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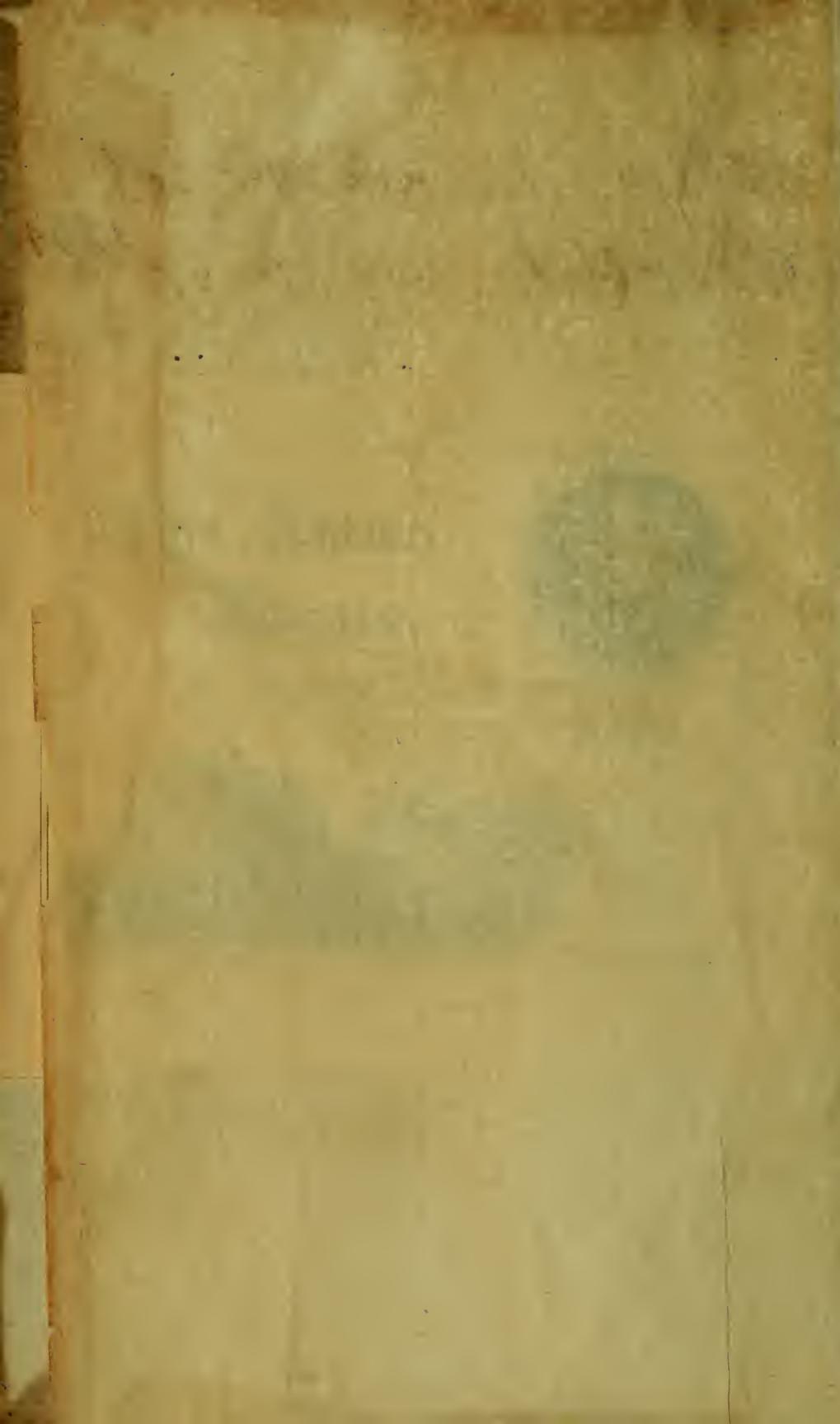


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John Andrew Newell
1888 May 28 1844







SIR WALTER RALEGH

Captain of Yeoman Guard to Her Majesty
Lieutenant Governor of the Province of
the County of Roanoke, & Captain General
of the Isles of Jersey, &c.

AMORE

ET VIRTUTE

T H E
L I F E
O F
Sir Walter Ralegh,
F R O M H I S
B I R T H
T O H I S
D E A T H o n t h e S C A F F O L D :

Containing,

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. An Account of his Family,
its Antiquity, Dignity, Power,
and Wealth. | V. The Share he had in the
glorious and ever memorable
Victory which the <i>English</i>
Fleet obtained over the
<i>Spanish</i> Armada in the Year
1588. |
| II. His gradual Rise, and the
Steps he took in his Youth
to that Fame and Reputation
which he enjoyed in his riper
Years. | VI. A Relation of a most des-
perate Engagement between
Sir <i>Richard Greenvil</i> in the
<i>Revenge</i> against the whole
<i>Spanish</i> Fleet. |
| III. His gallant Actions in
<i>France</i> in Behalf of the <i>Hu-</i>
<i>gonots</i> , and in <i>Ireland</i> against
the Rebels. | VII. The Trial at large of Sir
<i>Walter Ralegh</i> , his Condem-
nation, long Imprisonment
in the <i>Tower</i> , and Execu-
tion. |
| IV. His several Naval Expedi-
tions to <i>America</i> and other
Parts; with his Discovery of
<i>Virginia</i> . | |

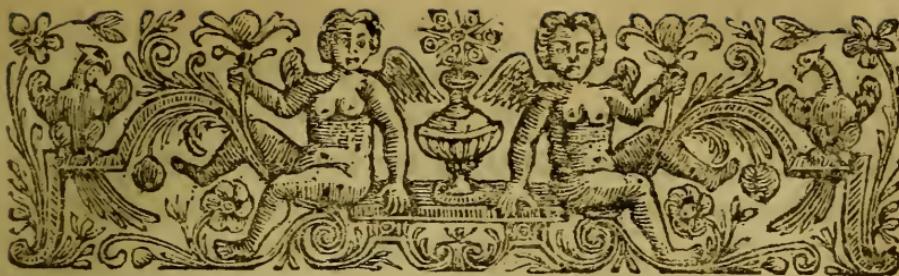
The Whole compiled from the most approved
Authorities and curious Manuscripts.

L O N D O N :

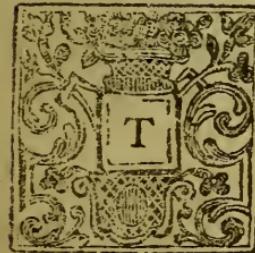
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T H E
L I F E
O F
Sir *Walter Ralegh.*



HO' Abundance of solid Particulars are naturally sunk in the rapid Current of Time, while many less substantial are floating upon the Surface, to the Hand of every ordinary Memorialist: And though some shining Circumstances, in the prosperous Part of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Life, have been darkened through Envy; as others, in the unfortunate Period, through Interest, by the Age in which he lived; nevertheless, his single Life may perhaps be found more fruitful of memorable Incidents, than many Histories of intire Ages: Insomuch, as I may be apprehensive, with a late Collector of his Memoirs,
“ That the describing a Person of so diffusive a
“ Praise, so equally great in so many different Parts
“ of Life, will be like attempting a Landskip from
“ a high Hill, where the Multiplicity and Extent
“ of the Prospects may rather distract the Mind,

" than direct it ; and call for Judgment to restrain
" the Fancy, which is apt to run Riot, when
" employed upon too many Objects." Many
Guides may indeed appear to lead us through this
Wilderness ; but, numerous as the Authors are who
mention him, they contain but Fragments of his
Story ; divers whereof, hitherto widely dispersed,
have escaped not only our general Historians, but
the many Compilers of distinct Pieces on his
Actions. Even the Moderns, who have treated of
him with Impartiality, have yet been deficient in
point of Industry, so as to prove no less injurious
to his Merits, than some, who in his own Age
conspired to deprecate them. Hence the Genera-
lity, having been too superficial and undigested ;
having neither regarded due Choice and Order of
Matter, Proportion in the Parts, or Connexion of
the whole ; nor yet discharged themselves by such
References to proper Vouchers, as might satisfy
those Readers it is my Ambition to please ; I have
esteemed the Number of such Writers, no Discou-
ragement to the Revival of his Story.

And first for the Name of *Ralegh*, otherwise
written *Rale* and *Ralega*, in some old Deeds I have
formerly seen ; it is certainly of great Antiquity in
this Kingdom ; since there are some Villages and
Towns in the West, as well as other Parts, so
called, which might at first receive their Denomi-
nation from some, as well as afterwards give it to
others, who were Natives or Possessors thereof,
And since we are credibly informed, that one of
those Districts belonged antiently to noble Lords of
the same Name, as also that several of them were
so called from the very Family we are to speak of :
And as the *Raleghs* of *Devonshire* will appear to
have flourished there before the Conquest ; they
might be the Progenitors of those in other
Countries ; as it is expressly intimated out of the

Records they were of those in *Warwickshire*. But as we are also told of no less than five Knights of this Name, at one Time differently situated in that Western County before mentioned ; and that there were three great Families so named also there, contemporary with Sir *Walter Ralegh's*, who bore Arms different from those of his paternal Coat ; we may conclude, they were not all of one Lineage ; and at the same Time, that it is owing to the Eminency of this great Man, that a Distinction of the several Houses, and his in particular, when all but his were in a Manner extinct, has been so elaborately endeavoured by the Antiquaries and Genealogists of his own Time.

