils any remorse—any feeling or fear of God's future judgment—he persuades them that God hath so great need of men's souls, that he will accept them at any time, and upon any condition; interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timeful return towards God, by laying those great blocks of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the mind of man hath two ports—the one always frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other, desolate and overgrown with grass—by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations, so hath that of death a double and twofold opening—worldly misery passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other. At the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend us, all which have gone before us to prepare our joys; at the other, our cruelties, coveteousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions—the harbingers of most fearful and terrible sorrow—staying for us. And as the devil, our most industrious enemy, was ever most diligent, so is he now more laborious than ever—the long day of mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the world's tragedy and time near at an end."

"OF THE SEVEN AGES OF MAN, AND OF HIS MORTALITY.

"*Homo est mensura omnium rerum,* saith Aristotle, and that the four complexions resemble the four elements, and the seven ages of man the seven planets; whereof our infancy is compared to the moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants; the second age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to Venus, the days of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of

man's life; the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad and overcast, and in which we find, by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth. Our attendants are sicknesses and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom, when Time hath made us unsociable to others, we become a burthen to ourselves, being of no other use than to hold the riches we have from our successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts; and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life, towards which we always travel, both sleeping and waking. Neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours, and to all persons. For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again. Our leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the sun or the summer adorn us again with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

"For if there were any baiting-place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the academics, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juice, wherein the life of plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend, so is it with the life of man, which is always either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

"THE INVIOLABILITY OF AN OATH.

"It is not, as faithless men take it, that he which sweareth to a man, to a state, to a society, or to a king, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a prince;

but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and defy him. If he that, without reservation of honour, giveth a lie in the presence of the king or of his superior, doth in point of honour give the lie to the king himself, or to his superior; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the presence of God, promiseth in His name, and makes Him a witness of the covenant made?

"Out of doubt it is a fearful thing for a son to break the promise, will, or deed of the father; for a state or kingdom to break those contracts which have been made in former times and confirmed by public faith;—for, though it were 400 years after Joshua, that Saul, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the Gideonites, yet God, who forgat not what the predecessors and forefathers of Saul and the Israelites had sworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a consuming famine, and could not be appeased till seven of Saul's sons were delivered to the Gideonites grievèd, and by them hanged up.

"And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent—the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of subjects to kings, of servants to their masters, of vassals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby free men are tied in the world, be torn asunder. It is by oath, when kings and armies cannot pass, that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies; it is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this—that he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions which play with the severity of God's commandments in this kind; but this indeed is the best answer—that he breaks no faith that hath none to break; for whosoever hath faith and the fear of God dares not do it."

"LOYALTY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

"It may be pronounced, absolutely, of the kings of England, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motive urging so forcibly the death of King Edward and King Richard when they were in prison, as fear lest the people should stir in their quarrel. And certainly (howsoever all that the law calls treason be interpreted, as tending finally to the king's destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched itself with the blood of some great officers; no such rebellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruin of their natural sovereign, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his royal person; which if any man impute unto gross ignorance, another may more charitably, and I think more truly, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briareus, who, being loosened by Pallas, did with his hundred hands give assistance to Jupiter, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis Bacon, as signifying, that monarchs need not to fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side;—though, indeed, the story might very well have borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by Homer, who tells us that Pallas was one of the conspiracy, and that Thetis alone did mar all their practice by loosening Briareus. For a good form of government sufficeth by itself to retain the people, not only without assistance of a laborious wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and shrewdest politicians; every sheriff and constable being sooner able to arm the multitude, in the king's behalf, than any overweening rebel, how mighty soever, can against him."

SIR WALTER RALEGH, FROM THE ENGRAVING IN THE "HISTORY OF THE WORLD."

DETACHED OBSERVATIONS, MAXIMS, AND REFLECTIONS.

"He that suspecteth his own worth, or other men's opinions, thinking the less regard is had of his person than he believeth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authority in purchasing the name of a severe man. For the affected sourness of a vain fellow doth many times resemble the gravity of one that is wise; and the fear wherein they live which are subject unto oppression, carries a show of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazzle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakness of such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus the time wherein, by well using it, men might attain to be such as they ought, they do usually misspend, in seeking to appear such as they are not. This is a vain and deceivable course, procuring, instead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared, which is a thing of dangerous consequence, especially when an

unable spirit, being overperted with so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office as cannot be checked but by violence."

"It is certain that the age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things than the infancy. For we have now greater giants, for vice and injustice, than the world had in those days for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we have raised palaces of stone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorn them with gold, insomuch as men are rather known by their houses than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred, from water to wine and drunkenness; from the covering of our bodies with the skins of beasts, not only to silk and gold, but to the very skins of men. But Time will also take revenge of the excess which it hath brought forth: '*Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longissima subruet:*' 'Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall overthrow it.'"

"There are three things which are the natural causes of a long and healthful life; to wit, strong parents, a pure and thin air, and temperate use of diet, pleasure, and rest; for those which are built of rotten timber or mouldering stone cannot long stand upright. On air we feed always, and in every instant, and on meats but at times; and yet the heavy load of abundance wherewith we oppress and overcharge nature, maketh her to sink unawares in the midway. And therefore a good constitution, a pure air, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life."

"Common bruit is so infamous an historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor give credit to anything they may receive from it."

"It commonly falls out, that they who can find all manner of difficulties in serving Him to whom nothing is difficult, are, instead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they sought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken,

and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdom, wherein they had reposed all their confidence."

"The debts of cruelty and mercy are never left unsatisfied."

"It is usually seen that the hearts of men fail when those helps fail in which they had reposed more confidence than in their own virtue."

"The malice of the devil, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate than where men's ignorance is most."

"It was truly said of Seneca, '*Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem:*' 'Patience often wounded, is converted into fury;' neither is it at any time so much wounded by pain and loss, as by derision and contumely."

"Worldly men are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base vassals of the time that flourisheth, and as despiteful and cruel, without cause, against those whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident, hath thrown down."

"Princes do rather pardon ill-deeds than villanous words. Alexander the Great forgave many sharp swords, but never any sharp tongues; no, though they told him but truly of his errors: and certainly it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend princes, and none else, especially in public. It is said, that Henry the Fourth of France had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of Biron for his overbold and biting taunts that he used against him before Amiens, than for his conspiracy with the Spaniard or Savoyan; for he had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir John Perrot used of our late Queen Elizabeth were his ruin, and not the counterfeit letter of the Romish priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other greater than he, that thereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, soon after."

"They which tell a man in his adversity of his faults past, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune than to seek his reformation."

"Parsimony is a revenue of itself."

"The shame that falls upon an insolent man, seldom fails of meeting with abundance of reproach."

"It is a thing usual in mischievous, fell natures, to be as abject and servile in time of adversity, as insolent and bloody upon advantage."

"It was the custom of Philopœmen, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to mark the situation of the country about him, and to discourse what might befall an army marching the same way. He would suppose, that having with him there such a number of soldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place, he were upon that ground encountered by a greater army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, whether it were fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand; what piece of ground it were meet for him to seize upon, and in what manner he might best do it; in what sort he should order his men; where bestow his carriages, and under what guard; in what sort encamp himself, and which way march the day following. By such continual meditation, he was grown so perfect, that he did never meet with any difficulty whence he could not explicate himself and his followers."

"The doctrine which Machiavel taught unto Cæsar Borgia, to employ men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischief, was not of his own invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policy, the latter having been apt scholars in this lesson to the more ancient; as the reign of Henry the Eighth, here in England, can bear good witness—and therein especially the Lord Cromwell, who perished by the same unjust law that himself had devised for the taking away of another man's life."

"The coveting after long life in respect of ourselves, cannot but proceed of self-love, which is the root of all impiety; the desire of private riches is an affection of covetousness, which God

abhorreth: to affect revenge, is as much as to take the sword out of God's hand, and to distrust His justice."

"It is common in men to depart no less unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to think all alike their own whereof they are in possession, be the title unto some part never so unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young kite, which thought that she had vomited up her own bowels, when it was only the garbage of some other fowl that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digest."

"All historians love to extol their own countrymen; and where a loss cannot be dissembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the enemy, and given unto blind fortune, then to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces, as if they might easily have won all, but lost all through such folly as no enemy can hope to find in them another time."

"There are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the war, that both envy and malign others, if they perform any praiseworthy actions for the honour and safety of their own country, though themselves may be assured to bear a part of the smart of contrary success. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their prince and country should suffer hazard and want, than that such men as they mislike should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either."

"There is a foolish and wretched pride wherewith men, being transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions in which it hath pleased Him to use their own industry, courage, or foresight. Therefore, it is commonly seen, that they who, entering into battle are careful to pray for aid from heaven, with due acknowledgment of His power, who is the giver of victory, when the field is won, do vaunt of their own exploits; one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave check to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemy's cannon; every one striving to magnify himself, whilst all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another man's

virtue, is, I confess, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better success than he did, or in reason might, expect—is deeply bound to acknowledge God the author of his happiness; so he whose mere wisdom and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to show himself thankful, both for the victory, and for those virtues by which the victory was gotten. And, indeed, so far from weakness is the nature of such thanksgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimity; no virtue being so truly heroical as that by which the spirit of man advanceth itself with confidence of acceptation unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that Evander in Virgil useth to Æneas, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

> "'*Aude hospes contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum*
> *Finge Deo.*'"

"It is said and spoken in Alexander's praise, that when his soldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way but with extreme difficulty through the snow, that Alexander forsook his horse, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to show how well himself can endure it. His walking on foot did no otherwise take off their weariness that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drink did quench their thirst that could less endure it. For mine own little judgment, I shall rather commend that captain that makes careful provision for those that follow him, and that seeks wisely to prevent extreme necessity, than those witless, arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common soldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance."

