

W. Murray
with the kind regards of
W. Brushfield

RALEGHANA.

PART VIII.

THE EXECUTION OF SIR WALTER RALEGH AND SOME OF THE
EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED IT.

BY

T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at Axminster, 25th July, 1907.)

[Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art.* 1907.—xxxix. pp. 242-263.]



-RALEGH-

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“The last word said :
He bowed the sorrows of his perfect head,
And passed where never any troublous days
Shall touch him now, nor any blame nor praise ;
But on the other side of Death’s fair shore,
He knows that dream of his is now a dream no more.”

SIR RENNELL RODD.

THE series of articles embraced under the heading of “Raleghana,” which have been brought under the notice of the members of this Association during the last few years, may be fittingly brought to a close with an account of various incidents which transpired subsequent to the execution of Sir Walter on October 29, 1618, and to which they, for the most part, bore an intimate relation. It is, however, necessary to make a few preliminary observations on some of the proceedings that took place during the previous twenty-four hours.¹

¹ Brief references to works quoted :—

Oldys = “Life of Sir W. Raleigh,” in “Works” (1829), Vol. I (first edition, 1736).

“Works” (1829) = “Works of Sir W. Raleigh,” Vols. II–VIII (1829).

“D.A.” = Transactions Devonshire Association.

“Court,” etc. = “Court and Times of James I,” by T. Birch (1849), 2 vols.

“Brief Lives” = “Brief Lives,” by John Aubrey (1898), 2 vols. (first edition, 1813).

Edwards = “Life of Sir W. Raleigh,” by E. Edwards (1868), 2 vols.

Gardiner = “History of England,” by S. R. Gardiner, Vol. III (1883).

“Arraignment, etc.” = “The Arraignment and Conviction of Sir W. R. . . .
copied by Sir Tho. Overbry” (1648).

Shirley = “Life of Sir W. Raleigh,” by John Shirley (1677).

Gosse = “Memoir of Sir W. Raleigh,” by Edmund Gosse (1886).

Walcott = “Memorials of Westminster,” by Rev. M. E. C. Walcott (1851).

0482

On Wednesday, October 28, Raleigh, then a prisoner in the Tower, "at eight o'clock in the morning was awaked out of a fit of a fever, with summons presently to appear at the king's bench bar at Westminster; and, soon after nine o'clock, he was, by writ of habeas corpus, brought thither" (Oldys, 550). On being then asked, "why execution should not be done upon him," he began to "justifie himself in his proceedings in the late voyage"; but he was stopped by the Lord Chief Justice, Sir H. Montague, who informed him, "there was no other matter there in question, but concerning the judgement of death, that formerly hath been given against him, The which *the Kings pleasure was, upon some occasions best knowne to himselfe, to have executed, unlesse he could shew good cause to the contrary.*"¹ Called on to award execution against Raleigh, Foss remarks, "His address evidently showed his regret in being compelled to the performance of this duty, and its terms do credit to his humanity."² This formed a striking contrast to the brutality exhibited towards Raleigh at his trial in 1603. So determined, however, was the King for Raleigh to be executed, that to avoid the numerous importunities for the death sentence not to be carried out, he left London for Hertfordshire before October 28, although the Royal Warrant for the execution bears that date, as "Witness ourself at Westminster."³

Although this document declares that Raleigh was to suffer death for having been indicted after trial of "divers high treasons," the date of that trial (1603) is not stated, nor is there any reason noted why the sentence remained in abeyance for fifteen years. One alteration in the mode of carrying it out is directed to be made; and in lieu of being "drawn, hanged and quartered according to the lawes and customes of this our Realme of England," the King's "pleasure is to have the head only of the said sir Walter Raleigh cut off at or within our palace of Westminster."

Of the extreme restlessness of the King at this period, Oldys gives the following graphic account:—

"The king was all this while retired as it were, or at some remoteness from this tragical scene, . . . as if he would have diverted himself, not only from the sight or report, but even the thoughts of it . . . very often in his boots, and hunting to and

¹ Appendix to the "Arraignment, etc.," 26. Italics not in the original.

² "Lives of the Judges" (1870), 450.

³ A transcript of it is printed in Oldys' "Works" (1829), VIII, 773-4.

fro; sometimes at Theobalds, sometimes at Hampton-court; not but he found time to dedicate his Meditations on the Lord's Prayer to his favourite Buckingham" (553-4).

It is very doubtful whether these "Meditations" benefited either James or his protégé.¹

No day or time for carrying out the sentence is mentioned in the Royal Warrant, but the indecent haste with which Raleigh was hurried to the scaffold within twenty-four hours of his sentence must be wholly attributed to the command of James, who, no doubt, felt that until the beheadal was effected there was no prospect of his son's alliance with the Spanish Infanta.² At the Council meeting on October 28 the Attorney-General, Sir H. Yelverton, told Raleigh "he had lived like a star, and like a star must he fall, when it troubled the firmament. . . . His warning was short; for he had no word to prepare himself for death, till that very morning he was convented before the judge."³

On "the eve of the blackest day in James's black reign,"⁴ Sir Walter was removed for the night to the Gatehouse at Westminster; and from thence next morning to a scaffold in Old Palace Yard. According to Aubrey, "the time of his execution was contrived to be on my Lord Mayer's day (viz. the day after St. Simon and Jude) 1618, That the pageants and fine shewes might drawe away the people from beholding the tragœdie of one of the gallant worthies that ever England bred."⁵ The hour when the execution took place is unknown. A paper in the "Ashmolean MSS." (No. 830, s. 27), "written by Ashmole," affirms it was "betwixt the hower of five and sixe in the morning";⁶ but Shirley declares it was "about nine of the Clock" (223), and this is probably correct, as "at eight the officers came to fetch him away" from the Gatehouse.⁷

Notwithstanding the attraction of the city pageants, a large crowd was present at the execution, among whom were many notables and, it is believed, some of the leading Puritans.

The details of the execution, including the behaviour

¹ A curious paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer printed in "Notes and Queries," 1st Ser., V, 105, has been "ascribed to James I."