As to the Family of Sir *Walter Ralegh* therefore in particular, it is generally agreed on, that *Smallridge* in the Parish of *Axminster*, in the County of *Devon*, was one of their most ancient Seats. But Sir *William Pole*, who is said to have been one of the greatest Searchers into the Antiquities of that Country, has been singularly short in the Time of their first settling there. However, if we should agree with him upon that Person for Sir *Walter Ralegh's* direct Ancestor, who first removed thither out of *Nettlecomb-Ralegh* in *Somersetshire*, in the Reign of King *Henry III.* from whom there is a successive Descent of those six Knights, Sir *Wymond*; * Sir *Hugh*, Sir *John*, Sir *Peter*, and two Sir *Johns* more ; besides others, who were either

* In a Visitation-book, made anno 1623, of the Counties of *Wilts*, *Dorset* and *Somerset*, among the MS. Collections of *Brown Willis Esq;* of *Whaddon Hall* in *Bucks*, there is a Pedigree of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Family from the Reign of King *John* ; with a Copy whereof that worthy Antiquary having obliged me, I find this *Wymond*, in the Time of King *Henry III.* is therein called Lord of *Coliton* and *Nettlecomb* : So it may seem, the Estate in *Somersetshire* was of latter Accession to the Family, and that in *Devonshire* the more ancient Seat ; or that the Removal was made rather to the former, than the latter County.

of the same Degree themselves, or married into Families distinguish'd with it, even down to *Wimond* the Grandfather of Sir *Walter Ralegh*: I know not but it may be also allowed, that the Honours of this Pedigree were sufficient to have been boasted of by some of his Traducers. For tho', in the Eye of Heraldry, many Titles are accounted more noble than Knighthood; tho' native and patrimonial Dignities, or such as descend necessarily from Father to Son, may in the Eye of the common lineal Claimant appear most legitimate; and such as are venal, be esteemed in that of the Wealthy, most valuable; yet those which are personal, the individual Acquisition, or Recompence of every Man's proper Merit, will, in the Eye of Reason, be held most honourable.

John Hooker, a famous Antiquary † in one of his Performances, gives us to understand; that *Smalridge* was in the Possession of the *Raleghs* before the *Norman Conquest*; and that one of the Family, being taken Prisoner by the *Gauls*, did, for his Deliverance upon St. *Leonard's Day*, build, at his Return home, a Chapel there, consecrated to that Saint; and therein, as a grateful Monument, hung up his Target; the Records of which Foundation are said to have been given by a Priest of *Axminster* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as their most right-

† Mr. *Hooker*, who was the first Chamberlain of *Exeter* about 1554, and twice Member of Parliament for that City, as we find in the *Notitia Parliamentaria*, by *Brown Willis*, Esq; vol. 2. 1716. p. 272; as also for *Athenry* in *Ireland* about 1570, as I find by his own Words; did actually set forth in Print his Tracts about the Government of *Exeter*, and Bishops of that See; besides his Augmentations of the *English* and *Irish* Chronicles, with other Pieces, before, or by the Year 1587; and, having lived to near eighty Years, died in 1601, according to *Anthony Wood*, and my said Author *Prince*, in his Life; though the former of them quotes from *Hooker's* own Words, that he was living in 1605 (if 'tis not a Mistake of the Press) and the latter has made no Bogg'e at the Blunder.

ful Owner. * So much for the Antiquity of the Family in Devonshire; and as for its Derivation, the said Hooker, even in a printed Dedication to Sir Walter Ralegh, as I hinted (which he repeatedly confirms in the aforesaid Performance) not only avouches his Alliance to the Courtenays, Earls of Devon, and other illustrious Houses; but traces the Stream of Consanguinity up to the Kings of England, where 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 Roger 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 goes up to the Conqueror; and farther adds, *That in like Manner he may be derived by his Mother also out of the same House.* But since these two Authors, the likeliest we have in Print to have confirm'd us in the Truth of this Matter, vary thus from each other; since Sir William Pole thought it rather another Family of the Raleghs, which was thus royally descended; since also five or six ancient Pedigrees of this Family, which I have seen in Manuscript, by the heraldical Visitors, and Antiquaries of those western Parts, also differ, not only from Hooker, but in several Points both from Sir William Pole, and from one another; and lastly, since it will be consider'd, that I have not undertaken to account for the whole

* Hooker's *Synopsis Chronographical*, or historical Record of Devonshire, a MS. as quoted by Prince, fol. 530. A Copy whereof, in this Author's Time, was in the custody of Mr John Eastchurch of Wood in that County; still extant, as I have heard, in those Parts; and Pity it is, that it has not yet seen the publick Light; since above a hundred Years ago, it was revis'd by so able a Judge of its Worth as Sir John Dodderidge, and had his Recommendation to the Press.

Race of the *Raleghs*, but only one select Person of the Name, here let the Truth, as to these remote Ancestors or Alliances, hover for me ; for I am not moved, on the Wings of Conjecture, to make myself a Party with any of those Antiquaries, nor shall endeavour to compromise the Difference between them, unless such prevailing Authorities had occur'd, as would enable me to do it with Certainty. Besides, as those whose Virtues have adorned them with a Sufficiency of *personal Honours*, are ever least anxious about such as are *relative* ; so it might well argue but little *Weight* in the Judgment of a Historian, to shew himself contentious about these *Feathers* for his Worthy ; especially such a one, as shall be found to have thought so justly *light* of them himself.

However, as all Accounts allow him a very honourable Extract ; let us prefer which we please, the Freedom some great Courtiers took in calling him *Jack* and *Upstart*, upon his Advancement to Queen *Elizabeth's* Favour, is thought to have somewhat reflected rather on themselves ; in suffering their sprightly Parts to take such Advantage of their noble Principles. One of these Sarcasms I find recorded by Lord *Bacon*, in his little Book of *Apophthegms*, where he says, “ That when Queen *Elizabeth* had advanced *Ralegh*, she was one Day playing on the Virginals, and my Lord of *Oxford* with another Nobleman stood by ; when it happen'd that the Ledge before the Jacks was taken away, so that they were seen ; whereupon that Lord and the other Nobleman smil'd and whisper'd a little ; the Queen mark'd it, and would needs know, *what was the Matter* ? His Lordship answer'd, *They laugh'd to see, that when Jacks went up, Heads went down.*” Tho' the Application of this Reflection particularly to *Ralegh*, if such was made, is disputable, notwithstanding

standing Lord Bacon's Allusion, yet it is plain, that Sir Robert Naunton, who was Secretary of State at the Time of Ralegh's Death, and whose Observations on that Queen's Favourites were written, though not printed, before those *Apophthegms*, thought also, that it was made upon Ralegh; for he has said, with Relation to this Jest by that witty Earl, " 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 Mechanick." But it is believ'd, Sir Walter Ralegh himself was afterwards pretty even with his *Quality-critics*; where he so solidly exposes the Emptiness of Merit, nay, the real Detriment to it, in Posterity's being entitled to the Rewards of their Ancestor's Virtues, by hereditary Honours, Succession of Blood, and Nobility in Parchment; those only being truly noble, who by worthy Acts have render'd themselves most notable.

All therefore that needs be added on this Head, as a Matter more immediately requisite, and indeed sufficient for my present Purpose, is, That Sir Walter Ralegh was the Son of *Walter Ralegh Esq;* of *Fardel* aforesaid; who being thrice married, had by his first Wife *Joan*, Daughter of *John Drake of Exmouth in Devon*, Esq; two Sons, one named *George*, and the other *John*; which last married *Anne the Daughter of Sir Bartholomew Fortescue of Filley in Devon*, and Relict of — *Gaicrick of Ford*; and they had Issue. His second Wife was Daughter of one *Darell of London*; by whom he had a Daughter named *Mary*, who was married to *Hugh Snedale of Hilling in Cornwall*, Esq; and had Issue: His third Wife was *Catherine Daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury*, and Relict of *Otho Gilbert of Compton in Devon*, Esq; He had by this last Venter, his third Son, *Carew*, afterwards

wards knighted, and of *Wiltshire*, who married *Dorothy Daughter of Sir William Wroughton*, and Relict of Sir *John Tbynn*; by whom he had Issue; and lastly, his fourth Son, named *Walter*, the Subject of our ensuing Discourse; who was thereby the *uterine Brother* of those three eminent Knights, Sir *John*, Sir *Humphry*, and Sir *Adrian Gilbert*. By this last Wife, Mr. *Ralegh* had also one Daughter, named *Margaret*; who was married first to
Radford of Mount Radford in Devon, Clerk of the Peace; and afterwards to—Hull of Larkebre, Esq; in St. Leonard's Parish, Exeter.