"It is less prejudicial that errors, dishonours, and losses, be laid on councillors and captains than on kings—on the directed than on the director; for the honour and reputation of a prince is far more precious than that of a vassal. Charles V., as many other princes have done, laid the loss and dishonour he received in the invasion of France, by the way of Provence, to Antonio de Leva, whether justly or no, I know not; but howsoever, all the historians of that time agree that the sorrow thereof cost that brave captain his life. Certainly, to give any violent advice in doubtful

enterprises, is rather a testimony of love than of wisdom in the giver; for the ill success is always cast upon the counsel; the good never wants a father, though a false one, to acknowledge it."

"Certainly, the princes of the world have seldom found good by making their ministers over-great, and thereby suspicious to themselves; for he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is persuaded that kings ought to purchase it from their vassals, will never please himself with the price given. The only restoration, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodness and virtue of the prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent, so as proportion and distance be observed."

"To wrangle about pretences, when each party has resolved to make war, is merely frivolous; for all these disputes of breach of peace have ever been maintained by the party unwilling or unable to sustain the war. The rusty sword and the empty purse do always plead performance of covenants. There have been few kings or states in the world that have otherwise understood the obligation of a treaty, than with the condition of their own advantage; and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious princes and states is but a kind of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the sword than with the trumpet. So dealt the Aragonese with the French in Naples; Henry II. of France, with the Imperials, when he wrote to Brisac to surprise as many places as he could ere the war brake out; Don John, with the Netherlands; and Philip II. of Spain with the English, when in the great embargo he took all our ships and goods in his ports."

"In night services, ambushments, surprises, and practices, Aratus was very cunning, adventurous, and valiant; in open field and plain battle he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardice and courage, he ministered argument of disputation to philosophers and others, whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might look pale and tremble when he began battle; and whether the virtue of fortitude were diversified by the sundry natures of men, and in a manner confined unto several sorts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said, that all virtue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion, though a natural inclination

standeth in need of little practice, whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, use, good success, and other help, yet hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such was Aratus in matter of war. In sincere affection to his country he was unreproveable, and so acknowledged."

"In all panic terrors, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known, or no cause answerable to the greatness of the sudden consternation, it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men have fashioned in it their amazed conceits."

"Insolent natures, by dealing outrageously with such as bring them ill tidings, do commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilst yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger till their own eyes, amazed with the suddenness, behold it in the shape of inevitable mischief."

"The thirst of covetousness, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gain—to recover which they set the law at a price, and sell justice and judgment to the best chapman."

"It happens often that the decease of one eminent man discovers the virtue of another."

"We should not, if we be God's children, think it more tedious to hear long and frequent reports of our Heavenly Father's honour, than of the noble acts performed by our forefathers upon earth."

"Greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide, having threatened, not in vain, that He would require the blood of man at the hand of man and beast. The wars which David had made were just, and the blood therein shed was of the enemies of God and his church—yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy temple. Hereby it appears how greatly those princes deceive themselves, who think by bloodshed and terror of their wars to make themselves in greatness like to the Almighty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate His mercy and goodness,

or seek the blessedness promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers."

"I hold it a sure course, in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, so to deal as Pacuvius, in Capua, did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the senators of the city to death. He locked the senators up within the state-house, and offered their lives to the people's mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish until the commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as every name was read, all the town cried, 'let him die;' but the execution required more leisure. For, in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or baseness of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to be rejected; so that, finding the worse and less choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed that the old should be kept for lack of better."

"Where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice."

"He that cannot endure to strive against the wind, shall hardly attain the port which he purposeth to recover; and it no less becometh the worthiest man to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewail them."

"As in man's body, through sinews newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour than by any distemper in the contrary hand; so, in bodies politic, the humours of men, subdivided in faction, are more enraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curb them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the general opposition of such as are divided from them in the main trunk. Hereby it comes to pass, that contrary religions are invited to help against neighbour princes; bordering enemies drawn in to take part in civil wars; and ancient hatred called to counsel against injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guilty. She hath taught the

arm to offer itself unto manifest loss in defence of the head. They are depraved affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more general good for which they were created."

"We curiously search into their vices in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the virtues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in ourselves."

"It often happens that a prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wiser than it was."

"He who would needs help to piece out God's providence with his own circumspection, acts therein like a foolish, greedy gamester, who, by stealing a needless card to assure himself of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test."

"Young men, when first they grow masters of themselves, love to seem wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses."

"It is commonly found (which is a great pity) that virtue, having risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed itself (as it were) in the seat of principality by length of time and success of many actions, can ill endure the hasty growth of any other's reputation, wherewith it sees itself likely to be overtopped."

"All heads are not fit for helmets."

"Nothing is more vain than the fears and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afar off, which deceive all mortal wisdom, even when they seem near at hand."

"To make an able general, one virtue, how great soever, is insufficient."

"Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loose from the rigour of authority, love nothing more than to contest with it, as if herein consisted the proof and assurance of their liberty."

"By counterfeit shows of dissembling, aspirers do often take

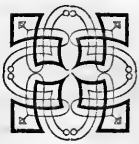
check by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work."

"Gentle behaviour and sweet language are commonly lost when bestowed upon arrogant creatures."

"Vain is the confidence on which rebels use to build, in their favour with the multitude."

"Surely, it is great injustice to impute the mischief contrived against worthy men to their own proud carriage, or some other ill-deserving; for, though it often happen that small vices do serve to counterpoise great virtues, (the sense of evil being more quick and lasting than of good,) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice that, wanting other testimony, will think it a part of wisdom to find good reason of the evils done to virtuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than virtue itself."

"A coward thinks all provision too little for his own security."



CHAPTER VII.

In May, 1612, death surprised Cecil at Marlborough, and took away Ralegh's bitterest enemy:—

"For they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong."

This event awakened in Sir Walter hopes of a speedy release which, however, were not immediately to be realised. Nevertheless, in 1614, the liberty of the tower was allowed him. About this time, seeing Carr, Earl of Somerset, brought into that fortress, he remarked, "that the whole history of the world had not the like precedent of a king's prisoner to purchase freedom, and his bosom favourite to have the halter, but in Scripture, in the case of Mordecai and Haman." The King, being told this, replied that Ralegh might die in that deceit. The King knew his own baseness better than Sir Walter: he pardoned Somerset, and executed Ralegh. In the above year, he had the misfortune of seeing his son Walter obliged to fly the country, on account of a duel in which he had been engaged with Mr. Robert Tyrwhit, a dependent of the Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Treasurer.* In this year likewise the "History of the World" was published.

* Mr. Gifford in his "Life of Ben Jonson," is exceedingly angry that a certain story should have gained such currency as to have found its way into our jest books. It is told by Wood; and is to the effect that Jonson, in 1593, was tutor to young Ralegh, who at length became weary of his governance, and making, or finding the poet drunk, caused him to be placed in a basket and carried by two men into the presence of his father, to show Sir Walter (to whom a drunkard was an abomination) what a tutor he had chosen for his son. Gifford triumphantly points out that in 1593 young Walter Ralegh was not born (he might have added that Jonson was hardly twenty years of age). But a story may be true although a date be wrong. An escapade similar to the above *was* committed, I am sorry to say, by the scapegrace, as Mr. Dyce has shown. He tells us:—

"It is now ascertained that Jonson *did* act as tutor to Sir Walter, not, indeed, in 1593, but in 1613; and that young Ralegh, not in England but in France, *did* treat him in nearly the manner above mentioned. 'Sir W. Raulighe sent him (Jonson) governour with his son, anno 1613, to France. This youth, being knavishly inclyned, among other pastimes . . . . caused

Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, was now the almost risen favourite, and to him did Ralegh appeal, and in a manner then very generally understood and practised. For fifteen hundred pounds, paid into the hands of Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers (uncle of the minion) Ralegh procured his liberty, and forthwith proceeded to ponder the best means of prosecuting his old scheme of settling Guiana. During his imprisonment, Leigh and Harcourt had made voyages there—the former in 1604, the latter in 1609; he had himself sent thither several times, to encourage the natives to resist the encroachments and cruelties of the Spaniards; and he had proposed a voyage to Guiana, some years before, if his liberty were granted him. More than twenty years had elapsed since he had discovered that country, and taken possession of it in the Queen's name. Guiana belonged to England.