² *Vide* Buckingham's letter in "D.A.," XXXVIII, 464-5.

³ Letter from Rev. T. Lorkin to Sir T. Puckering dated November 3, 1618, in "Court, etc., of James I.," VI, i. 99.

⁴ J. A. St. John, "Life of Sir W. Raleigh" (1862), II, 341.

⁵ "Brief Lives," II, 189.

⁶ Black's "Catalogue," 491.

⁷ Gardiner, III, 149.

of Raleigh, his last speech, etc., are fully recorded in many works, and do not require to be repeated here. Suffice it to say that no more appropriate lines than those of Shakespeare could be adduced to express the gallant bearing of the great Elizabethan, during the last hour of his life, on that eventful day.

“Cowards die many times before their deaths :
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear ;
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come, when it will come.”

“Julius Cæsar,” act ii. sc. 2.

After the executioner had finished his office, Raleigh’s “head was shewed on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and his wrought velvet gowne throwne over it, which was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning coach of his Ladyes.”¹ As far as is yet known, this is the earliest printed record of what took place on that memorable occasion ; and as the account was probably written soon after the execution had taken place, it must have been in the memory of many who were living at that date (1648). This relation of the removal of her husband’s head by Lady Raleigh, is printed *verb. et lit.* in Shirley’s work (237–8), and also in that by Oldys (564).²

There is no foundation for the statement by Mrs. Sinclair as to the dissevered “head being placed on Westminster Hall.”³ Once in the possession of Lady Raleigh, it remained in her keeping for the remainder of her life. Leaving the subject of the subsequent disposal of the head for the present, we pass on to consider the burial of Sir Walter’s body.

When Raleigh, after his trial at Winchester in December, 1603, was found guilty and ordered to be executed—a sentence he expected to be carried speedily into effect—he wrote to his wife one of the most affecting letters known in the English language. Evidence of its great popularity is shown by its having been frequently reprinted ; the earliest occasion was in a separate form, and published in 1644, under the title of “To day a man, To morrow none: Or, Sir Walter Rawleighs Farewell to his Lady, &c.” It is

¹ “Arraignment, etc.,” 34.

² In “Notes and Queries,” 10th Ser., I, 130, Oldys is mentioned, in error, as the earliest authority on the subject.

³ History, etc., of the windows of St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster (1895), 30.

included in all editions of the "Remains" (1651 *et seq.*). It will be found in the "Arraignment" (1648), and even in the Appendix to such a work as "The Fatal Curiosity," by Lillo (1767). The following paragraph is transcribed from this letter: "Beg my dead body which living was denyed you, and either lay it in *Sherborne* (if the land continue) or in *Exeter* Church by my father and mother." The portion in brackets is taken from Sloane MS. The rest of the extract from "To day, etc." (1644).¹ Neither of these wishes could be carried out: *Sherborne* had been wrested from him some years before his beheadal in 1618, and "Exeter Church"—not the cathedral, but the church of St. Mary Major (*vide* "D.A.," XXVIII, 291)—was too far away. In the last interview Raleigh had with his wife, on the night previous to his execution, she "told him she had obtained the disposing of his body. To which he answered, smiling, 'It is well, Besse, that thou mayest dispose of that dead, that hadst not the disposing of it when it was alive.'"² This evidently referred to the subsequent burial of his remains, as expressed, a few hours later, in a remarkable letter to her brother, Sir Nicholas Carew, as recorded in the following transcript:—

"I desiar, good brother, that you will be pleased to let me berri the worthi boddi of my nobell hosban, Sur Walter Raleigh, in your chorche at Beddington, wher I desiar to be berred. The Lordes have geven me his ded boddi, thought [*sic*] they denied me his life. This nit hee shall be brought you ith two or three of my men. Let me here presently. God hold me in my wites.
"E. R."

Addressed: "To my best brother, Sur Nicholas Carew, at Beddington."³ According to C. R. B. Barrett,⁴ "The original . . . is amongst the Lambert family papers," at Garratt's Hall, Banstead; but there is greater reason to believe it to be only an early copy, with some variations in the word-spelling. Unfortunately this letter is undated; it however proves the ardent desire of Lady Raleigh for the interment to take place at Beddington, and that, at the time she wrote it, either she had actual possession of the body, or had relied upon the promise made that it would be

¹ Cf. Edwards II, 287.

² Letter from Chamberlain to Carleton, November 7, 1618, in "Court, etc., of James I.," II, 104; from "S. P. Dom.," James I, CIII, 73.

³ "As printed from the Original (?) by Manning and Bray, 'History of Surrey,' Vol. II, p. 495 $\frac{3}{4}$," in Edwards II, 413.

⁴ "Surrey Highways, etc." (1895), 239.

surrendered to her. The latter is the more probable. The expression in the letter to her brother, "The Lordes have geven me his ded boddi," has been generally accepted in proof she had it in her possession *after* the execution; but this was simply a reiteration of the remark she made to her husband at their last interview; "she told him she had obtained the disposing of his body." This was recorded within ten days of the execution by one who could have known nothing of Lady Raleigh's letter.

Some authors aver the head to have been deposited in a red leather bag, and then, after the body had been wrapped in his "cloak," or "velvet gown," both were conveyed in a coach to her house.¹ This view is also entertained by Edwards (I, 706), who suggests the letter to have been penned on October 30 (?) (II, 413). If, however, the present epitaph (*vide* photo illustration) be correct, the body had been interred "on the day he was beheaded" (October 29). That it was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, is proved by the entry in the burial register, from which the accompanying facsimile (photo print) has been taken.² The entry in the burial register, as shown in the accompanying facsimile, records the month, but not the day, of the interment. As, however, only two days intervened between the day of the execution and November 1, and three other entries after that of Raleigh, it seems more probable that the burial took place on the same day as the beheading, although Edwards (II, 417) suggests it was on the following day. This entry is undated, but it is the last save three that was made in that month (October). The following paragraph in Aubrey's work throws no additional light upon it: "In the register . . . in the moneth of October, Sir Walter Raleigh is entred, and is the last of that moneth, but no dayes of the moneth are sett downe, so that he being beheaded on the Lord Mayer's day, was buried the . . ."³ This extract seems to imply that the interment did not take place on the day of the beheading, but on one of the two succeeding days. It is noteworthy that in his "Extracts from the Parish Registers" of the church, the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott should have omitted Sir Walter's name from the list. Edwards remarks: "Nothing, I believe, is now known of the causes which led to the interment of Sir

¹ "Life of Raleigh," by C. K. True (1881), 204; Gosse, 222.