The Family was indeed at this Time much declin'd from its former Splendor of Fame and Affluence of Fortune; for the Estate of *Smalridge*, which remain'd in the Name of *Ralegh* to the Time of King *Henry VIII.* was then sold, by Sir *Walter's* Grandfather *Wimond*, to *John* the Father of Sir *John Gilbert of Compton*; but I cannot find it reduc'd to that low Ebb, in the latter Respect, which some have intimated; for *Fardel* remained still in their Possession, which, after the Death of Sir *Walter's* Father, fell to the eldest Son *George*; and there were besides *Widdicombe Ralegh*, and *Coliton-Ralegh* in their Possession; the former of which was sold, by Sir *Walter's* elder Brother Sir *Carew Ralegh*, to *George* the natural Son of *George* aforesaid; and the latter was sold, by Sir *Walter* himself, to *Richard Martin*, or his Father, of *Exeter*. But neither of these Places claim the Honour of his Birth.

For his Father having the Remainder of a four-score-years Leaf, in a pleasant Farm call'd *Hayes*, situate in the Parish of *Budley*, in that Part of *Devonshire* bordering Eastward upon the Sea, near where the *Ottery*, or River of *Oters*, discharges itself into the *British Channel*; and residing upon the said Farm during the Time of his last Marriage;

riage ; this was the Birth-place of Sir *Walter Ralegh* ; and it is accordingly distinguish'd, as for nothing more remarkable , by topographical Writers to this Day. After the Expiration of that Lease, *Ralegh* apply'd, but unsuccessfully, to Mr. Duke of Otterton, to whom the Estate devolv'd, to sell it him ; as appears by *Ralegh's* Letter to him, wherein he says, *That for the natural Disposition he had to the Place, being born in that House, he had rather seat himself there, than any where else.* From whence, it seems, that what some are, by another Devonian Antiquary, said to have reported, and himself appears only to have recorded ; as if Sir Walter Ralegh was born in the City of Exeter, and in the House adjoining to the Palace-Gate ; has no Authority, and perhaps, had not so much as Rumour to countenance it.

As to the Time of his Birth ; I find the Computation has been made from *Camden's* Account of his Age at his Death, that he was born in the Year 1552. And herewith corresponds an Observation I have found in an astrological Author, who, fixing his Birth in the sixth Year of King Edward VI. which answers to the Year of our Lord aforesaid, calls it, *A Year remarkable in our Chronicles ; first, for that strange Shole 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 Seymer, Duke of Somerset : Events (says he) surprisingly analogous both to the Life of this adventurous Voyager, Sir Walter Ralegh, whose Delight was in the hazardous Discovery of unfrequent-ed Coasts ; and also to his unfortunate Death.*

That his younger Years were seasoned at the University of Oxford, we may gather from good

Authorities ; as *Hooker* aforesaid, *Lord Bacon*, and *Anthony Wood* ; which last says, *He became Commoner of Oriel College, in or about the Year 1568, when his Kinsman C. Champernon studied there ; and that his natural Parts being strangely advanced by academical Learning, under the Care of an excellent Tutor, he became the Ornament of the Juniors ; and was worthily esteem'd a Proficient in Oratory and Philosophy.* But in that he came so late thither as this Author mentions, and stayed so long there as three Years, is a Mistake ; for he will presently appear two Years before that Time amounts to, in the Wars abroad. What Time then can we spare for his Residence at *Christ-Church College* also, in that University ; whereof Dr. *Fuller* would needs have him a Member, either before or after he was of *Oriel* ; unless we could find, as I fear we shall not, that he return'd from the School of *Mars*, to that of the *Muses*? Little more can we expect to have been observed of this remote Part of his Life ; and yet something more in it has been preserved by *Lord Bacon* aforesaid, who had the Judgment to foresee, that every little Circumstance would be acceptable of a Man, whose Fortunes and Misfortunes had render'd him so memorable. And indeed it has been represented to me 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 it self to the Commemoration of that great Philosopher, in his sagest and most advanced Age. But as he had observed, on the Nature of Things, that great Objects may be discern'd through a little Crevice ; so he knew, with Respect to the Nature of Men, 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

who happened to be a very good Archer; but having been grossly abused by another, he bemoaned himself to Raleigh, and ask'd his Advice; What he should do to repair the Wrong that had been offer'd him? Raleigh answer'd, Why, challenge him——at a Match of Shooting.

How long he continued at the University, is at last rightly concluded by *Anthony Wood* to be uncertain; but as sure as he thinks himself right in settling him a Student of the Municipal Laws in the *Middle Temple*, upon seeing a Copy of Verses he might write in that Inn of Conrt; I take this Assertion to be a greater Uncertainty than the other. For though Sir *Robert Naunton*, and possibly from him most other Writers of *Ralegh's Life*, have also consign'd him to the Study of the Law, on his leaving *Oxford*; there is a late Author who believes it a Mistake so obvious, that no Merit can reasonably be assum'd from correcting it; for Sir *Walter*, at his Arraignment, in a Reply to the Attorney-general, lays a heavy Imprecation upon himself, *If ever he read a Word of Law or Statutes, before he was a Prisoner in the Tower*. So that if this *Ralegh* was the Author of that Poem before mentioned, and of the *Middle-Temple* in that Year it was written, which we shall presently arrive at, we must yet take Care to keep the Lawyer clear from the *Templar*.

For we are expresly told by *Hooker*, *That after Ralegh had laid a good Ground to build his Actions on at the University, he travell'd into France*; and this is confirm'd by *Camden*, according to whose Account of the Time, *Ralegh* could not be, at his Departure, above seventeen Years of Age; and by the Occasion of his first going over, it will appear that a military Course of Life first fledg'd his Fame. For as it has been rightly observ'd, *Ralegh*

legb had the Advantage of a stirring Age to encourage and exercise his active Genius, throughout the whole Series of his first Engagements. *France* was now embroil'd in Civil Wars; *England* soon after, to divert a menaced Danger from the encroaching Power of *Spain*, lent Assistance to the then distress'd and humble States of *Holland*; *Spain*, by a political Reprisal, raised stubborn Insurrections in *Ireland*; and the *Pope*, to make the Rebellion more permanent, and more plausible, religiously pretended that Kingdom was a Perquisite of St. Peter.

But first of *France*; and here we need not recur to the Original of those Commotions there; need not trace the *Hugonots* to their Fountain-head; apologise for their Oppositions against the *Guisards*, labour to reconcile Queen *Elizabeth's* Defence of another Prince's oppressed Subjects, to the Laws of Nations, when imminent Danger, by such Oppressions, threatned her own; nor, lastly, aggravate her Motives against *France* in particular, from their late Violation of Covenants, relating to the Rendition of *Calais*; these Topics being to be sought where they have already been, and it is more proper they should be directly discussed. Sufficient therefore it will be, to observe in this Place, out of *Camden's* Annals, that though the Queen had her Hand full of Disorders at home, yet she was not wanting either in Commiseration or Relief to the persecuted Protestants of *France*; and not only exhorted other Princes of the same Persuasion to lend their Hands to the common Cause, but supply'd the Queen of *Navarre* with Money and Men to support it; permitting *Henry Champernon*, a Relation by Marriage of the Earl of *Montgomery*, to march with a select Troop of a Hundred Gentlemen Volunteers, well mounted and accoutred, into *France*;

France; who bore in their Standard this Motto: *FINEM DET MIHI VIRTUS: Let Valour decide the Cause.* In the List of these Volunteers, was Philip Butshed, with Francis Barclay, Men afterwards of Note in their Time; and this Walter Ralegh, the most noted of all, then a very young Man, and first beginning to push his Fortune in the World; *admodum adolescens, jam primum satis monstratus*, says our above-cited Annalist.

The greatest Historian in France of those Times, tells us, this select Troop of Horse arrived in the French Camp, on the 5th of October 1569, and that they were very honourably received by the Queen of Navarre and the Princes. But what Services distinctly they performed in France, or how long they continued there, neither the Writers of that Country, nor of our own, have, I think, given full Satisfaction. This Consequence we draw from some Circumstances in the latter Part of Ralegh's Life, that he established himself a considerable Reputation while he was in that Kingdom; and from Hooker, *That he spent good Part of his Youth in Wars and martial Services there:* Agreeable to which, is that Passage in another Author, who also seems to have known him; where, speaking of his Education, he adds, *It was not Part, but wholly Gentleman, wholly Soldier.*

Some French Historians tell us, that what with the Supplies of Queen Elizabeth, who sent the French Protestants a hundred thousand Angels, besides some Pieces of Cannon and Ammunition; and what with the Aids of their other Allies, the Protestant Army, which took the Field under Admiral Coligny and the Prince of Conde, and encamped about Limosin, this Year of Ralegh's going over, being in the Beginning of their third civil War, amounted to no less than 25000 fighting Men; when

when the King's Army under his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, being encamped at *Rochlabeille*, amounted to above 30,000. But others reckon the Protestant Army of equal Number; and observe, tho' their Men and Horse died at *Limosin* in great Numbers for Want of Food and Forage; and though a great Reward was offered for the Admiral, dead or alive, that it only added Fuel to the Fire: For what Terror could it strike, says my Author, into Persons, who headed an Army of 30,000 Men, and ventured their Lives with the utmost Bravery on all Occasions? As for the insincere League or Union of *France* and *England*, by the pretended Marriage, which appears to have been negotiated two Years after between the two Crowns; it seems not to have withdrawn these *English* Auxiliaries, at least not him along with them; because *Ralegh's* Continuance in *France* would then fall short of *Hooker's* Implication aforesaid. But as we shall discover him to have been in that Kingdom beyond the Death of King *Charles IX.* which from *Ralegh's* Entrance thither is about five Years; and that in this Compass of Time near 30 Battles, Sieges, Overthrows, Treaties and Capitulations on one Side or other may be enumerated; it is manifest that our young Volunteer was hazardously engaged in some, if not several of them. He had afterwards Occasion to mention, upon his observing here, the ill Consequence of having Commanders in equal Power, whom it is almost impossible to chuse of equal Courage and Discretion. In another Place *Ralegh* speaks of a Stratagem which he and his Company used with Success at *Languedoc*, where the Enemy had fortified themselves in certain Caves which had but one narrow Entrance cut in the Mid-way of the high Rocks, and which, says he, *we knew not how to enter by any Ladder or Engine;* till