Ralegh having moved the new Secretary, Sir Ralph Winwood, to interest himself in favour of his proposal, the consent of the King, whose necessities were unusually urgent at this time, was soon obtained, and a commission, bearing date August 26, 1616, was procured from him. According to some authors, the commission was under the great seal of England, and directed to "Our trusty and well-beloved Sir Walter Ralegh, Knt.;" whilst others, and James amongst them, who, after Ralegh's execution, felt himself constrained to publish what he called a Declaration, assert that it was only under the privy seal, and contained no such expressions of grace and favour. Nevertheless, that commission constituted him general and commander-in-chief of the enterprise—made him governor of the new country, with ample authority to settle it, and committed to him the power of executing martial

him to be drunken, and dead drunk, so that he knew not where he was, thereafter laid him on a carr, which he made to be drawen by pioners through the streets, at every corner showing his governour stretched out, and telling them that was a more lively image of a crucifix than any they had; at which sport young Raulighe's mother delighted much (saying, his father young was so inclyned), though the father abhorred it.'"—*Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations, &c.* I think it highly probable that Jonson was tutor to young Ralegh long before 1613, for the latter was at that date nearly twenty years of age. Obliged to fly to France on account of the fatal duel, I have no doubt it was at the earnest entreaty of Sir Walter that the poet accompanied or followed him thither. He *assumed* his governorship of a former pupil.

law, in such a manner as the king's lieutenant-general by sea or land was entitled to exercise it.

Although released from prison, Sir Walter had not obtained a pardon, nor was he at all solicitous to procure one—declining the offer of Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, who engaged to get him a full pardon for £700. For Bacon, whom he had consulted on this point, told him, "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular; for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already,

LORD BACON.

the King having, under his broad seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers."

To undertake this voyage, Ralegh was compelled to call in £8,000 which he had lent to the Countess of Bedford, and which had been given to him in full satisfaction of his Sherborne estate (valued at £5,000 per annum). He induced Lady Ralegh likewise to sell her estate at Mitcham, in Surrey, for £2,500. He obtained

many co-adventurers, some of whom were foreign merchants; and about seven months after the date of the commission, the fleet, which consisted of seven sail, was ready for sea.*

"The Destiny" had been built at the sole charge of Ralegh, and his son Walter accompanied him as his captain. There were on board two hundred men, of whom about eighty were gentlemen—volunteers and adventurers, many being Sir Walter's relatives. This number was afterwards increased.

In the latter end of March, 1617, Ralegh dropped down the Thames; but it was late in June before his entire force joined company with him, enabling him to clear the port of Plymouth. He was obliged by stress of weather to put into port at Cork, and it was late in August before he could proceed. Early in September he made the Canaries; in October, the Cape de Verd Islands; and in November, the continent of South America. He had suffered great distress during the whole passage, which he describes in the following letter, written to his wife on his arrival:—

"SWEETHEART,—I can write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days that ever man did, and lived. But God, who gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat. We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick. But having reached the land of Guiana this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of

* These were:—

"The Destiny," Sir Walter Ralegh . . .	440	tons,	36	pieces of ordnance.
"The Jason," John Pennington	240	„	25	„ „
"The Encounter," Edward Hastings, (afterwards Whitney)	160	„	17	„ „
"The Thunder," Sir Warham St. Leger .	180	„	20	„ „
"The Flying Joan," John Chidley	120	„	14	„ „
"The Southampton," John Bayly	80	„	6	„ „
"The Page," James Barber	25	„	3	„ „

Before the fleet left the English coast, it was joined by the following vessels, less particularly described:—"The Convertine," Keymis; "The Confidence," Woolaston; "The Flying Hart," Sir John Ferne; "The Chudley," ———; a Fly-boat, Samuel King; another, Robert Smith; a Caravel, ———.

our fleet are reasonably strong—strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassador, have not taught the Spanish king to fortify all the entrances against us.* Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his majesty, to lose, among many others, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it. . . .

"Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the line. All my servants have escaped but Crab and my cook; yet all have had the sickness. Crofts, and Maul, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord Carew, and Mr. Secretary Winwood; I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries. Yet of men of note we have lost our sergeant-major, Captain Piggott and his lieutenant, Captain Edward Hastings (who would have died at home—for both his liver, spleen, and brain were rotten), my son's lieutenant Payton, and my cousin Mr. Hughes, Mr. Mordaunt, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hayward, Captain Jennings, the merchant Keymis of London, and the master-chirurgeon, Mr. Refiner, Mr. Moore, the governor of the Bermudas, our provost-marshal, William Steed, Lieutenant Vescie; but to my inestimable grief, Hammon and Talbot. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us. In God's hands we are, and in Him we trust. The bearer, Captain Allen, for his infirmity of head, I have sent back—an honest, valiant man: he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Lothbury; and my devoted and humble service to her majesty. To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanity; but my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me. Commend me to poor Carew, my son."

The extreme illness of Ralegh, which continued for six weeks, debarred him from undertaking the discovery of the mine (of which Keymis had told him in England, and the existence of which had been certified to the king), and he was obliged to depute Captain Keymis to that service, and he ordered five small ships to sail into the Orinoco, aboard of which were five companies of fifty men each;

* It *had* taught the Spaniards in Guiana to be prepared for them.

the first commanded by Captain Parker; the second by Captain North; the third by his son, Captain Ralegh; the fourth by Captain Thornhurst; and the fifth by Prideaux, Captain Chidley's lieutenant. The charge of these companies, Sir Warham St. Leger having fallen sick, devolved upon George Ralegh, Sir Walter's nephew, who had distinguished himself in the Netherlands, and to Keymis was entrusted the landing and conducting them.

The five ships parted from Ralegh and the rest of the fleet, with a month's provision, on the 10th of December. They found that a new Spanish town, called St. Thomas, with about one hundred and forty lightly-built houses, a chapel, a convent, and a garrison, had been erected on the main channel of the Orinoco, about twenty miles distant from where Berreo, the Spanish governor whom Ralegh had taken on his first discovery of Guiana, had attempted to plant himself and his followers. Perceiving this, Keymis thought it advisable, fearing to have the enemy's garrison between his party and the boats, to deviate from his instructions, which enjoined him in the first place, to carry a small detachment to make trial of the mine under shelter of their own camp, and then to deal with the Spanish town as it should behave. Keymis and his company decided therefore to land in one body, and encamp between the mine and the town. By this course, though themselves were stronger, their boats were exposed; and, contrary to Ralegh's order, the mine remained untried.

It was now three weeks since they left Ralegh and the fleet; when, landing one night nearer the town than they imagined, and purposing to rest themselves on the bank of the river till morning, they were suddenly attacked by the Spanish troops, which had been apprised of their coming. This assault was so unlooked for, and struck the English soldiers with such a panic, that they had all inevitably been cut to pieces, had not their officers and some of the gentlemen-volunteers encouraged them. They now rallied, and made so spirited a defence, that they forced the Spaniards to retreat, and pursued them into the town. Here the battle was renewed, and with serious odds against the English, the governor of St. Thomas, and four or five captains at the head of their companies having come to the assistance of their comrades. Young Ralegh, now three and twenty years of age, full of the fire of youth and the courage of his family, without waiting for the musketeers,

rushed forward at the head of a company of pikes, and killing one of the captains, was himself shot by another, but still pressing forward, the captain who had discharged the shot felled him with the butt-end of his musket. He spoke but these words: "Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise," and had barely spoken them when his sergeant, Plessington, with his halberd thrust the Spanish captain through the body. Two other Spanish officers and the governor himself fell in this engagement. Of the rest some fled, whilst others, under shelter of the market-place, killed and wounded the English at pleasure, so that they were compelled to fire the town, and drive the enemy to the woods and mountains. Some, however, were careful to defend the passages to their mines, of which there were four in the vicinity.

A few days after this, Keymis attempted to visit and make trial of the mine with Captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, Sir John Hampden and others; but on the first evidence given of their intention to land, he received a volley of shot from the Spaniards in ambush in the woods, which slew two of the company, hurt six others, and wounded Capt. Thornhurst dangerously in the head. Keymis now took such thought as ended in a determination not to visit the mine at all. He found that the woods were thick and impassable, that the river was so low that he could not approach the bank near the mine by a mile, and he remembered that, if he succeeded in discovering the mine, he had no men to work it. In a word, he returned with the companies to the fleet, and pleaded the above reasons and others for not going to the mine. But as some mitigation of their want of success, and as an encouragement towards future exertions, Keymis produced two ingots of gold, which had been reserved at St. Thomas, as the King of Spain's fifth, or proportion, together with other valuable spoils of the late governor, and a large collection of papers, schemes, plans, maps, &c., found in his study. Among these were several letters, which showed that Ralegh's enterprise had been communicated to the Spanish government. Sir Walter, about a month afterwards, complained in a letter to Secretary Winwood of the treachery of betraying and exposing him to Spain, whose communications to South America long anticipated his arrival there. Meanwhile, the excuses or representations of Keymis by no means satisfied him. Irritated at hearing that he had not attempted the mine, and distracted by the loss of

his son, he bitterly reproached the captain with having undone him and wounded beyond recovery his credit with the King. This affected his faithful, valiant, and honest follower of many years so deeply, that he retired to his cabin and shot himself; and finding the wound not mortal, he despatched himself with a long knife thrust through the left breast to the heart.

The following letter to Lady Ralegh describes the failure of this disastrous expedition:—

"I was loth to write because I knew not how to comfort you, and God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember that the Queen's majesty bore the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess; I shall sorrow for us both. And I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live.

"I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood's letter, who will give you a copy of it, if you send for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed, which I have written by that letter; for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleansed my ship of sick men and sent them home, and hope that God will send us somewhat before our return. Commend me to all at Lothbury.* You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland, where I mean to clean my ships and revictual, for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son. This 22nd of March, from the Isle of St. Christopher's. "Yours,

"WALTER RALEGH."