² For this, as well as for the one relating to the entry of Sir Walter's son, Carew, the writer is indebted to the kind offices of the rector, the Rev. Canon H. Henson.

³ "Brief Lives," II, 190.

October 1618

S^r Walter Raleigh, Knight

M^{rs} Anne Warren

Joseph Alford

Mary Sandes

Sir Walter Raleigh, Oct., 1618.

I Peter Hillwell
 will i Lacey + Carewigh Esqrs Kitch^{er} d^e p^{er}manor
 Be. Edward Ch 2 Joseph Galt

Carew Raleigh, Jan. 1, 1667.

Walter Raleigh in St. Margaret's Church . . . instead of at Beddington" (II, 413). That some powerful cause had operated to bring about the alteration is certain, although none is alluded to by any of the leading authorities; and yet a consideration of the following remarks may afford a clue to the probable explanation.

Popular feeling had shown itself opposed to the whole of the proceedings which had been instituted against Raleigh from the time he landed after his last expedition. It was exhibited towards Sir "Judas" Stukeley, who, in his "Appollogie," written a few weeks only after Raleigh reached England, complained, "I haue bine accused for conspiracy and falshood towards him."¹ But when an indecently hurried execution was ordered to take place within a few hours of the sentence, and was carried out on a day when it was thought that the pageantry at the east end of the city would draw off a large crowd, who would otherwise have been present at Old Palace Yard, the authorities soon discovered the public feeling against all who had taken part in the final act to be of too angry and grave a character to be neglected. They would be forced to the conclusion that to allow the headless trunk to be removed to its Surrey resting-place would be an extremely hazardous proceeding, and might lead to a popular outbreak. As the only means to avert any such movement, they hastened (whether at that time in the possession of Lady Raleigh or not) to have the body "buried privately"² and without delay in the church of St. Margaret. There was no apparent reason this church should be selected in preference to any other, except that it happened to be the nearest to the place of execution. That the public indignation increased as time went on appears to be corroborated by the circumstance of the great hurry of the King and Court party to publish a hastily conceived and printed "Declaration," a month after Raleigh's death, in justification of their proceedings,³ but which the public refused to accept as such, regarding it as an "Apology," especially as it omitted all reference to the real cause why Raleigh was sacrificed, viz. to please the Spanish authorities.

The foregoing remarks favour the view expressed in the memoir of Raleigh in the "D.N.B." (in which the present writer fully agrees), that the burial of her husband's body

¹ "D.A.," XXXVII, 311.

² "Brief Lives," II, 189.

³ In "D.A.," XXXVIII, 410 *et seq.*, there is a full analysis of this document.

in St. Margaret's Church took place "*in spite of* Lady Raleigh's wish that he should be buried at Beddington." It is, indeed, very doubtful whether, at any time after the execution, she ever had personal (actual) possession of it.

We may here briefly enumerate some of the places noted (in error) by writers as the burial place of Raleigh. According to Aubrey, "The bishop of Sarum (Seth Ward) saith that Sir Walter Raleigh lyes interred in St. Marie's church at Exon, not the cathedral" (II, 193); the Bishop evidently mistook the grave of the father for that of the son.¹ Then in Brayley and Britton's "Surrey," Lady Raleigh's letter is relied on for believing the burial was at Beddington (II, 94), while Lord De Ros, in his description of St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower, affirms, "In James I's reign, Sir W. Raleigh here found rest after his life of vicissitude and trouble."²

There is some doubt as to the precise spot in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church where the remains of Raleigh were deposited. Ashmole informed Aubrey, "He was buried as soon as you are removed from the top of the steps towards the altar, not under the altar" (II, 190). From another authority (noted on the preceding page) he heard they were "Buryed privately under the high alter . . . in which grave (or neer) lies James Harrington, esq., author of 'Oceana.'" Of the latter Aubrey remarks, "[James Harrington] lyes buried in the chancell . . . the next grave to the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh, under the south side of the altar where the priest stands" (II, 193). His memorial tablet was "formerly, according to Bishop Kennet, 'within the communion rails.'"³

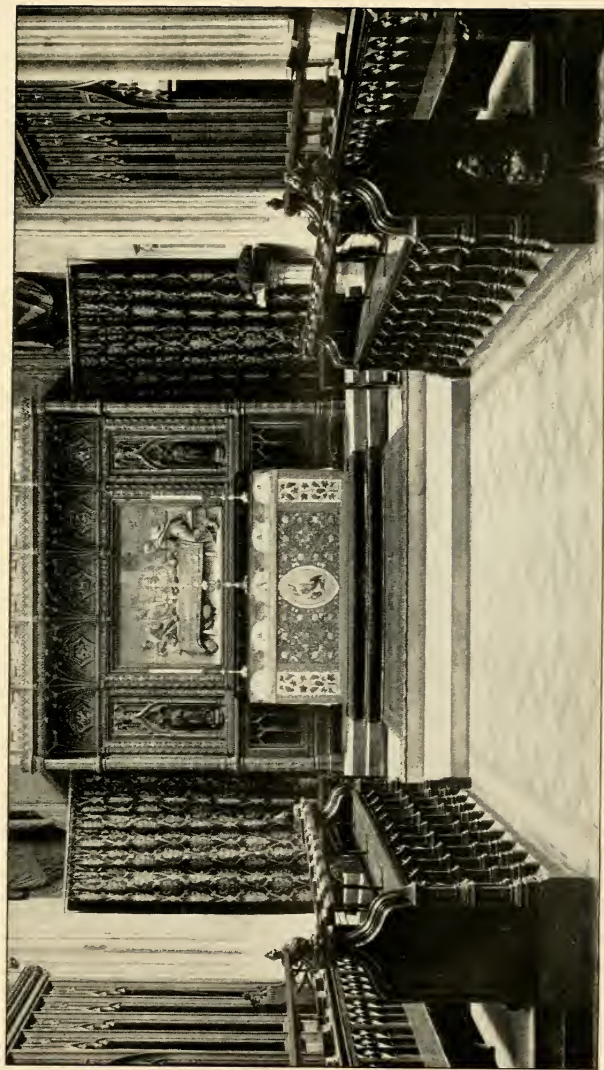
The Rev. S. Kirschbaum (formerly one of the curates of the church) informed the writer, "the tradition is that Sir Walter Raleigh was buried in the great vault under the chancel." Although Aubrey recorded the gossip he heard from various sources, he never seemed to verify or to comment upon it. Nevertheless, from the foregoing statements, we may reasonably conclude that Sir Walter was buried near to, and probably on the south side of, the altar.