'ill at last, by certain Bundles of lighted Straw let down by an Iron Chain with a weighty Stone in the midſt, thofe that defended it were ſo smoaked, that they ſurrendered themſelves, with their Plate, Money, and other Goods, therein hidden; or they muſt have died like Bees that are smoaked out of their Hives.' And in another Place he gratefully takes Notice of a Deliverance he had in theſe Wars. 'Tis where, reasoning upon the Manner and Opportunities of Retreats in Battle, he firſt gives an Example of its being leſs Dishonour to retire in the Dark, than to be ruined in the Light, in the Sentiment of M. de la Noue, upon the Retreat made juſt before the Battle of Moncountour. For, ſays that Frenchman, ſtaying upon our Reputation in Shew, not to diſlodge by Night; we loſt our Reputation indeed, in diſlodging by Day; whereby we were forced to fight upon our Disadvantage, and to our Ruin: Yet (ſays Raleigh) did that worthy Gentleman Count Lodowick of Nassau, Brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the Retreat at Moncountour 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 who bad Caufe to thank him for it. But by what Means Raleigh eſcaped that comprehensive Destruction which broke out in the third Year of this turbulent Period, unleſs with young Sidney (aſterwards a Knight of great Renown for his own Accompliſhments, and the Patronage of other Men's, then uppon his Travels in France) he took Sanctuary in the Ambassador Walsingham's House, * we deſpair, at this Diſtance, of learning: For then the cruel and inſidious young King aforesaid, inflamed by the Queen-Mother, and her Firebrands of Religion,

* See Digges's compleat Ambassador, Fol. 250.

perpetrated that horrible Massacre of all the Protestants in the capital City, and other Parts of his Realm ; the Invitation to which was the Nuptials of his Sister ; the Signal to which was the Bell they rung to their pious Mattins ; and in the Execution whereof, among many thousands, fell the great Admiral aforesaid, by the Procurement of his implacable Enemy the Duke of Guise. * And though the Comet, which soon after glared out of the Face of Heaven upon these bloody Actors for many Months together, † seems to have wrought little Remorse

* The Massacre of *Paris* was begun on St. Bartholomew's Day 1572. And if between *Mezeray's* Estimate of the Numbers that were butchered over *France*, which is one of the least ; and *Perefixe's*, which is one of the largest, we incline to the medium ; we shall prefer the Computation of *Natalis Comes*, who wrote earlier, and about the very Time. He reckons them at threescore thousand. And so insatiable was the Fury of these Parricides, that they spared neither Age, Sex, nor Quality. But yet Sir *W. Ralegh*, in one of his MS Discourses on the Marriage between *England* and *Savoy*, hereafter more particularly spoken of, numbers them (not yet so high as some of their own Historians) at no less than a hundred thousand. And *Margaret, Queen of Navarre*, confesses in her Memoirs, liv. i. That several of her Brother's Friends fell as well as his Enemies, in the blind Rage of this diffusive and undistinguishing Desolation. Insomuch that in Contempt of all princely Promises and Protestations of Amity, their Historians were suffered to boast, *More Hereticks had been destroyed in that one Day, than in all the twelve Years of the War.* Well therefore did that Deputy of the reformed Religion, in his Treaty for a Peace with the King and Queen Mother, which they agreed to, insist upon Security for the Preservation of it : And when the Queen Mother said, *Why, is not the Word of a King sufficient Security?* Well did he answer : No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam. How much this flagrant Exploit was gloried in over *France* and *Rome*, their *Processions, Thanksgivings, Medals, and Jubilee*, will sufficiently declare.

† This blazing Star, on which 30 different Books were written, which had been read by *Tycho Brahe*, the noble Dane, before he composed his larger Work thereon, first appeared on the 9th of November 1572, in the Form of a Lozenge of four Points,

and

Remorse or Contrition in them during Life; yet is their untimely and violent End, with the Extirpation of the very Line of *Valois*; somewhat remarkable; especially that of this King himself, whose early Delight in hunting of wild Beasts, thus improved to the Slaughter of his Fellow-Creatures; 'till in less than two Years after that inhuman Massacre, his insatiable Thirst of his People's Blood, was quenched by an irresistible Extravasation of his own. †

Now that *Ralegh* was, 'till the Death of that King, and even longer, in *France*, we may be fully convinced, from the further Light I have for-

and continued immovable nine Months, says *De Serres*. Sir *Thomas Smith*, in a Letter dated December 11, that Year to Sir *F. Walsingham*, describes it a fair Comet without Beard or Tail, on the Back-side of *Cassiopeia*'s Chair, and on the Edge of *Lactea Via*; that it was between the Size of *Jupiter* and *Venus*, and had then appeared three Weeks in *England*. But *Camden*, in his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*, more particularly observes it to have shone brighter than the Planet of *Jupiter* in the Perigree of his Eccentric and Epicycle; that it continued in the same Place full sixteen Months; though after eight Months it visibly diminished. Mr. *Thomas Digges* and Dr. *John Dee*, two famous Mathematicians of those Times, have learnedly proved by the Doctrine of Parallexes, that it was fixed in the celestial, not the elementary Region; and that it disappeared by Ascension. *Theodore Beza* very ingeniously applied it to the Star which appeared at the Slaughter of the Innocents under *Herod*. And Queen *Elizabeth*'s gallant Comportment at the Sight of it, from her Window at *Richmond*, which ought not to have escaped her Annalist aforesaid, is preserved by the Earl of *Northampton*, in his learned *Defensative against the Poisōn of supposed Prophecies*. 2d Edit. Fol: 1620. p. 77.

† That extraordinary Eruption of Blood carried off King *Charles IX*, on the 30th of May 1574, in the 24th Year of his Age. His Successor, *Henry III*. was stabbed to Death by a *Jacobin* Friar, named *James Clement*, Anno 1589, in that very Chamber where the Council had been held for the fatal *Bartholomew's Day*; so made Way for the House of *Bourbon*: And the Duke of *Guise* was murdered in the said King's Cabinet at *Blois*, about a Year before. See the Historians of *France*.

tunately met with, in an eminent Author of his own Time. For Mr. *Richard Hakluyt*, in his most excellent Collection of Voyages, dedicating his Translation of a *French Adventure* therein to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, tells him, *That calling to Mind you had spent more Years in France than I, and understand the French better than myself; I perceived you approve my Endeavour, not for any private Ease, but for the special Care you had of those to be employed in your own like Enterprise.* And how long *Hakluyt* had been in *France*, appears in his Dedication to Sir *Francis Walsingham* of his first Edition of those Voyages; where he takes the Occasion to tell his Patrons, that himself had been five Years in that Kingdom: So that *Ralegh* must have been at least six Years there.

And this will lead us near the Time we are to look for him in *London*, if we take for our Guide in the Chronology of *Ralegh's Life*, that Copy of Verses before-mentioned which *Anthony Wood* took for his, in Relation to *Ralegh's Profession*. These Verses I have found to be a commendatory Poem of three Stanza's, by *Walter Rawely* of the *Middle-Temple*, as he is there written; and printed among others, before a Satire called *The Steel Glass*, published in 1576, by a learned and ingenious Poet of Repute in those Days, named *George Gascoigne, Esq;*

Now, though I have had the Opportunity of seeing some original Manuscripts of Sir *Walter Ralegh's Writing*, and his Name written several Times by his own Hand, I shall not cavil at the Pseudography thereof before the said printed Copy of Verfes; because I could instance greater Errors of the like Nature, which yet have not excluded Authors from the Reputation of their Compositions;

but

but more especially, because there are some glimmering Circumstances which render the Writing of that Piece by this our Author probable to me; as namely, a Kind of familiar Dependency which that *Gascoigne* had upon the Lord *Gray of Wilton*; as in the Dedication of this, and some other of his Works, is evident; under which Nobleman *Ralegh* will soon after appear to have served in the Wars of *Ireland*. Again, *Gascoigne* had led a Life somewhat like *Ralegh* in foreign Travel and military Services: Then 'tis to be noted *Gascoigne* used the very Motto, under his Picture prefixed to that Satyr before-mentioned; which after his Death is so well known to have been assumed by, or appropriated to, *Ralegh* himself; *Tam Martii, quam Mercurio*. All which seem to shadow out the Links, if not the perfect Chain, of some Acquaintance between them. But the Poem itself, to me, discovers, in the very first Line of it, a great Air of that solid axiomatical Vein, which is observable in other Productions of *Ralegh's* Muse:

Sweet were the Sauce would please each Kind of Taste.