"*Postscript.*—I protest before the majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken, when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve

* Lady Ralegh's relations, the Throgmortons, no doubt. Her father, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, had a house in that part of Lothbury which is now called Throgmorton Street.

yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river, and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered, that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals who, after my son's death, made no account of him. He further told me, that the English sent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of St. Thomas, which they had taken; and therefore for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible for them to have victuals brought them into the mountains. And it is true that the governor, Diego Palaméca, and other four captains being slain, whereof my son Wat slew one, Plessington (Wat's serjeant) and John of Moroccoes (one of his men) slew two—I say, five of them slain in the entrance of the town, the rest went off in a whole body. And each took more care to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three within a league of the town, beside a mine that was about five miles off, than they did of the town itself.

"Yet Keymis, at the first, was resolved to go to the mine. But when he came to the bank-side to land, he had two men of his slain outright from the bank, and six others hurt, and Captain Thornhurst shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks. Now, when Keymis came back and gave me the former reasons which moved him not to open the mine (the one, the death of my son; a second, the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it, and to be victualled; a third, that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and lastly, my weakness, and being unpardoned), and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave it to himself to answer it to the King and State, he shut himself into his cabin and shot himself with a pocket-pistol, which broke one of his ribs; and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died.

"Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose letters I refer you. But because I think my friends will rather hearken

after you than any other to know the truth, I did after the sealing break open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland and Silvanus Scorie, and to Sir John Leigh.

"For the rest: there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was. For, being commanded on my allegiance to set down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it; to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master the king of Spain. The King wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the Governor Palameca, of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidad, of which the first letter bore date March 19, 1617, at Madrid, when I had not yet left the Thames; which letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other letters of the King's, which I reserve, and one of the council's. The King also sent a commission to levy three hundred soldiers out of his garrison of Nuevo Regno de Grenada, and Porto Rico, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain us. He also prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved: if I live, I shall make it known. My brains are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I told you why.

"Whitney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadas, and Woolaston with him. So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home, and in my fly-boat, a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me,—but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done—that hath slept so little, and travailed so much. My friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not. God in Heaven bless you and strengthen your heart. Yours,

"WALTER RALEGH."*

* Hume, on whose authority in any disputed or doubtful point in history connected with the Stuart family, a man now-a-days would be laughed at for relying, avers that Ralegh's design, before he embarked on this voyage, was to plunder the Spaniards. He says: "Ralegh's force is acknowledged by himself to have been insufficient to support him in the possession of St. Thomas, against the power of which Spain was master on that coast; yet it was sufficient, as he owns, to take by surprise and plunder twenty towns. It

Sir Walter had been seriously ill ever since his arrival at Guiana, and he was incapable of repairing the omission of Keymis by him-

was not therefore his design to settle, but to plunder. By these confessions, which I have here brought together, he plainly betrays himself." But how? It may be asked, why then did he *not* plunder? He himself writes, "If I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken territory of their towns on the sea-coasts, and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana, &c." That Southey should put his foot in the steps of Hume, I am not surprised; but that Mr. Napier in the Edinburgh Review (Vol. 71.) should assert that "no one can doubt that he had resolved, before leaving England, to take forcible possession of St. Thomas," indeed astonishes me, when I see that an attempt is made to affix criminality to Sir Walter. That he expected opposition from the Spaniards there can be no doubt, or he would not have taken such a force with him; that the King likewise expected it, is seen by his permitting such a force to be taken. Mr. Napier says, "It seems altogether astonishing that James's ministers should allow him to sail with a fleet of such magnitude and force as that which he collected." But is it so? Not at all. The King was in want of money, and had great hopes of the success of this adventure. It is true, his majesty, in his Declaration, published after Ralegh's death, says that he gave no belief to Ralegh's statements; but who is to give belief to his majesty? He tells us that "Sir Walter Ralegh had so enchanted the world with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to believe," that he felt his honour was in a manner engaged to let him go. Was he without the circle of the magician's enchantment? Was every man, except James, enchanted? And then, "Sir Walter Ralegh carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea, by the enticement of this golden bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage." James here—to me at least—manifestly betrays himself. Why this talk of Ralegh's reputation "of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of a great commander at sea" as attracting others, if it had not attracted himself, seeing that, if his majesty's assertion of his pacific intentions towards Spain are to be believed, the qualities of activity, valour, and skill as a commander, and Ralegh's known hatred of the Spaniards, were the very last that should have commended him to that enterprise. But let us hear a little more of James's defence. "His majesty enjoined Secretary Winwood to ask Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his conscience and allegiance to his majesty, to deal plainly and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those mines in Guiana, which he not only solemnly protested to the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to his majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations, and that he

self going to the mine. Moreover, his company began to "cast a sad eye homeward;" whereupon he called a council of his captains,

never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the King of Spain's subjects. But notwithstanding his majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy and importuning his majesty to stay his voyage, alleging that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Ralegh had prepared for that voyage showed manifestly that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering (upon Sir Walter Ralegh's answer thereto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy), that if Sir Walter Ralegh would go with one or two ships only to seek the said mine, that he would move the King of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again for his safe convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person to remain here in pledge for the king his master's performance thereof." Can anything be more reasonble or cogent than this representation by Gondomar? Is it credible that it would not have convinced King James, if he had not conceived hopes of this enterprise which would enable him to set Spain at defiance? But no. "Such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and specious promises, as his majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security to behave themselves peaceably toward all his majesty's friends and allies." A politic king was James, and a crafty; but Ralegh and his co-adventurers, it seems, outwitted him. "For the good security which his majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour on their voyage, his majesty never heard anything to the contrary but that it was performed, till they were upon their parting, and then it was told him that every one of the principals that were in the voyage had put in security one for another, which, if his majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of."

This, which has been often quoted against Ralegh, is, to my mind, conclusive as to James's tacit participation in Sir Walter's designs, whatever they might be. It is incredible that the king and his ministers did not know what kind of security Ralegh and his co-adventurers had put in. He was willing that the knight should proceed upon his expedition on his own terms; and he withheld his pardon, as he himself tells us, lest he should play him false—a suspicion which, he also informs us, had no weight when it was shared and so vehemently urged by Gondomar. Had Ralegh returned with treasure, even though it had been spoil, he would have been well pleased, and a fig for the Spanish ambassador, whom the Spanish king, it is said, at last for all his services requited with a fig. Meanwhile, in the event of failure, he had a case against Ralegh sufficiently plausible to serve as a handle for his sacrifice. The Declaration of King James has often been examined and adduced as damning evidence against Sir Walter; I submit that it contains evidence,

and declared to them his intention of making for Newfoundland, to revictual and repair his ships. But the majority being of opinion that they should at once return to England, he arrived with his leaky vessels at the Irish port of Kinsale.

COUNT GONDOMAR.

Before this time, the news of his attack upon the Spaniards, the

little short of proof, to convict James of harbouring, for his own profit, sinister designs against the Spanish West Indies, which it had, perhaps, been well for Sir Walter had he executed. Ralegh, indeed, on the failure of the mine, had meditated a seizure of the Plate Fleet. He made no secret of his intention, for he confessed it to Lord Bacon, who said, "Why, you would have been a pirate!" "Oh," quoth he, "did you ever know of any that were pirates for millions? They only that work for small things are pirates." He knew, or strongly believed, that the king would have welcomed his return with such a prize; for James might have reminded Gondomar of the treaty by which war was allowed with the Spaniards in the West Indies, though peace was made in Europe. As it was, James durst not bring him to trial for sacking St. Thomas, for no jury would have convicted him. Even Hume is obliged to acknowledge this.

death of his son, and the suicide of Keymis, had reached England. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who, before Ralegh's departure for Guiana, had strongly remonstrated with the King against Sir Walter's going thither, besought, or rather demanded, an audience of his Majesty, promising that all he had to say should be comprised in one word. James, who affected Gondomar's society because of his gaiety and humour, was astonished and frightened when the ambassador, entering abruptly, pronounced with frantic vehemence —"Piratas! piratas! piratas!" and left the royal presence with a like abruptness. It was now time, he thought, for King James to bestir himself; and, to propitiate Spain, to sacrifice the most dreaded scourge of that country, and the sole great English admiral then surviving. There were two passages in Ralegh's letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, the secretary, which could not have been very pleasing to the King—the latter, indeed, must have made him wince and twitch his hose with redoubled activity. "In truth," says Ralegh, "the Spanish ambassador hath complained against me to no other end, than to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards; when, landing my men in a territory *appertaining to the crown of England*, they were invaded and slain before any violence offered to the Spaniards. And I hope that the ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance."

It was, perhaps, hardly judicious to have set down the passage we are about to quote; but the temptation was strong, and not easily to be rejected. "The readiest way," he says, "that the Spanish ambassador could have taken to have stayed me from going to Guiana, had been to have discovered *the great practices which I had with his master against the King my sovereign lord, in the first year of his Majesty's reign of Great Britain, for which I lost my estate, and lay thirteen years in the Tower of London.*"

But the Spanish match (between Prince Charles and the Infanta) was then on foot, and was at the moment the thing so near the king's heart, that every other consideration must give place to it. Accordingly, the king issued a proclamation, dated June 11th, 1618, declaring his detestation of Sir Walter's conduct towards the Spaniards at Guiana, and charging such as had any knowledge of the particulars to repair to the king's council. This proclamation asserted a lie, namely, that his majesty had expressly restrained and

forbidden Ralegh from any act of hostility upon any territories or subjects of foreign princes with whom his majesty was in amity, and more particularly those of his dear brother the King. The commission contains no such limitation.