We pass on to endeavour to answer the question, "What became of Sir Walter's head?" Within ten days of the execution, Chamberlain, in a letter to Carleton, dated 7 November, declared that "the body and head were buried

¹ "D.A.," XXVIII, 291.

² "Memorials of the Tower of London" (1867), 30.

³ Walcott, 143. In Wood's works is a copy of its original inscription.



Photo—BEDFORD, LEMERE & CO.

Site of Burial Place of Sir Walter Raleigh.
South Side of Altar, St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

together" in St. Margaret's Church.¹ J. A. St. John states that Lady Raleigh, "who certainly embalmed her husband's head, performed the same office also for the whole body, and kept them near her through life" (II, 350). According to another "popular tradition," the head "was brought to Devonshire by his widow, and buried under the incised slab at East Budleigh Church, which covers the remains of Joan, the first wife of Sir Walter's father."² These and the two following are simply idle tales unworthy to be called traditions, and without a vestige of truth, as far as Sir W. Raleigh was concerned. A correspondent in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (1790), 420, relates that beneath a stone pavement in a room, formerly a chapel, at West Horsley, there was "discovered an earthen pot or urn, in which it was supposed the bowels of Sir Walter Raleigh were contained." Then in "Notes and Queries" (2nd Ser., V, 11) a contributor asserts that Sir Walter's son Carew

"Is said to have had it [his father's head] interred with him at [West] Horsley. In 1703 a head was dug up in that churchyard, from the side of a grave where a Carew Raleigh was buried, there being no bones of a body, not room for any, the rest of that side of the grave being firm chalk. An embalmed heart was also found under the floor of a room at Horsley which had once been a chapel."

Although not stated, the source of this information was evidently derived from a foot-note at page 565 of Oldys' work, first published in 1736. The last portion of this quotation is not taken from Oldys' work, but was apparently copied from the "Gentleman's Magazine," the asserted "embalmed heart" of Sir Walter being substituted for his "bowels"! That author mentions it as a tradition, and was opposed to his own statement on a previous page that the body "was buried . . . in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church, near the altar."

After the death of her husband we hear very little about his "dear Besse." His head "was long preserved in a case," remarks Oldys, "for she survived him twenty-nine years. The same writer remarks, "I have found by some anecdotes remaining in the family" (564). In what he thought at the time was his last letter to her in 1603, he advised her to marry again after his decease,³ but, faithful to his memory,

¹ "S. P. Dom.," James I, CIII, 73.

² P. O. Hutchinson, "Jour. of Archæol. Inst.," XII (1855), 192.

³ *Vide* Edwards, II, 286.

she remained a widow, and died in 1647, "thus witnessing the ruin of the dynasty which had destroyed her own happiness."¹

One remembrance of her husband requires to be noticed. There is in the possession of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle a brooch, of oval shape, about 2½ in. in its long axis, with an enamelled surface, on which are the letters "W. ER." (for Walter and Elizabeth Raleigh), with a heart and other emblems. The case of the brooch holds two posthumously painted miniatures of her husband and of her son Walter, who was killed at St. Thomas, and below each respectively a representation of Raleigh's fleet at Guiana and the storming of St. Thomas. It, in all probability, dates soon after Raleigh's execution, and was kept by his widow until her death.² A facsimile of the miniature of Sir Walter forms the frontispiece to his "Life" by W. Stebbing, published in 1891.

The remainder of Lady Raleigh's long widowhood was spent in retirement. Excepting that in January, 1621, she appended her signature and her seal to a deed,³ we know literally nothing of the remainder of her life. Dying in 1647, not only is the place of her interment unknown, but we possess no clue even to its probable site. True is it that she desired "to be berred" by the side of her husband in Beddington Church. This wish she expressed in 1618, but in the year she died (1647) it was apparently not carried out either at Beddington or in St. Margaret's Church.

The Rev. T. Bentham, of Croydon, who was formerly of Beddington, kindly examined the registers of the latter church, and from him I obtained the following information. Here is a transcript from the baptismal register: "Ap. 16, 1565. Elizabeth Throgmorton, baptized." This was the lady who married Sir Walter in 1592; she was then about twenty-five years of age and he fifty. She was fifty-two at the time of his execution, and she died when eighty-one years old—in 1647.

In Beddington Church is a tomb containing an inscription, from which the following portion is taken:—

"Here resteth Sir Francis Carew, Knight, sonne and heire of Sir Nicholas Carew, Knight. . . . The said Sir Francis living unmarried, adopted Sir Nicholas Throck-

¹ Gosse, 222.

² Illustrations of them will be found in Williamson's "History of Portrait Miniatures," Vol. I, Plate XVI.