And the whole middle of *Hexastic*, is such an Indication of his own Fortune or Fate; such a Cau-tion against that Envy of superior Merit which he himself ever struggled with; that it could proceed from no Hand more properly than his own.

Though sundry Minds in sundry Sort do deem;
Yet worthiest Wights yield Praise to every Pain:
But envious Brains do nought, or Light esteem,
Such stately Steps as they cannot attain:
For whoso reaps Renown above the Rest,
With Heaps of Hate shall surely be oppress'd.

Lastly,

Lastly, As to the Particular of his Being at this Time of the *Middle-Temple*, all we can conclude of it is, since he has so publickly and solemnly protest-ed he never studied the Law there; that it might be as customary in the Inns of Court then, as it is now, for a young Gentleman to be with a Friend, or have the Use of his Chambers while he is out of Town, or even have Chambers of his own, rather than be confined to the Singularities of a Family in Lodgings, and never read a Word of the Law; much less have any Purpose to practise it.

His next Stage of Action was in the *Netherlands*, according to one of the Writers of his Life; who tells us he served under the Prince of *Orange*, as a Volunteer against the *Spaniards*; making himself, in the *Low-Countries*, Master of the Art Military; and confirming, through the Success of his first Campaigns, his Resolution to advance himself by Arms, as the nobler and readier Way to Glory. Sir *Robert Naunton* also intimates, that before he was in *Ireland* under the *Lord Grey*, he was en-gaged in the *Low Countries*, and also in a Voyage at Sea. Another Author likewise agrees in this *Low Countries* Service, and Voyage at Sea, before *Ralegh* was known at Court. But whereas the first of these two Writers mentions an earlier Expedition of *Ralegh's* in *Ireland*, before this of the *Low Countries*, as his first Exposure to a military Life, being ignorant of all the Time he passed in the *French Wars*; and whereas the last fixes him in that first *Irish Expedition*, under General *Norris*; I apprehend them to be herein both mistaken; the former, in that *Ralegh* appears not to have been twice against the Rebels in *Ireland*, nor once at his first Engagement in War; and the latter, in that this *Norris* appears not to be in *Ireland*, when the Course of *Ralegh's* Employments will allow him to have

have been in that Kingdom: But now that there is Room for *Ralegh's* being in the *Netherlands*, we find General *Norris* to be there.

For the Emperor *Charles* natural Son *Don John of Austria*, a brisk, forward young Man, flush'd with the late victorious Battle of *Lepanto* against the *Turks*, and high in the Pope's Favour; being sent by his Brother the King of *Spain* in the Year 1577 Governor of the *Low-Countries*, to divert his Mind from higher Reaches at home; and having incur'd the general Odium of the States for his Tyranny over them, no less than the Jealousy of the *English*, for his Treachery to this Nation; Queen *Elizabeth* thought the *Dutch* now more immediately needful of her Notice; and more particularly from a Discovery that had been made to her, some say, by the Prince of *Orange*, of a vain Project the said *Don John* had form'd of rescuing the Queen of *Scots* out of Prison; and by Marriage with her, or the Force of Arms, to dethrone the Queen of *England*, and make himself Master of her Crown; for *Don John's haughty Conceit of himself*, says *Ralegh*, *overcame the greatest Difficulties, tho' his Judgment was over-weak to manage the least*. Wherefore the Queen not only receded from that Peace with the *Spaniards*, and Neutrality then in Agitation; but sent the States both Men and Money, as they had requested, to carry on the War more powerfully against them. Among the Forces, both *English* and *Scots*, which now poured over, under Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Robert Stewart*, Colonel *John North*, *Henry Cavendish*, and others, not to forget Colonel *Thomas Morgan*, whose veteran Troops were the first perfect Harquebusiers of our Nation, and the first who taught us to like the Musket; there is here, and here only, I think, a Vacancy in the Story of *Ralegh*, that will admit of him under the first of those

Com-

Commanders ; so might he probably share in the Danger and Honour of that memorable *Lammes* Day, Anno 1578, which buried the Reputation of *Don John* ; which this Governor did not two Months survive ; and which has raised the Emulation of Pencils, as well as Pens, to commemorate. For the States having thus gather'd a powerful Army, and planted themselves near the Village of *Rimenant*, about a League from *Mecklin* ; *Don John*, at the Head of, some say thirty thousand Men, being assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, now resolved to give them Battle. He made a furious Onset ; but in the End, by a notable Stratagem, was deluded to a great Overthrow. For perceiving, as he thought, the whole Confederate Army encamped before the said Village, in an open and inviting Plain ; *Don John* precipitously detach'd a stronger Force to encounter them ; which so succeeded on both Sides, that the States Army, after a convenient Resistance, feigning a Flight, quitted this their Counterfeit Camp ; the Spaniards eagerly pursuing, in a scattered and disorderly Manner, to compleat their supposed Victory ; till, amaz'd, they found themselves in the Midst of the Fugitives true Camp, environ'd with nineteen thousand Horse and Foot ; a Number considerably greater than the Assailants. To extricate themselves was impossible ; there was a River on one Side ; when they attempted the Thicket on the other, it was lined with an armed Ambuscade of *English* and *Scots* ; and when they assaulted the Trenches, they could not sustain the Fury of the Artillery. Yet was the Battle vigorously maintained from Morning till Night ; tho' the *English* and *Scots*, harrafs'd by a long and wearisome March, came but a Day, some say but

an Hour, to the Field, before the Encounter began ; and yet partly thro' Bravery, partly thro' the sultry Warmth of the Weather ; or, as one Author has it, more sensible of a little Heat of the Sun, than any cold Fears of Death, they made themselves further remarkable, by stripping off Armour and Cloaths, and fighting in their Shirts ; till at last, those who had pursued the States Army in a pretended Flight, were themselves driven, with great Slaughter, to a real one.

Soon after his Brother Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, having now newly obtain'd a Patent of the Queen to plant and inhabit some Northern Parts of *America*, unpossess'd by any Prince with whom she was in Alliance, soon engaged *Ralegh*, upon his Return into *England*, who was always ready to grasp at every Occasion, that might reputably advance his Fortune or his Knowledge, to embark in this Adventure. For tho' the Coasts from the Cape of *Florida* Northward to the Isles now called the *Newfoundlands*, had been before discovered by *John Cabot* the Father, with *Sebastian* and *Sancius* his Sons, both *Englishmen* born, through the Authority and Expence of King *Henry VII*, yet there wanted not only more inland Researches and the Establishment of Christianity, but the very Trade and Commerce with *Newfoundland* was very slothfully neglected, even since the Reign of King *Edward VI*; * for our Merchants and Adventurers in his Time enrich'd this Nation considerably from

* And yet within four Years before Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* obtain'd his Patent, there resorted to the Coasts of *Newfoundland* for Fish about fifty Sail of *English*, above a hundred Sail of *Spaniards* for Cod, and thirty more from *Biscay* for Whale to make Train-oil ; above fifty Sail of *Portuguese* ; and about an hundred and fifty Sail of the *French* and *Bretaigns*. My Author observes, that the Trade our Nation had then to *Iceland*, was the Reason the *English* were not there in such Numbers as other Nations.

their Fishery in those Parts, as appears by that Act, wherein Care is taken to prevent the Exaction of any Doles or Taxes from them by the Officers of the Admiralty, that they might not be discourag'd from the Merchandize of Fish, but transport it more plentifully into the Realm, and at more reasonable Rates. Now *Gilbert* having, as I said, procured an ample Commission to reposess these Advantages with Improvement, many Gentlemen of good Account resorted to him, among whom was his Brother *Ralegh*; so that from these Preparations was expected a potent Fleet. Nevertheless, among such Variety of Volunteers, Dispositions were various; which in the End bred Division, and even Confusion of the Attempt; for, after the Shipping was by Degrees prepared, and the Men ready to go aboard; some disagreeing in Opinion, some shrinking at Obedience, and others failing of their Promises and Engagements; the greater Number were dispersed, leaving the General, with a few only of his assured Friends. *However, with these he ventur'd to Sea; where, having tasted of no less Misfortune, he was shortly after driven to retire home with the Loss of a tall Ship; and more to his Grief, of a valiant Gentleman named Miles Morgan.* Now this Misfortune at Sea, and Loss of a Ship with that valiant Gentleman, I have not only Reason to believe was by a sharp Encounter they had with the Spaniards, however tenderly touch'd at that Time, perhaps to avoid their Triumph; but that *Ralegh* was in this very Engagement, and his Life in great Danger thereby. For there is another Author, who, in his Address to him before mention'd, tells him, that after his Return from his Land-services, having gained sufficient Knowledge and Experience therein; *to the End that you might be every Way able to serve your Prince and Commonwealth* (says

(says he) you were desirous to be acquainted with maritimal Affairs ; then you, together with your Brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, travelled the Seas for the Search of such Countries as, if they had then been discover'd, infinite Commodities in sundry Respects would have ensued ; and whereof there was no Doubt, if the Fleet then accompanying you had, according to Appointment followed you ; or your self had escaped the dangerous Sea-fight, when many of your Company was slain, and your Ships therewith also sore batter'd and disabled.