On his arrival at Plymouth, Ralegh heard of the proclamation that was out against him, and, writing a letter to the king in defence of his actions, prepared to follow it to London, and to surrender himself into the king's hands. On his way to the metropolis, however, he was met by Sir Lewis Stukely, Vice-Admiral of Devon, and his kinsman, who told him that his orders were to arrest him, and to bring him up prisoner to London. Under the false plea of clemency, a certain amount of leisure was allowed for this purpose, and Ralegh returned with his "kinsman" to Plymouth.* Here he had reason to believe it was the king's fixed

* King James's declaration charges Ralegh with "then and at divers times openly declaring that there was no coming to England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and for his part would never put his head under the king's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon." It is very probable that this is true. Ralegh knew very well of what bad stuff James was made, and the use Gondomar would have made of it. Had he not passed his word to certain lords (as we shall see at his execution), it is likely that England would never have seen him again. His return, after so unsuccessful an expedition, was a matter of general wonder. Howel, in a letter to Sir James Crofts, says, "This return of Sir Walter Ralegh from Guiana puts me in mind of a facetious tale I lately read in Italian, how Alphonso, king of Naples, sent a Moor, who had been his captain a long time, to Barbary with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, and return by such a time. Now, there was about the king a kind of buffoon or jester, who had a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage that happened about the court. That day the Moor was despatched to Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the king at supper, the king called for his journal, and asked what he had observed that day. Thereupon, he produced his table-book, and amongst other things he read, how Alphonso, King of Naples, had sent Bertram the Moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco, with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The king asked him why he inserted this? 'Because,' said he, 'I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money.' 'But if he do come, then your jest is marred,' quoth the king. 'No, Sir; for if he return, I will blot out *your* name, and put *him* down for a fool.' The application is easy and obvious. But the world wonders extremely that so great and wise a man as Sir Walter Ralegh would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will."

intention to bring him to the block; and, finding himself very loosely watched by Stukely, he "dealt with a French bark" to convey himself out of the country; but he changed his resolution; and on the next day sent more money to the master of the bark to detain him, and altered his resolution once more.

After this, we are told by Captain King, an old and trustworthy follower of Ralegh, Stukely had orders to bring up Sir Walter, but with no more speed than his health would permit. There was with Stukely one Manourie, a French quack, a "professor of physic, and one that had many chemical recipes." Ralegh set on King to sound the Frenchman, who averred that, according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence." Having, as he believed, secured his man, Ralegh imparted to him his intention of counterfeiting sickness to gain time "till the Spanish fury was over." On that evening he pretended to be seized with giddiness and dimness of sight, and on the next day, having sent Lady Ralegh and the chief of his servants forward to London, he feigned a fit, and fondly thought he had imposed upon Stukely, who was in Manourie's confidence all along. But this was not enough. Manourie, at his request, prepared for him a composition, which was put upon his brow, his arms, and his breast, so that he became "all pimpled—his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about, like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin, as it were, inflamed with heat." This baffled the skill of three physicians, who, however, certified that the patient could not, without manifest peril of his life, be exposed to the air.

The time that Ralegh thought he thus gained was spent in writing his apology, which was a vindication of his Guianian voyage; which, however, was of no avail with the king, to whom it was addressed. Manourie, who had been Ralegh's amanuensis on this occasion, had by this time gained his confidence. Giving the Frenchman twenty crowns, Sir Walter promised him fifty pounds a-year if he would aid his escape. Manourie consented to do so, and proposed one or two plans which Ralegh did not approve. A permission to go to his own house when he arrived in London having been procured through the Vice-Chamberlain and the Secretary, Naunton, Manourie said that it might be seen by this that his majesty seemed not inclined to take away his life

To which Ralegh replied: "They used all these kinds of flatteries with the Duke of Biron, to draw him fairly into prison, and then they cut his head off. I know they have concluded among them that it is expedient a man should die to reassure the traffic I have broken with Spain."

Between Andover and Staines—if we are to believe Manourie, who says that up to this time Stukely was not aware of the understanding between himself and Ralegh—he discovered Sir Walter's intended escape, and thereupon put such a careful watch over him that he began to suspect that Stukely knew too much. At Staines, therefore, he employed Manourie to gain over Stukely, producing "a jewel made in the fashion of hail, powdered with diamonds, having a ruby in the middle, valued at a hundred and fifty pounds." "Tell him," said Ralegh, "besides this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds in money." Stukely, after some parley, accepted the offer; but bade Manourie tell Ralegh that he would choose rather to go with him than to tarry behind with shame and reproach; adding,—how could this be done without losing his office of Vice-Admiral, which cost him six hundred pounds? He was satisfied as to this; and Manourie, having now played his part, took leave of Ralegh, saying he did not think of seeing him again while he was in England.

On his arrival at Brentford, Le Chesnay, a follower of Le Clerc, agent from the French king, waited upon him, telling him that Le Clerc was very desirous to speak with him as soon as he got to London, touching some affairs which nearly concerned his welfare. Accordingly, the night of Ralegh's return to London, Le Clerc came to him and offered him a French bark, which he had prepared for his escape; and withal, recommendatory letters, for his safe conduct and reception, to the Governor of Calais; promising, moreover, to send a gentleman expressly to attend and meet him there. Ralegh, learning that the French bark was neither so ready nor so fit as one that he had engaged Captain King to provide, thanked the agent, but declined that part of his order. For the letters and the rest of his offer he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn out.

Captain King had been sent on from Salisbury to provide a boat, which was to be got through one Cotterell, who had been a servant of Ralegh. This man reminded King of one Hart, once his boatswain, who had now a ketch of his own. King dealt with this man,

giving him money to get his boat in readiness; and a further reward being promised, vowed inviolable secresy. He had no sooner received the captain's money than he betrayed the design to Mr. William Herbert, who made it known to the government. The unsuspicious old captain, however, still fed Hart with money to keep his ketch at Tilbury.

On the evening of the 7th of August, Sir Walter Ralegh came to London; but he told King, who waited upon him, that he could not get ready to go with him that night. On the next morning Stukely got a warrant, indemnifying him for any contract he might enter into with his prisoner, and for any seeming compliance he might make with any offer of escape. When King came again, Sir Walter said there was now no going without Stukely, whom he doubted not of being able to engage to go along with him, and he appointed to meet the captain at the Tower dock on the next night.

Thither King repaired at the time appointed, and there came Ralegh disguised, with a false beard, and a hat with a green hat-band. With him came Stukely, young Stukely, and his own page. Sir Walter having asked King if all things were ready, was answered in the affirmative, and that the cloak-bag and the four pistols were in the boat. Stukely then saluted Captain King, and asked him "whether thus far he had not distinguished himself an honest man?" To which King answered, "that he hoped he would continue so."

They had not rowed above twenty strokes, having previously divided the pistols, before the waterman told them that Mr. Herbert had lately taken boat, with the apparent intention of going through the bridge, but that he had returned down the river after them. Ralegh was alarmed at this; but, encouraged by Stukely, they rowed on. But Sir Walter, not thoroughly satisfied, presently hailed Captain King, who was in the other boat with young Stukely and Hart, and told him that he could not go forward unless he was sure of the waterman, whom he then spoke to, asking whether, if any should come to arrest them, they would run forwards or return. The men were alarmed at this question, and answered that they knew nobody there but Captain King, who had hired them to Gravesend, and that they neither durst nor would go further. Ralegh said that a "trifling matter" with the Spanish ambassador compelled him to go to Tilbury, to embark for the Low Countries, and that he would give them ten pieces of gold for their pains.

Stukely now began to curse and to swear, and to confound himself for being so unfortunate as to venture his life and all that he valued with a man so full of doubts and fears. He swore that if the watermen would not row on he would kill them, and persuaded Ralegh that there was no such danger as he apprehended. King was also of Stukely's opinion. A wherry crossed them when they came near Greenwich, which Ralegh said was on the look-out for them. King sought to dissuade him from this supposition, saying that, if they could but reach Gravesend, he would hazard his life to get to Tilbury. These delays spent the tide, and the watermen said it was impossible to get to Gravesend before morning. Hearing this, Ralegh would have landed at Purfleet; and Hart told him that he could procure him horses to Tilbury. Stukely appeared anxious for this; but King told him that, if they could not go by water, it was impossible, at that time of night, to get horses to go by land.

By this they had rowed about a mile beyond Woolwich. Here, approaching two or three ketches, Hart began to doubt whether any one of them was his. And now, Ralegh concluded they were betrayed, and bade the watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own house before morning. He examined Hart strictly, who pretended he had given his men express charge not to stir from Tilbury till he went down; but this did not satisfy Sir Walter. They were about a furlong on their way back, when they espied another wherry; and hailing her, they declared they were for the king. Ralegh, perceiving they were some of Mr. Herbert's crew, proposed to Stukely, seeing they were discovered, that he might remain still in his custody, and that Stukely should openly declare to the watermen that he was his prisoner, which he did. They now planned how they should reach Ralegh's house, and how Stukely might save himself harmless, by saying that he had only deluded his prisoner thus far, that he might discern his intentions and seize upon his private papers. Then they whispered, and Ralegh gave Stukely something out of his pockets, who all the while embraced him with the utmost seeming tenderness, and made the most earnest protestations of friendship and fidelity. When they were got back to Greenwich, Stukely said that he durst not take Ralegh to his house, but persuaded him to land, which he did—the strange boat landing at the same time. On Greenwich-bridge, Stukely

told Captain King that it would be well for him, and for Sir Walter's good, that he should pretend to be consenting with him to betray his master. This fine old fellow understood no such refined policy, and, though Ralegh himself seconded Stukely, flatly refused, thinking that he should not only thereby belie his own conscience, but make himself odious to the world. Then Stukely arrested the captain in the king's name, and committed him to the charge of two of Mr. Herbert's men. After this, they all went to a tavern;

ANNE OF DENMARK, QUEEN OF JAMES I.

and King heard Ralegh say, "Sir Lewis, these actions will not turn out to your credit."