³ "Raleigh Pedigree," by J. L. Laurence, pr. pr., 1869.

morton, sonne of Anne Throckmorton, his sister, to be heire of his estate, and to beare his surname ; and having lived lxxxj yeares, he in assured hope to rise in Christ ended his transitory life the xvi day of May MDCXX.”¹

This inscription is important to bear in mind in the quest for information respecting the burial place of Lady Raleigh, and for this reason: the burial register of the same church contains this entry: “Jan. 20, 1640. Elizabeth Carew was buried.”² This, it has been suggested, records the burial of Lady Raleigh, but this must be an error, unless we suppose the registrar substituted “Carew” for “Raleigh.” The year antedates that given by Oldys by seven years. Then Sir Walter’s wife never had the name of Carew: she was born a Throgmorton; her name is so recorded in the baptismal register of the same church, and she retained that name until she married Raleigh. We are therefore forced to conclude the entry quoted does not refer to her, and we have to fall back on the statement that the place of her interment is yet unknown. If one might offer a conjecture, or express a wish on the subject, it would be that at some day in the future it may, after all, be proved that her body had, perhaps surreptitiously, found a resting-place beside that of her husband.

That Lady Raleigh retained possession of her husband’s head until her death, when it passed into the care of her son Carew, is certain. “After her death,” notes Oldys, “it was kept also by her son Carew, with whom it is said to have been buried” (564).³

In 1680 Aubrey records:—

“Mr. Elias Ashmole told me that Sir Walter’s son Carew Raleigh told him he had his father’s skull; that some years since, upon digging up the grave, his skull and neck-bone being viewed, they found the bone of his neck lapped over so that he could not

¹ Brayley and Britton’s “Surrey,” IV, 64. In II, 76, Sir Francis is stated to have died in 1607.

² Since the foregoing was written, the pedigree of the Carew family, contained in Lysons’ “Environs of London,” I, 53, has been examined, which shows that Elizabeth Carew, who died in 1640, was a daughter of Francis, son and heir of Sir Nicholas Carew (*née* Throgmorton), and was therefore the grandniece of Lady Raleigh.

³ A curious and erroneous assertion made by Mr. Barrett in his “Surrey Highways, etc.” (1895), may be corrected here. He states that “Raleigh’s only [*sic*] legitimate son by her [Elizabeth, his wife] named Carew was born in the Tower of London” (54). His elder brother, Walter, who was killed in Guiana, was certainly equally legitimate.

have been hanged. Quære Sir John Elowys (Ellis) for the skull, who married Mr. Carew Raleigh's daughter and heire" (II, 189).

The whole of this paragraph is omitted from the earlier edition of Aubrey's work, published in 1813. As Carew died in December, 1666, Ashmole must have received his information prior to that date. The remainder of the paragraph evidently does not refer to Carew, but accords with the prevailing tradition that his father's head was interred at West Horsley. The skull found in 1703, as related by Oldys, was probably a rediscovery.

In his "Court of King James" (1830) Bishop Goodman remarks:—

"No man doth honour the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh and his excellent parts more than myself; and in token thereof I know where his skull is kept to this day, and I have kissed it" (I, 69).

He could not have shown greater reverence for it had it been the head of a saint. Some have assigned this letter to some period prior to the death of Lady Raleigh, but there is greater reason to believe it to belong to a later date.

On the death of his uncle, Sir Nicholas Carew (Lady Raleigh's brother), in 1643, Carew Raleigh succeeded to the West Horsley estate. His eldest son, Sir Walter, knighted in 1660, died in the same year, whose son survived him only a few months. The circumstance of this Sir Walter having been buried at West Horsley probably gave rise to the suggestion that the remains found there were those of Carew's father, Lady Raleigh's husband. However much authors differ as to the place where Carew's body was buried, they agree that his father's head was interred with it (Oldys, 565). In 1665 Carew sold the estate to Sir E. Nicholas; he then went to London and resided in St. Martin's Lane, where he died at the close of the year following. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, according to the entry in the burial register—"1666 [7] Jan. 1 Carew Rawleigh, Esq., Kild. M. chancel"¹—of which the accompanying illustration is a facsimile.

Carew Raleigh, the son of the great Sir Walter, is affirmed in Foster's "Alumni Oxon" (copied from Manning and Bray's "Surrey," III, 40) as "Buried in West Horsley, Surrey, Sept., 1680." But Carew died in 1666, and his son of the same name in 1660.

¹ Of the probable cause of his death, *vide* "D.A.," XXXVIII, 309.

It is an open question whether the body of Carew was deposited alongside that of his father; both Aubrey (II, 193) and Wood assert that it was. But if the "M. chancel" in the entry of the register denotes the middle of the latter, it could not have been, as that of Sir Walter was buried adjacent to the altar. However, the remains of both may be included in the great vault under the chancel, already mentioned. Most probably the head of the latter was interred with the remains of the son; and although this is simply conjectural, it accords with "a tradition handed down from rector to rector of St. Margaret's . . . that the dis-severed head was buried in the same grave with the body of his son, Carew Raleigh" (Mrs. Sinclair, 30). Certain is it that after Carew's death we hear no more about the head; although an attempt to discover it was made a few years since, as thus recorded in the "Life of Dean Farrar," by his son (1894):—

"Bishop Montgomery, late of Tasmania, a former curate of the Dean, writes: 'The church (St. Margaret's) was shut for about a year, while the work of restoration went on. . . . I remember spending an evening with the Abbey clerk of works in a vault under the altar trying to find Raleigh's head, but without success.'" (238).