This ill Success kept not these Adventurers long abroad ; and now new Disturbances broke out, which called for Men of Experience in War at home. For the first Dart of any Consequence which was thrown from *Spain* or *Rome* upon *Ireland*, being in 1580, we shall then find *Ralegh* among that Body of his Countrymen which effectually broke its Force, and shielded off the Mischief wherewith it would otherwise have gall'd that Kingdom. For as to the Invasion of *Thomas Stucley*, two Years before, it blew over into *Africa* ; where that Meteor of Ostentation, and Tool of ambitious Princes, fell in the Plains of *Alcazar*, and with Royal Company expir'd. But now that *James Fitz-Morris* of the *Geraldine* Family was come over, and not long after *San Josepho*, under the Pope's Banner, with *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces, to assist the *Desmonds* in the *Munster* Rebellion, and had landed in three Ships at *Smerwick* in *Kerry* ; where having built a Fort which they call'd *Fort del Ore*, and re-fortify'd it with the Benedictions of *Allen* an *Irish*, and *Sanders* an *English* Jesuit ; the *Irish* Rebels under Sir *James* and Sir *John*, Brothers to the late Earl of *Desmond*, soon resorted thither to join, as the *English* Forces also did to disperse them. Their Ships were soon taken by *Thomas Courtenay*, a

Devonshire Gentleman; and *Fitz-Morris* himself, for a Prey he had made of some *Garons* and other Cattle, was by Sir *William Burk* and his Sons soon slain, and his Quarters expos'd at *Kilmallock*. The next, whose Fate drew on, was Sir *James Desmond*, who, on the Fourth of *August* in the above mentioned Year, having made an Inroad upon *Musker-ry*, and taken a great Booty from Sir *Cormac Mac Teige*, Sheriff of *Cork*; the said Sheriff making Head against him, recover'd the Booty, wounded Sir *James* mortally, and took him Prisoner. In that Condition he was kept, till by Letters from the Lord Justice named Sir *William Pelham*, and the Council, he was deliver'd to Sir *Warham Sente-ler*, then Provost marshal of *Munster*, and to Captain *Ralegh*; and according to the Commission directed to them, he was examin'd, indicted, arraign'd; and then, upon Judgment, drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd; and his Head and Limbs impal'd upon the City-gates of *Cork*, for a Terror to his Associates, and a Prey for the Fowls of the Air. And this is the first Appearance we meet with of *Ralegh* in *Ireland*, enough to shake the Report of those who say he was a *Militia* there, and had his first Commission from *Arthur Lord Grey*, Baron of *Wilton*.

But the chief Commander in these parts at this Time was the Earl of *Ormond*, soon after Governor of *Munster*, a Man of such Loyalty, as to have reduc'd his rebellious Brothers to Allegiance; and of such Courage, as constantly partaking in every Danger with his own Soldiers, made him much beloved by all his Adherents; while his apparent Contempt thereby of that Danger, gain'd him no less Fear from all his Adversaries. He, on the other Side, bending his Course against the foreign Enemy, encamped his Army at *Tralegh*, within

Ken of the *Spanish* Fort aforesaid : Hereupon many of those Invaders dislodged, whom the Earl valiantly engag'd, slaying some, and taking others Prisoners ; the rest flew to the Coverts of *Glaningell*. The Prisoners he took, confess'd their Force was not above seven hundred strong ; but that they had brought Arms and Ammunition for five thousand Natives, besides a Mass of Money for the *Desmonds* and Dr. *Sanders*, and daily expected farther Supplies from *Rome* ; for it was absolutely determined by the Pope and King *Philip* to make a compleat Conquest of *Ireland*, and *England* besides ; nay, so confident they seemed of Success, if we can credit the Assertion of an Author who was this Year in *Spain*, that his Holiness had provided a Chalice to drink the Queen of *England*'s precious Blood, says he, as soon as she should be made a Sacrifice. Now after the aforesaid Defeat, about 300 of the Enemy having made their Way back to the Fort, the Earl followed them close, and encamped at *Dingle* ; but wanting Ammunition for a Battery, was forced to retire. And, finding himself of unequal Force to withstand another Salley the *Spaniards* made, returned to join [the Deputy at *Rakele* ; who having now about eight hundred Horse and Foot with him, under the Conduct of Captain *Ralegh*, *Zouch*, *Denny*, *Mackworth*, and others, decamped and marched up towards the Fort. But *Ralegh*, who had observed it to be the Custom of the *Irish Kerns*, upon any Dislodgement of the *English* Camp, to flock in Parties thither, and glean away whatever they saw left behind ; linger'd, and lay in Ambush to receive them. They came accordingly with their wonted Constancy and Greediness ; but in the Midst of their Proling, *Ralegh* fell upon them so advantageously, that he enclos'd them all with his Men, and took every

every Rebel upon the Spot, who was not slain in Resistance. Among them there was one laden with Withies, who being demanded, *What he intended to have done with them?* Boldly answer'd, *To have hung up the English Churls.* Well, said Ralegh; *but they shall now serve for an Irish Kern;* so commanded him to be immediately tuck'd up in one of his own Neckbands; and dealt with the rest of these Robbers and Murderers according to their Deserts. We read of another *Irish* Rebel, but of greater Rank, named *Brian O Rourk*; who being afterwards to suffer at the Gallows, shew'd great Concern that it was to be by the common Halter; and earnestly petition'd, not for Pardon or *Preservation* of his *Life*, but that they would change the *Instrument* of his *Death*; and instead of a *Rope*, to let him take his Swing in a *Withy*; but being ask'd, *Why he insisted upon such an insignificant Distinction?* he answer'd, *'Twas a Distinction had been paid to his Countrymen before him.*

While the Lord Deputy lay before the Fort, there arriv'd in the Bay of Smerwick, Vice-admiral *Bingham*, and soon after Sir *William Winter*, Admiral of the Fleet, with fresh Supplies: Hereupon the Lord Deputy resolved to besiege the Fort by Land, while the Admiral should batter it by Sea. But first the Spaniards were summon'd to surrender at Discretion; they answered, *They were sent, some from the Holy Father, who had given that Realm to King Philip; and some from that King, who was to recover this Land to the Church of Rome, which by her Majesty's Means was become schismatical and excommunicate; therefore, in short, were obliged to retain what they had, and recover what they could.* Nor did they omit the Advantage they thought this Parley would produce of finding the *English* unguarded, to make a Sally upon them; but they were

were so disappointed, through the Vigilance and Valour of *Ralegh's* Company, and that of Captain Denny, that such as were not left dead behind, were forced to retreat with more Haste than good Speed.. The Culverins and other Pieces of Ordnance being now landed, and a large mountainous Bank laboriously cut through, for the Carriages to pass to the Place convenient for planting them ; the Deputy is said to have given the Enemy another Summons by Cannon-shot to surrender, and receive Mercy. But they answer'd as before ; there-upon the Artillery was order'd to attack the Fort both by Land and Water. *Ralegh* commanded the first three Days after the Opening of the Trenches ; and assaulted the Fort so roughly from his Battery, that he forced the *Spaniards* to several Excursions ; but they skirmish'd so warily, and hived again so nimbly, that there was no closing with them effectually. The fourth Day was commanded by *Zouch*, under whom *John Cheke*, the Son of a Knight well known among the learned for his Writings, venturing so near the Fort as to look over the Parapet, being observed by a *Spaniard*, who levell'd his Piece, and brought him to the Ground. But now the Trenches for the full Battery were drawn so near the *Spaniards*, and the *English* play'd their Cannon so furiously and incessantly upon them from every Side ; and finding no Succours arrive, they beat a Parley, and hung out the white Flag, crying out *Misericordia, Misericordia* ; but the Lord Deputy would not listen to any Treaty with the Confederates of Traitors and Rebels ; no, not so much as to their Departure with Bag and Baggage, or free Passage to any one particular Person ; nothing but an absolute Surrender. And as for Mercy, which *Hooker* before intimates to have been offer'd on proviso of their timely Submission, we find by

Edmund

Edmund Spenser, who was then Secretary to the Lord Deputy, and upon the very Spot, that his Lordship never gave the *Spaniards* any Hopes of it.

For after the Lord Deputy had discovered that they had yielded, and surrendered the Fort, on the Ninth of November, *Ralegh* and *Mackworth*, who had the Ward of that Day, first entered the Castle, and, with their Companies, made a great Slaughter ; so that except one *Irish* Nobleman, who was reprieved, another *Irishman*, and an *Englishman*, who were sent to publick Execution, except also *San Josepho* the *Spanish* Commander, and his Camp master, with a few *Spanish* Officers, who were sent Prisoners into *England*, and reserved for Ransom ; all the Invaders, between four and five hundred, were, according to the Deputy's positive Command, put to the Sword ; and the Country was thus weeded of these noxious Foreigners. As for *Ralegh*, he never was taxed, that I can learn, with any Cruelty upon this Account, more than *Mackworth*, or the rest of the Officers.