Ralegh was kept apart from King till morning, when, as they entered into the Tower, Sir Walter said to him—"Stukely and Cotterell have betrayed me. For your part, you need be in fear of no danger; but as for me, it is I am the mark that is shot at." Then King, taking leave of Ralegh, left him "to His tuition, with whom, I do not doubt," says the pious old man, "his soul resteth."

Ralegh, once more in the Tower, did not abandon himself to

despair, although a committee was at once appointed to inquire into the particulars of the recent attempt at escape. Such a premeditated attempt was declaimed against as a heavy and heinous crime, arguing a disdain of his majesty's mercy. But he had still one or two powerful friends, the best being the Queen, who wrote the following letter to the favourite, Buckingham:—

"ANNE R.

"MY KIND DOG,—If I have any power or credit with you, I pray let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king that Sir Walter Ralegh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands, and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still, as you have been, a true servant to your master."

But all interposition was of no avail. Gondomar must be appeased; the Spanish match must be proceeded with.* And yet two months were occupied in deliberation as to the manner in which Sir Walter should be proceeded against, during which he was examined in the Tower again and again. At length the commissioners suggested two forms—the one was, that, with the warrant

* It has been said, that Lord Clare, who was a warm friend of Sir Walter, and who also had no slight influence with Gondomar, saw, or thought he saw, a disposition on the part of the ambassador to intercede for Ralegh's life, if he would himself entreat him to do so. This was made known to Ralegh, who was assured at the same time that there was no other hope of his preservation. Sir Walter paused, and then replied, "I am neither so old nor so infirm, but I could be content to live, and, therefore, this would I do if I were sure it would do my business; but if I fail, then I lose both my life and honour, and both these I will not part with." If there is any truth in this, Lord Clare was deceived into making such a proposal to Ralegh. It was a trick between Gondomar and James. The Spanish agent would have made his intercession public, to mitigate the detestation of the English people, who were strongly opposed to the Spanish match; and James, having executed Sir Walter, would have made a merit with his "dear brother of Spain," of doing justice upon an enemy of that country, in spite of the intercessions of its ambassador. The king had been base enough to offer to send Ralegh to his faithful majesty to be dealt with as he pleased; he was afterwards so base as to make his execution a plea for forbearance on the part of Spain. Will any one say that it was not a happy hour for England when she saw the reversed footprints of the last king of the despicable race of Stuart?

for his execution, his majesty should put forth a narrative of his late offences; the other, that he should be called before the whole council of state and the principal judges, certain of the nobility and gentry being permitted to be present—that they might then declare Sir Walter to be civilly dead; then for his majesty's council to make the charge, to hear Sir Walter's answer, and then to send him back,—for that no sentence could be pronounced against him; and then to offer their advice whether, taking Ralegh's subsequent offences into consideration, the king might not justly give warrant for his execution upon his attainder. Thus, as Oldys observes, was a method of putting him to death "pieced out." But James, disliking this method, and in opposition to his commissioners, sent a privy seal to the judges, to order execution forthwith. This was rather a grave matter for the learned judges. It was an extra-judicial proceeding; and they held a conference upon it, the result of which was, that the prisoner should be brought to the bar by a *habeas corpus* to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and demanded of—whether he could urge anything why execution should not be awarded? Upon this resolution, a privy seal came to the justices of the King's Bench, commanding them to proceed against him according to law.

On Wednesday, the 28th of October, Sir Walter Ralegh, at eight o'clock in the morning, was awakened out of a fit of the ague, and conveyed to Westminster. Yelverton, the Attorney-General, called for execution, observing—"Sir Walter Ralegh hath been a statesman, and a man who, in regard to his parts and quality, is to be pitied: he has been a star at which the world hath gazed. But stars may fall—nay, they must fall, when they trouble the sphere in which they abide." Being asked what he could say, why judgment should not be awarded against him? Ralegh replied that—"He hoped the judgment he received to die so long since could not now be strained to take away his life; since, by his majesty's commission for his late voyage, it was implied to be restored, in giving him power as marshal on the life and death of others; and since he undertook the same to honour his sovereign, and to enrich his kingdom with gold, whereof this hand," he said, "hath found and taken in Guiana"—. He would have gone on; but Chief Justice Montague interrupted him, telling him that treason was not pardoned by implication, and that he must say something else to the

purpose, or they must proceed to give execution. Ralegh replied—"If your opinion be so, my lord, I am satisfied, and so put myself on the mercy of the king, who, I know, is gracious; and, under favour, I must say I hope he will be pleased to take commiseration on me, as concerning this judgment which is so long past, and which, I think, here are some could witness—nay, his majesty was of opinion—that I had hard measure therein."

The Chief Justice then addressed him in these terms:—

"Sir Walter Ralegh, you must remember yourself you had an honourable trial, and so were justly convicted; and it were wisdom in you now to submit yourself, and to confess your offence did justly draw upon you that judgment which was then pronounced against you: wherefore, I pray you, attend what I shall say unto you. I am here called to grant execution upon the judgment given you fifteen years since; *all which time you have been as a dead man in the law*, and might at any minute have been cut off; but the king in mercy spared you. You might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood, to call you to execution; but it is not so; *for new offences have stirred up his majesty's justice* to remember to revive what the law hath formerly cast upon you. I know you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not but you retain both these virtues; for now you shall have occasion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore been questioned; but I am resolved you are a good Christian; for your book, which is an admirable work, doth testify as much. I would give you counsel, but I know you can apply unto yourself far better than I am able to give you. Yet will I, with the good neighbour in the Gospel (who, finding one in the way wounded and distressed, poured oil into his wounds and refreshed him), give you the oil of comfort, though in respect that I am a minister of the law, mixed with vinegar. Sorrow will not avail you in some kind; for, were you pained, sorrow would not ease you; were you afflicted, sorrow would not relieve you; were you tormented, sorrow would not content you; and yet the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting comfort to you. You must do as that valiant captain did, who, perceiving himself in danger, said, "Death, thou expectest me; but, maugre thy spite, I expect thee." Fear not death too much, nor fear death too little: not too much, lest you fail in your hopes; not too little, lest you die presumptuously. And here I must con-

clude with my prayer to God that he would have mercy on your soul. Execution is granted." *

Ralegh then desired that he might not be cut off so suddenly, for that he had something to do in discharge of his conscience; something to satisfy his majesty, something wherein to satisfy the world. He desired, also, that he might be heard at the day of his death, concluding thus: "I take God to be my judge, before whom I shall shortly appear, that I was never disloyal to his majesty, which I will justify where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth." So he craved their prayers, and was led away to the Gate-house, near Palace Yard, the next day being appointed for his execution. James was at Theobald's, in Hertfordshire during the trial, but the warrant was dated the same day, having no doubt been signed previously, and was produced immediately after the sentence. It was directed to the Lord Chancellor Verulam.†

Ralegh was not "butcher'd to make a *civic* holiday;" but the 29th of October was then the anniversary of the Lord Mayor's show and feast. Having received the sacrament from the Dean of Westminster, he was brought by the sheriff, at nine in the morning, from the Gate-house to a scaffold erected in Old Palace Yard. He had on a wrought nightcap under his hat, a ruff band, a black wrought velvet nightgown over a hair-coloured‡ satin doublet, a black wrought waistcoat, a pair of black cut taffeta

* This was a better speech, as to the spirit of it, than Popham's, thirteen years before. But Montague was hard beset, or he would not have talked such nonsense. We need not the ghost of Sir Edward Coke to come from the grave to tell us that a man dead in the law can commit no new offences. That Ralegh was virtually pardoned, we have shown Bacon's word for it. If he was not so, I humbly submit that the King's commission was nought, and that any step taken against him after his return to England, including his examinations in the Tower, was against the law. Ask a lawyer why Ralegh was executed? he will tell you, For having been found guilty of conspiring with Spain against England: ask the world—of which lawyers, as private gentlemen, form a part—it will answer, For an act of alleged hostility against Spain, for which he was never tried.

† It is impossible to tell what were Bacon's feelings, when he received the warrant for the execution of his friend—of a man whose greatness he was the one person in England who could measure.