In an article "On the head of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury," the Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson enumerates several other heads of decapitated persons that were subsequently preserved separately from their bodies.¹

No stone or other indication points out the actual site of Sir Walter's grave, notwithstanding the assertion of Edwards (I, 706) of the spot being marked "by the armorial bearings of its tenant," for which he mentions no authority. Moreover, it is directly opposed to the statement of Aubrey that "Raleigh hath neither stone nor inscription" (II, 193). Tytler ascribes it "to the destitution in which Lady Raleigh and her son were left, or to the fear they felt of drawing down the further indignation of the monarch" (426). The latter is probably the true reason, for James evidently favoured the obliteration of everything relating to Raleigh; otherwise we may feel assured the friends of the latter would have adorned his burial place with a memorial of some kind but for the marked disapproval of the King and Court. They were not allowed to befriend him during his

¹ "Journ. of Brit. Archæol. Assoc." for June, 1895. *Vide* also "N. and Q.," 8th Ser. VIII, 242.

life,¹ or to praise his memory after his death. John Ford, the dramatist, a native of Devon, published his "Linea vitæ . . . Pointing out the Immortalitie of a Vertuous Name," in 1620 (reprinted in Vol. VII of the Shakespeare Society's works in 1845). A portion of the original MS. contained so favourable an account of Raleigh's character, and especially as to the manner in which he met his death, as to cause it to be obliterated by the censor. There is a copy of this MS. in Lansdowne MSS., 350, Ser. 4, in which the suppressed portion is given at length; a reprint of it will be found in the "Western Antiquary," V, 51.

Although the majority of Raleigh's literary works were written during the reign of James I, none were printed (or were allowed to be) while that monarch was alive, with one exception, that of his "History of the World," but even this was ordered to be suppressed, fortunately without success. And yet, a month after the execution, the King was obliged to attempt to appease the general indignation by issuing that "plausible palliation" the "Declaration," in which he endeavoured to mislead the public—a public that would not be misled—by omitting all direct and indirect reference to the true cause why he had sacrificed Raleigh, and in substituting a false one; and yet, as a kind of counterblast, and issued almost simultaneously with it, the real reason is acknowledged in that remarkable letter penned by Buckingham,² which gave the direct lie to the special pleading of the King's manifesto. This letter to the English Ambassador at the Spanish Court bears ample testimony to the great and grievous mistake he (the King) must have felt he had committed, in fruitlessly getting rid of Raleigh in so summary a manner at the dictation of the Spanish Court. If James experienced any feelings of remorse for the act, and most probably he did, he certainly stifled them, by avoiding, and by causing all others to do so as far as he was able, all reference to the name and person of Raleigh. It was, therefore, no matter of surprise that on a later occasion, when an attempt was made to introduce Carew Raleigh to Court, "his likeness to Raleigh awoke a pang of remorse in the bosom of the monarch, and James, turning away from him, observed that 'he looked like his father's ghost.' Warned by this, Carew took the advice of his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, and retired to the Continent till the beginning of a new reign."³

¹ "D.A.," XXXVIII, 474.

² *Ibid.*, 464-5.

³ Tytler, 434, from Carew Raleigh's "Petition." *Vide* Birch, I, cxviii-ix.

Pennant, in his "London" (first published in 1790), was apparently the earliest author to allude to the absence of any memorial in St. Margaret's Church, where "the remains of the great Sir Walter Raleigh" were interred "on the same day on which he was beheaded." He added, "It was left to a sensible churchwarden to inform us of the fact, who inscribed it on a board about twenty years ago"; this would be *c.* 1770 (ed. 1813, I, 124).

According to an entry in Manning and Bray's "Surrey" (III, 40), published in 1814, this wooden tablet still retained its place; but some time after that date, year unknown, there was substituted for it

"A memorial of 'plain tin or copper with a frame, painted blue with gilt letters,' which was replaced in 1845 by an elegant mural tablet, with a brass plate, at the expense of several subscribers" (Walcott, 142).

This tablet yet remains, and will be found at the east end of the south aisle on the north wall, separating the latter from the chancel, and in a rather dark corner, adjoining the south-east entrance. It consists of a highly-decorated and sculptured stone frame surrounding a metal plate containing this inscription:—

"Within the Chancel of this Church was interred
The Body of the
Great Sir Walter Raleigh K^t
On the day he was beheaded
in Old Palace Yard, Westminster,
Oct. 29th An^o Dom. 1618.
Reader—Should you reflect on his errors,
Remember his many Virtues,
And that he was a Mortal."¹

The supposed arms of Sir Walter are emblazoned in the centre of the upper part of the frame: *Gules, seven lozenges in bend, argent*—the proper arms being *five fusils in bend*. The name appears as "Raleigh," a form never used by him—it should be "Raleigh." Very little can be urged in praise of its commonplace inscription, to remember his "Virtues as well as his faults—a plea, surely, that every man might well wish should be made for him at last."²

"No better epitaph," remarks Gardiner, "could be found to inscribe upon Raleigh's tomb" than his words to the

¹ *Vide* illustration.

² L. Hutton, "Literary Landmarks of London," 252 (1885).

executioner: "No matter how the head lie, so the heart be right" (III, 152). His own writings would furnish one equally good, e.g. the beautiful lines forming a prose poem at the end of his "History of the World," commencing: "O eloquent, just and mighty Death." But perhaps the last lines that were probably penned by him, and were found in his Bible after he had been executed, would be the most appropriate, especially as they contain the expression of his hope in the resurrection. The earliest printed version known is that in the small tablet, "To day a man, etc.," published in 1644, from which it is now transcribed:—

"Even such is time, which takes in trust
Our youth, our age, and all we have,
And payes us but with age and dust,
Who in the darke and silent grave,
When we have wand'rd all our wayes
Shuts up the story of our dayes.
And from the earth, the grave, and dust,
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust."

It is noteworthy that the most important lines—the last two—are omitted by Walcott (275).