Ralegh was quartered this Winter at *Cork*, where he observed the seditious Practices of *David Lord Barry*, *Patrick Condon*, and other Ringleaders of the Rebellion in those Parts, to distress so intolerably those Subjects who were peacefully inclined, and foment the disaffected to an Insurrection ; that he was forced to take a Journey in Person to the Lord Deputy at *Dublin* ; where he remonstrated the dangerous Consequences he foresaw, so urgently, that, the Case being taken into Consideration by his Lordship and the Council, they return'd him with a full Commission to enter upon the Castle called *Barry-Court*, with all other Lands of the said *Barry*, and to reduce him to Peace and Subjection, by such Means as he judg'd most feasible ; appointing him for his farther Enablement a Party

of Horse. In the Interim, such Measures were used with those in Authority at Cork, that the Commission proved of little Effect; but though the said Estate of *Barry-More*, was made over to the Mother of *David Barry*, and only rented to the Son; and though it was his principal Seat; yet partly in Fear of that Commission, partly through Spite and Indignation, he burnt the Castle himself to the Ground, and wasted the Country about it with greater Outrage and Destruction, than his Enemies, had they taken it, would have done. Moreover, as *Ralegh* was on his Journey back to his Quarters, an old Rebel of *Barry's* Faction, named *Fitz-Edmonds*, and his Crew sallied from their Ambuscade, and cross'd him, to oppose his Passage, whom *Ralegh* manfully encountered and defeated, or at least broke thro' them, so that he got clear over the River; but one of his Company, Mr. *Henry Mole*, following, his Horse foundering, threw him down in the Middle of it; where, between Fear of drowning and being taken by the Enemies, he called out to *Ralegh* for Help; who, tho' he had escaped both Dangers, yet incurred them again to save his Companion's Life; but *Moyle*, in Haste and Confusion remounting, overleap'd his Horse, and fell down on the other Side into a deep Mire, where he might have been stifled, had not *Ralegh* recovered him a second Time, and brought him safe to Land; but his Horse run over to the Rebels. *Ralegh* waited on the opposite Bank, with his Staff † in one Hand, and a Pistol in the other, for the rest of his Company who were

† These Staves were not short like Truncheons, but rather like Poles, or Watermen's Stretchers, though not so long or clumsily made; for being headed at one End with a sharp Point or Pile of Iron, they might be used for Defence, or Offence, either as Quarter-staves, or Spears.

yet to cross the River ; among whom was his Servant *Jenkin*, who had two hundred Pounds of his Money in Charge ; a Sum in those Days enough to make a Soldier of Fortune in these Circumstances look about him ; especially now *Fitz Edmonds* had got a Recruit of twelve Men, and was in all above twenty strong against him. Yet this Hero, as his Party called him, when he beheld *Ralegh* stand his Ground, and the rest of his Company advance, whom he possibly thought might be of greater Number than they were, only exchanged a few rough Words with him, and thought it best to offer no further Molestation.

Soon after the Earl of Ormond departed from his long and wearisome Services here to *England*, about the Spring of the Year 1581. His Government of *Munster* was given to Captain *Ralegh*, in Commission with Sir *William Morgan* and Captain *Piers Ralegh* lay for the most Part at *Lismore* ; and, in the Country and Woods thereabouts, spent all this Summer in continual Action against the Rebels.

Then *Ralegh* removed with his little Band of fourscore Foot and eight Horse, to his old Quarters at *Cork* ; but receiving Intelligence by the Way, that the Arch-traitor *Barry* was at *Clove*, with several hundred Men, he resolved to pass through that Town, and offer him the Combat. Accordingly at the Town's End he met *Barry* and his Forces, whom *Ralegh* charged with great Bravery, and put him to Flight. As he pursued his Journey, he overtook another Company of the Enemy in a Plain, by a Wood-side ; upon whom, having only six Horsemen with him, expecting probably his Company would soon join him, he gave the Onset ; but the Rebels, who were in much greater Number, being cut off from the Wood, and hav-

having no other Relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the Horses belonging to *Ralegh's Company*, whereof his own was one, and he himself very near being over-borne by the Numbers upon him, had not his trusty Servant *Nicholas Wright*, a *Yorkshire Man*, interpos'd ; who perceiving his Master's Horse so mortally wounded with Darts, and plunging past all Recovery, encounter'd six of the Enemy at once, and killed one of them ; while another of his Fellow-servants, named *Patrick Fagaw*, rescued *Ralegh* ; which had been so unsuccessfully attempted by *James Fitz-Richard* and his Kern, both of *Ralegh's Company*, that the Man was slain, and the Master very near the same Fate ; whereupon *Ralegh* would not suffer *Wright* to fight by him any longer, but ordered him to charge above hand, and save the Gentleman : At which Command he rush'd into the Throng of the Enemy, dispatch'd the Antagonist who press'd foremost upon Mr. *Fitz-Richard*, and rescued him. In this sharp Skirmish, there were many of the Rebels slain, and two taken Prisoners, whom *Ralegh* carried with him to *Cork* ; and while he lay here, he performed several other notable Services, which deserve to be for ever register'd.

Among the rest, his excellent Conduct in the Seizure of the Lord *Roch* is more particularly remember'd and applauded. This Nobleman, being much suspected to hold Confederacy with some of the chief Rebels, *Ralegh* undertook to bring, with his Family, before the Earl of *Ormond* at *Cork*. But the Design of this hazardous Surprise took Air among the Enemy, and a Party of 800 Men, under *Fitz-Edmonds* and *Barry*, were gather'd to way-lay the *English* either going or coming. However *Ralegh*, knowing the Lord *Roch* to be a

powerful and popular Man among the *Irish*, so suddenly commanded all his Company to be in Readiness by Eleven a-Clock that Night, and they were so punctual to the Hour, that he directly marched away to *Bally* in *Harsh*, which was *Roch's* Seat, about twenty Miles from *Cork*, and escaped the Ambuscade. He arrived there by Break of Day; but the Townsmen were so alarmed, that they soon gathered 500 strong. *Ralegh* drew up, and in such Manner bestowed his Men in the Town it self, that he soon quell'd and restrain'd the People there; then selecting half a Dozen out of his Company; and having appointed another little Party to follow him, he marched up to the Castle. He was met by three or four of *Roch's* Gentlemen, of whom he desir'd to speak with their Lord; which was agreed to, on Condition he would dismiss three or four of his own Attendants; to which, with apparent Readiness, he comply'd; but so contrived, that none of them were locked out. Then he gave them Directions which Way the rest also, without the Gates, might be admitted, whilst he should hold the Lord *Roch* in Discourse; which succeeded so happily, that by Degrees his whole Compliment were got within the Court-yard, some guarding the Gates, others watching in the Hall, each having his Piece loaden with a Brace of Balls. The Lord *Roch* was amaz'd and terrify'd at so silent and insensible a Seizure; but, dissembling his Uneasiness, he would needs have *Ralegh*, and the Gentlemen with him, participate of his plentiful Table; yet the Policy of his Hospitality did not defeat that of their Enterprise; for, as soon as the Dinner was over, *Ralegh* ingenuously laid open the Occasion of his Visit. Lord *Roch* made many Excuses, and in the End absolutely refused to go along with him. But when the Commission was

produced, and he found *Ralegh* inflexible, he chose to do that by Consent, which he found he must do by Compulsion. Then *Ralegh* urged him to oblige his Townsmen likewise, who had so faithfully risen for his Defence in his Neighbourhood, to escort and defend him in his Journey; to which Lord *Roch* also consented, professing he doubted not but to clear himself of whatever Allegations should be laid to his Charge. When his Lordship, with his Lady and Attendants, had made themselves ready, *Ralegh* was for another nocturnal Progress; but though the Night fell out so very dark and tempestuous, and the Ways were so full of Hills and Dales, Rocks and Precipices, that many of his Soldiers were much bruised by Falls, and one of them so mortify'd, that he lost his Life in the March; yet the Veil wherewith the rest were shelter'd, by that Obscurity, from the more dangerous Ambuscades of their Enemy, who had every where beset the Passages to intercept them, made such sufficient Compensation for those Disasters, that by the next Morning early he safely presented his Prisoners to the General, not without raising an universal Astonishment at his dexterous Evasion of so many Perils. But the Lord *Roch*, upon Examination being honourably acquitted, he approved himself a faithful Subject ever after, and three of his Sons laid down their Lives in her Majesty's Service.

In the Month of *August*, the same Year, the Lord Deputy made the aforesaid Captain *John Zouch* Governor of *Munster*, with whom *Ralegh* and *Dowdal* made several Journeys to settle and compose the Country; but the certain Place of their Residence was at *Cork*. And when *Zouch*, with *Dowdal*, made that secret Expedition, in which he lopp'd off the third Branch of this vénomous

mous Hydra, Sir John Desmond ; whose Body was hung by the Heels on a Gibbet, then fixed on the Gates of that City, and his Head sent to London ; he left the Government of Cork to Ralegh, who appears no longer, after this Reduction, in the Wars of Ireland : But how well his Services were received by the Queen, and how nobly she rewarded him for them after the Earl of Desmond himself was slain, we shall hear when we arrive at the Time that his large Possessions came to be divided among those who had assisted in quenching the Flames of his Rebellion.

Ralegh was not long in England, before his Relation in some Degree to the Court began to appear. Tradition has industriously abscrib'd his first Introduction thither to a Piece of Gallantry, wherewith he surpris'd the Queen accidentally in one of her Walks. *Her Majesty meeting (says my Author) with a plashy Place, made some Scruple to go on ; when Ralegh (dress'd in the gay and genteel Habit of those Times) presently cast off and spread his new Plush-cloak on the Ground, whereon the Queen trod gently over, rewarding him afterwards with many Suits for his so free and seasonable Tender of so fair a Foot-cloth : Thus an advantageous Admission into the Notice of a Prince, is more than half a Degree to Preferment.* After this, Ralegh coming to Court, and finding some Hopes of the Queen's Favour reflecting upon him, he wrote in a Glass Window, obvious to her Eye,

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall.