‡ Qu. *Hare*-coloured?

breeches, and ash-coloured silk stockings. On his way from the prison, "an old man, whose head was bald, came very forward, insomuch that Ralegh noticed him, and asked 'whether he would have aught of him?' The old man answered, 'Nothing but to see him, and to pray God for him.' Ralegh replied, 'I thank thee, good friend, and I am sorry I have no better thing to return thee for thy good will.' Observing his bald head, 'But take this night-cap (which was a very rich wrought one that he wore), for thou hast more need of it now than I.'"*

He mounted the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen of his acquaintance then present. Proclamation being made by the officer for silence, he said: "I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and if I should show any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come." Looking towards a window where some of the lords were seated, and fearing that they could not distinctly hear him, he notified as much, whereupon the Lord Arundel and others came down to the scaffold. He then resumed. "I thank God," he said, "that he has sent me to die in the light, and not in the darkness. I likewise thank God that he has suffered me to die

* There are some further stories with which the reader may as well be acquainted. On the night before his execution, Lady Ralegh visited him, and amidst her tears acquainted him that she had obtained the favour of disposing of his body. He answered, smiling, "It is well, Bess, that thou may'st dispose of that, dead, which thou hadst not always the disposing of when it was alive."

On the morning of his death he smoked, as usual, his favourite tobacco, and when they brought him a cup of excellent sack, being asked how he liked it, Ralegh answered: "As the fellow, that, drinking of St. Giles's bowl, as he went to Tyburn, said, 'That was good drink, if a man might tarry by it.'" The day before, in passing from Westminster Hall to the Gate-house, his eye had caught Sir Hugh Beeston in the throng, and calling on him, Ralegh requested that he would see him die to-morrow. Sir Hugh, to secure himself a seat on the scaffold, had provided himself with a letter to the sheriff, which was not read at the time, and Sir Walter found his friend thrust by, lamenting that he could not get there. "Farewell!" exclaimed Ralegh, "I know not what shift you will make, but I am sure to have a place."

I find these stories in Mr. Isaac Disraeli's "Curiosities of Literature." The first is natural and probable; but I place small faith in the other two.

before such an assembly of honourable witnesses, and not obscurely in the tower, where, for the space of thirteen years together, I have been oppressed with many miseries. And I return Him thanks that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to Him it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart, both to my king and country."

He first defended his attempt to escape to France from Plymouth, "which was, because I would fain have made my peace before I came to England." He then cleared himself of the imputation of having entered into a plot with France, saying, "For a man to call God to witness at any time to a falsehood, is a grievous sin. To call Him as a witness to a falsehood at the point of death, when there is no time for repentance, is a crime far more impious and desperate; therefore, for me to call that Majesty to witness an untruth, before whose tribunal I am instantly to appear, were beyond measure sinful, and beyond hope of pardon. I do yet call that great God to witness, that, as I hope to see Him, to be saved by Him, and to live in the world to come, I never had any plot or intelligence with the French king; never had any commission from him, nor saw his hand or seal; that I never had any practice or combination with the French agent, nor ever knew or saw such a person till I met him in my gallery. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom!"

"The second suspicion or imputation was, that his majesty had been informed I have spoken disloyally of him. The only witness of this was a base Frenchman, a runagate, a chymical fellow, whom I soon knew to be perfidious; for, being drawn by him into the action of freeing myself at Winchester, he, being sworn to secrecy over-night, revealed it in the morning. It is strange that so mean a fellow could so far encroach himself into the favour of the Lords, and be so credited by his Majesty. But this I here speak: it is no time for me to flatter or to fear princes—I who am subject only to death; and for me, who have now to do with God alone, to tell a lie to get the favour of the king were in vain. I confess I did attempt to escape, but it was only to save my life. I likewise confess that I feigned myself to be indisposed at Salisbury; but I hope it was no sin; for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall upon his beard, to escape from the hands

of his enemies, and it was not imputed to him a sin: what I did was only to prolong time, till his majesty came. But I forgive that Frenchman, and likewise Sir Lewis Stukely, the wrongs he hath done me, with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. Dean, and I have forgiven all men; but in charity to others I am bound to utter this caution against them, and such as they are."

He then denied several other matters that had been charged against him, looking over his notes as he proceeded. Turning to the Earl of Arundel, he said: "My lord, you being in the gallery of my ship at my departure, I remember you took me by the hand and said, you would request one thing of me, which was, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, that I would return again to England, which I then promised and gave you my faith I would." "So you did," said his lordship; "it is true, and they were the last words I said to you." After adverting to some further charges of less moment, he thus concluded:—"I will borrow but a little time more of Mr. Sheriff, that I may not detain him too long; and herein I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me through the jealousy of the people, that I had been a persecutor of my Lord of Essex; that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a window over against him when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in defiance of him; when as, God is my witness, that I shed tears for him when he died: and as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my Lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death; for I was far off, in the armoury, where I saw him, but he saw not me. It is true, I was of a contrary faction; but I take the same God to witness that I had no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill affection, but always believed it would be better for me that his life had been preserved; for, after his fall, I got the hatred of those who wished me well before; and those who set me against him, set themselves afterwards against me, and were my greatest enemies; and my soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his death, and desired to have been reconciled to me.

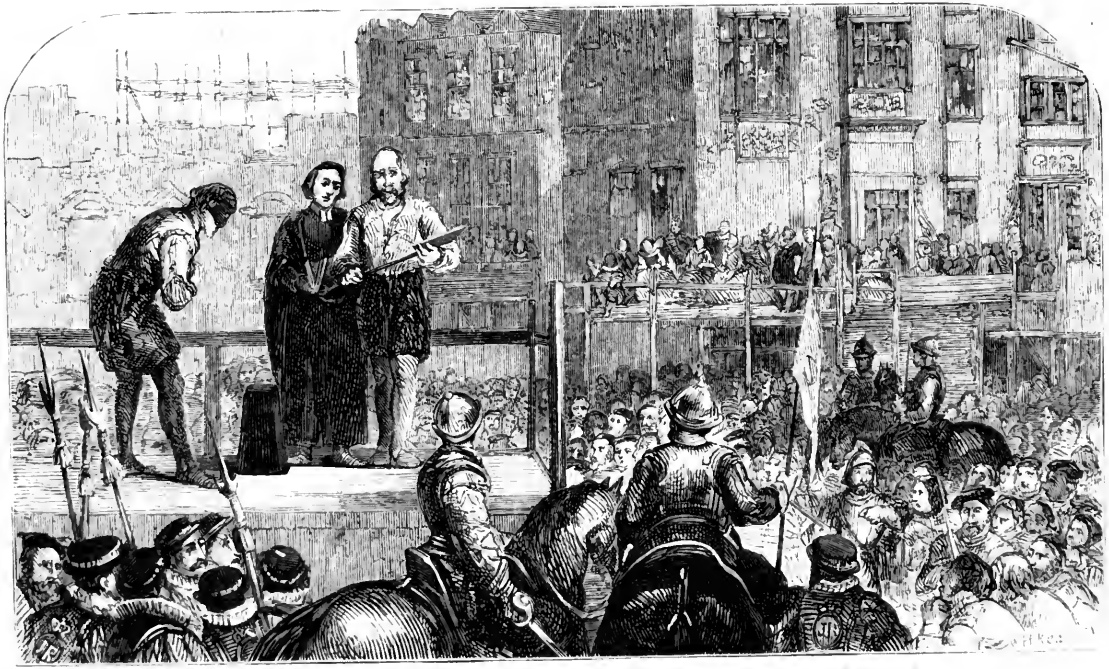
"And now I entreat that you all will join me in prayer to that great God of heaven whom I have seriously offended—being a man full of all vanity, who has lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a

courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice;—that His almighty goodness will forgive me; that He will cast away my sins from me; and that He will receive me into everlasting life. So I take leave of you all, making my peace with God."

Proclamation being now made that all should depart the scaffold, Ralegh "embraced," as an eye-witness tells us, "all the lords and others of his friends then present with the most courtly compliments of discourse, as if he had met them at some feast." He entreated the Earl of Arundel to desire the King that no writings defamatory of him might be published after his death, concluding, "I have a long journey to go, and therefore must take my leave." Then having put off his gown and doublet, and given his money, his hat and other articles to his attendants, he called to the headsman to show him the axe. The man appearing to hesitate, Ralegh said, "I pr'ythe let me see it: dost thou think I am afraid of it?" Having felt the edge, "It is a sharp medicine," he said to the sheriff, smiling, "but it is that that will cure all sorrows," and he kissed it. He then entreated the spectators to pray for him, and, kneeling down, was long in prayer. When he rose, the headsman kneeled down and asked his forgiveness, which Sir Walter, laying his hand upon his shoulder, granted, requesting him not to strike till he should lift up his hand as a sign. "Then," said he, "fear not, but strike home." Being asked which way he would lay his head upon the block, he answered, "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lies," and he laid himself down. After a brief prayer, he lifted his hand: the signal not being obeyed, he called aloud, "Strike! strike!" and at two blows his head was struck off, his body never shrinking or moving. The extraordinary effusion of blood astonished the spectators, who inferred from it that he might have lived many years.

His head, after it had been shown on each side of the scaffold, was put into a red leathern bag, and, with his velvet nightgown thrown over it, was conveyed away in a mourning coach. His body was buried hard by, in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church; but his head was, during her life, preserved in a case by Lady Ralegh, who survived her husband twenty-nine years. After her death, it was buried with her son Carew at West Horsley, in Surrey.*

The story has been often told of Master Edward Wymark, a wealthy citizen, a great newsmonger, and a constant Paul's-walker (or frequenter of



The following verses were found in the bible which Ralegh had with him in the Gate-house. He wrote them the night before he suffered:—

"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."