The great east window, which sheds its light on the site where Raleigh was buried, has an interesting history (*vide* illustration). It was the gift to Henry VII by the magistrates of Dort on the occasion of the projected marriage of his son Prince Arthur with the Princess Catharine of Aragon. Some delay took place, and it was not received in England until after the death of that prince. It came into the possession of Henry VIII, but was not used by him, and after his divorce from Catharine it passed into the hands of the Abbot of Waltham. At the Dissolution it was sent to Boreham, and after changing proprietorship several times it was bought by General Monk, who concealed it from the Puritans. At the Restoration Monk had it fixed in his chapel at New Hall. Subsequently it was bought by a Mr. J. Conyers, who sold it, in 1758, to St. Margaret's Church for 400 guineas, and it was then fixed in its present position. Some time afterwards a suit was instituted, in the name of Daniel Gell (the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court of the Dean and Chapter), against the churchwardens, on the grounds of the window containing a "superstitious image or picture"; but after it had lasted several years it terminated in favour of the wardens, and the window remained undisturbed.¹ This action led to the publication in 1761 of a

¹ Walcott, 103-4.

curious quarto work, entitled "The Ornaments of Churches Considered," written, according to Dr. Oliver, by the Rev. W. Hole, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, but attributed by others to Thos. Wilson, D.D. According to a paragraph in the "Life of Dean Farrar" (224-5), the suit was instituted by the Dean and Chapter "to recover what they considered, perhaps not unjustly, to be their property."

During the most recent alterations, etc., in the church the floor of the chancel and of the aisles was paved with encaustic tiles, thereby obliterating any vestiges that remained of the memorials of those whose bodies had been interred there—such memorials, that is to say, as formed portions of the floor. A similar plan was pursued at the church of Clyst St. George, near Topsham, by the rector, the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe (the well-known campanologist), with the following variations, as recorded by him—

"In the nave and aisle, tiles twelve inches square, laid at intervals and intermixed with others of divers colours, are encaustically inscribed with memorial records of persons long ago buried underneath, and whose names are almost obliterated from the much-worn tombstones."¹

The only memorials of Sir Walter Raleigh in England consist of the following:—

1. *Guildhall, Plymouth*.—A four-light stained-glass window, the gift of Mr. C. F. Tanner, represents Raleigh and his companions leaving Plymouth to embark on board his ship, "The Destiny." The fleet of seven ships and three pinaces left that port on June 13, 1617, on his second voyage to Guiana.² Shortly before his departure he was entertained by the municipal authorities, of which a few particulars are thus noted in the Municipal Records:—

"1616/7.

'Allowed M^r Robert Trelawnye beinge Mayor for entertayninge S^r Walter Rawley and his followers at his house w^{ch} was done by grall consente . . . ix^{li}'

"Sir John Duckhame, Chancellor of the Duchy, entertained, his followers being lodged in M^r Johnson's house.

'It. allowed for a pownde of Tobacco w^{ch} was geven to S^r John Duckhame viij^s

It. paid the dru^mer for calling S^r Walter Raleighs company aboard xij^d'"³

¹ "Trans. Exet. Dioc. Arch. Soc.," I, 2nd Ser., 104.

² The illustrations of these windows are from photos kindly supplied by Mr. R. Hansford Worth, of Plymouth.

³ "Calendar," R. N. Worth, 150 (1893).

2. *Council Chamber, Plymouth.*—A two-light stained-glass window containing four full-length portraits. The upper left-hand one represents Sir W. Raleigh with an open book in his left hand, with this inscription at the base:—

“Sir Walter Raleigh
Introduced Tobacco into England.”

3. *St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.*—The great stained-glass west window. This was the gift of American citizens, and was unveiled on May 14, 1882, on which occasion the Rev. Canon (afterwards Dean) Farrar delivered an appropriate sermon. The middle portion of each of the five lights contains a single standing figure; that of Queen Elizabeth occupies the centre one. Prince Henry, Raleigh, Spenser, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert are depicted in the others. All have their respective coats-of-arms emblazoned above them. Various scenes in the life of Raleigh are delineated at the base. Two of the number show respectively his sailing for America and his landing there; but these must be regarded in a symbolical sense, as Raleigh never visited North America. What he did was to send out his ships on a voyage of discovery, and on their return the captains reported to him how they found and landed on the coast of Virginia, on that part now known as North Carolina. Below these scenes is a quatrain written by J. R. Lowell, at that time the American Ambassador in England:—

“The New World's sons, from England's breasts we drew
Such milk as bids remember whence we came;
Proud of her Past, wherefrom our Present grew,
This window we inscribe with Raleigh's name.”

A good description of it will be found in the “History, etc., of the Windows of the Parish Church of the House of Commons,” by Mrs. Sinclair, pp. 26–30 (1895).¹

Canon Farrar's sermon was printed for private circulation, and as it is almost unknown to bibliographers, the title, etc., are here given:—

“Sir Walter Raleigh. A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, on May 13, 1882, at the unveiling of the ‘RALEIGH WINDOW,’ the gift of American Citizens. Published by Request.

“LONDON: Printed at the ‘Anglo-American Press,’ 127, Strand, W.”

¹ *Vide* an article by R. W. Cotton in “Western Antiquary,” II, 24–5.



Stained Glass Window, Council Chamber, Plymouth.



Stained Glass Window, Guildhall, Plymouth.

8vo, pp. 21, with a photo print of the window, and a prefatory letter from the author to [now Sir] J. H. Puleston, Esq., M.P., under whose direction it was printed for the members of the congregation. It is now very rare, and certainly deserves to be reprinted as an eloquent tribute to the memory of Raleigh as well as to the generous donors of such a beautiful window.

These three public memorials, in Devonshire and in Westminster respectively, comprise, with the mural epitaph, all that are known to the writer as having been erected to honour the memory of one of the most illustrious Englishmen of the Elizabethan period. This neglect has been commented on by various writers; thus S. Tymms called public attention to it in an article on St. Martin's Church printed in "The Gentleman's Magazine" December, 1824, p. 491. In this he expressed the hope that "a monument would have been erected [in it] worthy of the name of Raleigh." Again, in the following year, when the same writer recorded the erection of a tablet in that church "to the memory of William Caxton," he added, "there is another individual to whose virtues I trust a monument will be erected in this church—the murdered Sir Walter Raleigh—for the barbarous usage he experienced from the pedantic James can only be atoned by a national monument thus recording the injustice of his execution."¹ When the great west window was unveiled the Canon remarked (in the sermon already noticed):—

"It is strange to me that one paltry tablet should hitherto have been almost the only memorial of such a man. The fact of the only great and worthy memorial in England being due to American citizens does not redound to the credit of the English people."