Sir Walter Ralegh was sixty-six years of age at the time of his death. We have already given, from Sir Robert Naunton, a few words descriptive of his person. Let us hear what Aubrey had heard. "He was a tall, (six feet in height,) handsome, and bold man. He had a most remarkable aspect; an exceeding high forehead, long-faced, and sour eye-lidded." He adds, that "notwithstanding his great mastership in style, and his conversation with the learnedest aud politest persons, yet he spoke broad Devonshire to his dying day;" and that "his voice was small." The following rebus indicates how the first syllable of his name was pronounced in his own time:—

"The enemy to the stomach (*raw*) and the word of disgrace, (*lie*)
Is the name of the gentleman with the bold face."

Soon after Ralegh's execution, James, seeing how he was, and was likely to continue to be, deluded by the Spanish king (the Spanish match had come to nothing), caused one of his ministers to write to his agent in Spain, to let them know they would be looked upon as the most unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with

the middle aisle of the cathedral, which was a common resort in those days). Hearing of Sir Walter Ralegh's execution, he said, among other things, "His head would do very well upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Naunton, the secretary of state." Being summoned before the Privy Council for having used these words, Wymark pleaded that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, but only spoke in reference to the old adage, that "two heads were better than one.'" He was dismissed; but not long after, when rich men were called upon for a contribution to St. Paul's cathedral, Wymark, at the council table, subscribed a hundred pounds. "Two are better than one, you know, Mr. Wymark" said the secretary significantly, which, between fear and charity, he was fain to subscribe.

sincerity, since his majesty had given so many testimonies of his; and now of late, "by causing Sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death, CHIEFLY *for the giving them satisfaction.* Further, to let them see how, in many actions of late, his majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy. Lastly, that he should let them know how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was, to have done his majesty service. Yet, to give them content, he had not spared him, when, by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom."

Nothing, during the disgraceful reign of James, brought upon him so much odium as the sacrifice of Ralegh. His trial at Winchester, his long imprisonment in the Tower, and his noble demeanour on the scaffold, had reconciled the people to him, and made them hate his persecutors. James's infamous agent, Stukely, was universally execrated, and was commonly called and known by the title of "Sir Judas."* But he did not long survive this distinction. The judgment of God was upon him. Before the end of the year, he was surprised in Whitehall clipping the gold—the very gold, some say (who conceive that no story can be too emphatic)—which had been bestowed upon him as a reward of his treachery;† and being condemned for that crime, and reduced to

* In a letter from Mr. Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart., in the Sloane Collection, we find: "I shall conclude with my Lord Admiral's (Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, the hero of the Armada) entertainment of Stukely, who, being Vice-Admiral of the Western Ports, and pretending to come and give an account to his lordship of his office, came and placed himself in the dining chamber, there expecting till his lordship passed; who, taking no notice of him, he stepped to him, acquainting him with the occasion of his coming. 'What,' said my lord, 'thou base fellow, thou! who art reputed the scorn and contempt of men, how darest thou offer thyself into my presence? Were it not in mine own house, I would cudgel thee with my staff, for presuming to be so saucy.' Stukely made his complaint unto the king, whose answer was, 'What would'st thou have me do? Would'st thou have me hang him? Of my soul, if I should hang all speak ill of thee, all the trees of the country would not suffice, so great is the number.'"

† In a letter from Thomas Wallis to Dr. Ward, he says, "It was asserted

the necessity of stripping himself to his shirt to raise money to purchase a pardon, withdrew himself from the odium of mankind to the island of Lundy, in the Severn Sea, where he died mad, on the 29th of August, 1620.

It has commonly happened that the character of a great man, aspersed and vilified during his life-time, has been vindicated and re-established in the next age. His enemies, and the fools who believed and the knaves who adopted their calumnies, removed from the world, the object of their malice has been judged—severely sometimes—but with dispassionate candour and fairness, by posterity. Such has not been the fate of Ralegh. Denied justice while living, it has been denied him after death. As with his life, so with his character. Tried and found guilty of one charge, falsely preferred against him, he lost his head on another for which he was not tried at all. If one imputation upon his memory has been examined and found to be groundless, he has been convicted on another which would not bear examination. Spite of the almost pious exertions of the laborious, the pains-taking, and the learned Oldys to clear the reputation of a man of whom England has reason to be proud,—spite of the biographies of Birch, Cayley, the zealous and amiable Mrs. Thomson, and the high-spirited and eloquent Tytler, there have been some in the present century who—not directly, indeed, but by implication—have sought to revive all the charges that were ever brought against him by his worst enemies.

yesterday for certain that Sir Lewis Stukely should this first day of the term be arraigned, at the King's Bench bar, for clipping of gold, though I hear no more of it; but he is in prison, and must come to it. Sir Walter Ralegh's blood crieth for vengeance, both against him and Mainwaring (Manourie), the Frenchman, his other accuser, who is fled for being Stukely's consort in clipping."

And in a letter from Mr. Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, we read, "Manourie, the French apothecary, who joined with Stukely in the accusation of Sir Walter Ralegh, is taken at Plymouth for clipping of gold, as was his companion. . . . . His examination was sent up hither to the King, wherein he . . . . (as I hear from Sir Robert Winde, cupbearer, I think, to his Majesty, who saith he read the examination) that his accusation against Ralegh was false, and that he was won thereto by the practice and importunity of Stukely, and now acknowledges this his present miserable condition to be a judgment of God upon him for that."

Ralegh has been accused of an insatiable thirst of gold, of a piratical indifference as to the means whereby he procured it, and of a niggardly expenditure of it after it had been acquired. The money he got was taken from the enemies of his queen, and what he obtained from Elizabeth was granted for services of no ordinary description rendered to his country. Sir Robert Naunton, who was secretary of state at the period of Sir Walter's execution, acknowledges that he never dipped his fingers into the public coffers, as others had done, but that all he ever received he had earned. He expended forty thousand pounds in the prosecution of the war with Spain. As to his niggardly expenditure, his fault, if it was one, lay quite the other way. He was all profuseness and magnificence. He was the patron of painters, poets, and learned and ingenious men he so beautified Sherborne that it was the marvel of the county, and it is on record what a splendid establishment he maintained in London, even whilst he was in disgrace with the Queen. Deprived of his estate, poor, and imprisoned in the tower, he sent fifty pounds as his contribution towards the formation of the Bodleian library.

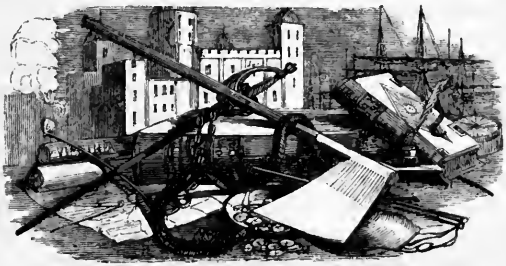
He has been taxed with pride, by which we are to understand a haughty, insolent, and disdainful carriage of himself towards his equals and inferiors. Strange to say, no instance has been cited in support of this allegation. That he entertained small respect for the multitude, he has been at no pains to conceal; on the contrary, he has shown it in many passages of his writings. He could not smirk in the face of a mob, still less could he court them, as Essex did, and he was hated by them accordingly. But in Devonshire and Cornwall he was beloved. As Lord Warden of the Stannaries, none ever appealed to him in vain for redress. Cecil has testified, in a letter to a friend, his surprise at witnessing how Sir Walter was adored by his sailors, when he was about to embark on an expedition. The Indians would have made him their king; and years afterwards the name of Ralegh was remembered, and his presence amongst them desired.

He has been stigmatised with atheism. Is it necessary, after the evidence furnished in this volume, to rebut that charge?

> "He is the heretic who makes the fire,
> Not he who burns in't."

He is the atheist who would have fixed the stigma of atheism, knowing it to be false, upon one, and one of the greatest and noblest, of God's creatures. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, that time-serving prelate, might almost have heard, in his palace of Lambeth, the descent of the axe upon the neck of the man he traduced; traduced *after* he had been told (for probably he *was* told by the Dean of Westminster) what a "divine prayer," he offered up in the last minute of his life.

"And now," in conclusion, and in the words of old Howel, "let this glorious and gallant cavalier, whose enemies confessed he was one of the weightiest and wisest men this island ever bred, rest in his grave." God has granted to few, in any age, the faculties He bestowed on Sir Walter Ralegh; but He has given to all, or nearly all, the power of making a due application of the faculties they possess. Who but must despair of equalling a Ralegh? But they may rival him in devotion to their Queen and country, in indefatigable industry ("he can toil terribly," said Cecil of him), in undaunted and heroic courage, and in piety and humble dependence on the will of the Almighty.



PETTER AND GALPIN, PLAYHOUSE-YARD, ADJOINING THE "TIMES" OFFICE

ERRATA.

Page	17,	line	23,	for	"practice," read "practise,"
„	60	„	8	„	"men, assured commanders," read "men assured, commanders."
„	81	„	2	„	"wrote a libel, in which," read "in a libel on."
„	85	„	11	„	"as some do," read "as rams do."
„	110	„	29	„	"Indian voyage," read "Island voyage."
„	128	„	27	„	"*animasq*," read "*animasque*."
„	151	„	14	„	"loss of life," read "love of life."
„	152	„	17	„	"latter," read "letter."
„	164	„	18	„	"careless," read "cureless."
„	233	„	23	„	"*suere*," read "*fuere*."
„	240	„	7	„	"of the factions of the places," read "of the factions, of the places."
„	278	„	11 (note)		"*assumed*," read "*resumed*."
„	287	„	4 (note)		"territory," read "twenty."
„	293	„	33	for	"order," read "offer."