In the same sermon the Canon thus relates how the gift came to be made:—

"I had but to mention to one or two American gentlemen that the man who named and colonized Virginia lies almost unrecorded here, and they, with the ready munificence which marks their nation, and which is certainly one of the lessons which we may learn from our kin beyond the sea, at once, and without any toil or anxiety of mind, gave the £600 which that window required."

In several ways the Americans have done honour to the memory of Raleigh in their own country. The city of North Carolina was named after him. This evidently accorded with

¹ "Gent.'s Magazine," 198-9, March, 1825.

his own wish, as John White, the governor of the new colony, took with him in the fourth voyage, in 1587, a charter addressed to "the Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia."¹ Nine or ten other places in various parts of the States also bear his name. The writer is informed that some ten years since there was "erected a memorial on the site of the old Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, to commemorate the first English settlement in America. It bears the following inscription: 'On this site, in August, 1583, the colonists sent from England by Sir Walter Raleigh built a fort called New Fort, in Virginia.'"²

Although there are several parishes, etc., in England bearing the name of Raleigh, all, without exception, were so designated several centuries prior to the birth of Sir Walter.

Old Fuller said of him he was "Dexterous . . . in all his undertakings, in Court, in Camp, By Sea, by Land, with Sword, with Pen";³ but (apart from his "History of the World") his claim to the gratitude of posterity consists in his repeated endeavours, undaunted by failures, to found a permanent colony in Virginia. Towards this object his first charter, "For the Discovery and Planting of New Lands and Countries," was granted him, and bears date March 25, 1584.⁴ To this project he devoted much time, and sent out several expeditions at his own cost. In the second expedition (1585-6) he commissioned Thomas Hariot, one of the leading scientific men of the day, to accompany it, so that from personal inquiry, etc., he would be able to report to him "Of the Commodities, and of the Nature and Manners of the Naturall Inhabitants"; this was published in 1588, and still excites our wonder and admiration at its completeness. Although his untiring efforts were unsuccessful during the reign of Elizabeth, they were the foundations upon which the subsequent permanent settlement of the colonists was founded in the year 1609 or 1610, while Raleigh was a prisoner in the Tower. Before the end of James's reign (1625) the colony had become a prosperous one. As already pointed out, Raleigh's energetic exertions in this direction have been fully recognized and appreciated by the Americans.⁵

It has been otherwise the case in England, although it

¹ Hakluyt's "Voyages," XIII, 358 (1889).

² Information obtained through the kindness of Professor G. E. Woodberry, of Beverly, Massachusetts.

³ "Worthies," 262 (1662). Cf. Wood, II, 240.

⁴ Cayley, "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," II, 253-60 (1806).

⁵ *Vide* "Sir Walter Raleigh and his Colony in America" (Boston, 1884), one of the principal works of the Prince Society.

would naturally be thought that some public acknowledgment of his labours would at least be found in the Colonial Office. But neither there nor in any place in London, except St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, is a memorial to him of any kind to be found. It is affirmed that his landing in Virginia was to have formed the subject of one of the frescoes wherewith to adorn the Houses of Parliament; fortunately, this was not carried into execution, as, for the reason already given, it would in all probability have become the subject of one of "Punch's" cartoons.

It has been the custom in recent years to affix to houses (or to those erected on their sites) tablets inscribed with the names of celebrated persons who have occupied them, as in this example:—

"The London County Council have decided that the residence of Sir Charles Lyell and, at a later date, of Gladstone, at a house recently demolished, on the site of which No. 73 Harley Street, W., now stands, shall be commemorated by a tablet."¹

Durham House, Strand, was occupied by Raleigh during the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. It was pulled down in the early part of the seventeenth century, and the present Adelphi Buildings were erected on its site. Should not this be considered a fitting place for a tablet whereon to commemorate Sir Walter's long residence there? Another building worthy of a similar tablet is that of his birthplace, Hayes Barton, in the parish of East Budleigh, Devonshire. The building remains in much the same state as when he lived there, about 350 years since. His own letter, recording he "was borne in that howse," has found an excellent resting-place in the Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter.

One can scarcely omit a brief passing notice of Sir J. Millais' beautiful painting of "The Boyhood of Raleigh" that was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1870, and which, through the munificence of Lady Tate, has found a home in the Tate Gallery. It was painted in a house adjacent to the beach at Budleigh Salterton (which must have been frequently visited by Raleigh), and is believed to be the only Devonshire subject painted by that eminent man.²

Raleigh was a true patriot, "confident in the prowess of his country, and keenly sensitive to her honour. . . . Had his wish been fulfilled he would have explored wherever

¹ "Athenæum," December 1, 1906.

² An account of it is printed in "Devon N. & Q.," I, 97-101 (1900), with an illustration of his studio.

colonization held out hopes of prosperous settlement.”¹ He sacrificed time and money in his endeavours to establish the English in Virginia; and it was wholly owing to his exertions that the colony subsequently attained its great success. In America his memory has been honoured in many ways, in remarkable contrast to the marked neglect it has experienced in this country. “Great nations,” remarked Canon Farrar, “should have more pride in their few great sons.” This has recently received ample illustration in a letter by Lord Curzon that appeared in “The Times” of April 8, 1907, in which he advocated the erection of a public memorial in England in commemoration of the great work effected by Lord Clive in India. His arguments and remarks form a striking parallel to those that may be advanced to advocate the claims of Raleigh to be honoured in a similar manner. He wrote:—

“I need not urge the case for a memorial to Lord Clive. Though his life was passed amid startling vicissitudes of fortune, and went out in tempestuous gloom, it was a life of pre-eminent service, of dazzling achievement, and of eternal renown; and yet his grave is ‘unmarked by slab or monument.’”

Not a word of all this requires to be altered in its applicability to Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the greatest of the worthies of Elizabethan England, whose unselfish aim was to promote the greatness and the welfare of his native country.

¹ A. C. Ewald, “Studies Restudied,” 205 (1885).



Photo—BEDFORD, LEMERE & CO.

Mural Tablet,
St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