Under which her Majesty soon after wrote,

If thy Heart fail thee, climb not at all.

But though he always made a very elegant Appearance, as well in the Splendor of Attire, as the Politeness of 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: All very engaging Advocates for Royal Favour, especially in a female Sovereign: But be that as it may, we find him, upon his Return into *England*, employed in an Expedition or two, by Authority belike from the Court; they being upon Occasions of State. And though it imports not much whether it was now, or before he was in *Ireland*, that he accompanied the French Ambassador, Monsieur Simier, among those Gentlemen who were appointed for his safe Convoy to *France*; yet if that Ambassador returned home, when his Master the Duke of *Anjou* came last over in *November*, the Year before-named, this is the Place for it to be mentioned in.

But after the Duke of *Anjou* himself had been three Months in *England*, he also departed to take upon him the Government of the *Netherlands*. This Departure was in *February* following; and though the Queen seems to have declined the Marriage with him, principally because she found her Ministry so averse to it; yet there was an Author, and his Printer, [who, for having published a little Treatise against it about two Years before, * had their Hands cut off but a few Days after the Duke came to *London*. † And she shewed him many other

* This Treatise is entitled, *The Discovery of a gaping Gulp*, wherein England is likely to be swallowed by another French Marriage, &c. Printed with a small Letter, in a thin Octavo, 1579.

† The Names of this Author, and his Printer or Publisher, were

other Marks of Favour and Distinction ; particularly, when he left the Kingdom, she bore him Company in Person to *Dover*, and having appointed a most splendid Retinue of Nobles and Gentlemen to wait upon him to his new Government ; I find that *Ralegh* was also among this grand Assembly. They attended the Duke to *Antwerp*, where, making a most magnificent Procession, he was created Duke of *Brabant, &c.* and invested with his Charge. *Ralegh* seems not only to have staid there some Time after the Lord Admiral *Howard, Leicester*, young *Sidney*, and the rest were return'd ; but, through the Opportunity of being personally known to the Prince of *Orange*, honoured with some special Acknowledgments from him to the Queen of *England*. And *Ralegh* mentions thus much himself, in a Discourse he wrote many Years afterwards ; wherein, speaking of the *Hollanders* flourishing State, he lays down, as the first Cause thereof, the Favour and Assistance granted them by this Crown ; which, says he, 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 Letters to her Majesty, he prayed me to say to the Queen from him, Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur : For certainly (says he) they had wither'd in the Bud, and sunk in the Beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majesty assisted them.

Towards the End of *August*, this last mentioned Year, the Lord *Grey* resign'd the Sword of *Ireland*, after he had been two Years Deputy in that Kingdom ; and this must be the Time, that Dispute

were *John Stubbs* and *William Page* ; and that Sentence was executed on them at *Westminster*, November 3. 1581. Vide *Stow's Chronicles* and *Camden's Annals* in those Years.

between him and *Ralegh* was brought to a Hearing, of which Authors have so blindly written. Sir Robert Naunton is confident, that among the second Causes of *Ralegh's* Growth (not denying, or rather acquiescing in his Actions and Accomplishments to have been the first) that Variance between him and the Lord Grey, in his Descent into Ireland, was a Principal; for it drew them both over (says he) to the Council-table, there to plead their Cause; where (what Advantage he had in the Cause, my said Author knew not, but says) he had much the better in telling of his Tale; and so much, that the Queen and the Lords took no slight Mark of the Man and his Parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have Access to the Queen and the Lords. Now if this Author is so defective, as not to have known the Cause or Subject of their Quarrel; or, that *Ralegh*, leaving *Ireland* long before the Lord Grey, was not likely to be drawn over together with him to the Council-table; how much more must those Writers following him be so, who have confused this Matter with several other Particulars; though they seem to have had no other Authority? One of them says, *Ralegh* had in *Deed*, but not in *Truth*, the better by the Tongue; and insinuates (with great Caution and Delicacy he thought, no Doubt) that the Queen had been told something so engaging of *Ralegh*, besides his Advantage in Pleading, that it was not to be mentioned; as if any of her Courtiers dared to say any Thing to the Queen's Face, which this anonymous Writer, near fifty Years after her Death, would be either ashamed or afraid to repeat. A later Writer makes such Distinctions of *Ralegh's* extraordinary Behaviour in this Dispute, as if he had been at the Council-table, and seen as well as heard him. And another, after them all, has found out the Cause of

this Difference between them to be Captain Zouch's Preferment. * But passing these over, our Author Naunton goes on ; and tho' he does not determine whether the Lord Leicester had then cast in a good Word for Ralegh to the Queen ; yet says, it is true, that he had gotten the Queen's Ear at 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 he relied on, began to take this his sudden Favour for an Alarm ; to be sensible of their own Supplantation, and to project his ; which made him shortly after sing, Fortune my Foe, &c.

It is hinted to us somewhat more expressly, by another Court-writer of those Times, that the Earl of Leicester befriended Ralegh (perhaps through his Friendship with young Sidney, that Earl's worthily beloved Nephew) in his first Advancement at Court ; and that being willing, for his own Ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some Part of the Pains, and perhaps of the Envy, to which a long indulgent Fortune is obnoxious, either brought or let him into that promising Sphere of Preferment ; where the Earl soon found him such an Apprentice, as knew well enough how to set up for himself. So that if the Earl of Sussex, who was

* The Author of Sir Walter Ralegh's Life, in *Lives English and Foreign*, 1704. Vol. 1. p. 86, says, that Ralegh's Disgust at the Deputy's preferring Zouch, grew to a Difference between him and the said Lord Grey, which was referr'd by the Council of War in *Ireland* to that in *England* : and there decided in Ralegh's Favour ; the soliciting of which Busineſs was the true Caufe of His leaving *Ireland*. But he quotes no Authority ; and I think by what is before ſaid of the Matter, this true Caufe will appear a groundleſs Conjecture ; at leaſt leſs probable, than what might perhaps be drawn from Spenser's *View of Ireland*, Vol. 6. p. 1609.

Leicester's Antagonist, had any Hand in *Ralegh's* Rise, as some later Writers of less Authority have suggested, it seems to have been afterwards, when *Ralegh's* courtly Splendor was somewhat obstructed ; and *Leicester* meant to allay it, by interposing the young Earl of *Essex* ; for *Ralegh* continued, during that Storm, in some Lustre of a favoured Man, like Billows which sink but by Degrees, even when the Wind is down that first stirr'd them. But this we shall observe as we go on, that in all the different Aspects or Conjunctions of Interest, thro' the Access or Change of new Favourites in this long Reign, none were less immagr'd by the Smiles of the Court, in the Luxuries and Vanities of it, nor more animated by its Frowns to the enterprising of publick and superior Difficulties for the Honour and Aggrandisement of his Country. Not that he set out to Sea, but when he had despaired of raising himself on Shore ; for these publick Enterprizes were rooted so early in *Ralegh's* aspiring Mind, that we perceive, even now, before Factions at Court could drive him from the Land, or Preferments and Grants from the Crown enable him for the Sea ; that he had built at his own Expence, to prosecute them, a strong handsome Ship, which was named *Bark Ralegh*, of two hundred Ton-Burden.

And now that the six Years Period of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert's* Patent grew short, four of them being elaps'd, he thought it high Time to make a new Attempt in Person (since his Assignments had proved of little Consequence) at those Discoveries he had before fail'd in, that he might confirm by Experience what he had so excellently advanced in Theory. Accordingly, having fitted out a Fleet of four Ships, *Ralegh* also victuall'd, and mann'd out his before-mentioned, which was the largest

among them; and, in the Quality of Vice-admiral, set out to bear his Brother *Gilbert* Company, in this his last Expedition to *Newfoundland*. The Fleet departed from *Plymouth* on the 11th of June 1583. My Author, who was in this Voyage, tells us, no Cost was spared by *Ralegh* in Provisions and Necessaries for the happy Accomplishment of it; yet that in two or three Days following he returned greatly distress'd to *Plymouth*, by Reason his whole Ship's Company was infected with a contagious Sicknes. But lucky to him, perhaps, was this Visitation; since the Voyage proved so fatal to those who went through it, particularly Sir *Humphrey* himself; who, tho' he arrived in *Newfoundland* in the Beginning of *August* following; took Possession of the Country in Right of the Crown of *England*, by digging up a Turf, and receiving it with a Hasel Wand, delivered to him according to our Law and Custom; also had assign'd Lands to every Man in his Company, and was got three hundred Leagues in his Way home again, with full Hopes of the Queen's Assistance to fit out a Fleet not only for the North, but one also for the South next Year; yet over-hardily venturing in a little Frigat of but ten Ton Burden, called the *Squirrel*; he was on the Ninth of *September* following at Midnight, in a high Sea, swallowed up. * Another

of

* As Authors have been very defective and erroneous in their Accounts of this brave and publick-spirited, but unfortunate Knight, Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* of *Compton*; I shall here observe that *John Hooker*, who knew him, says he was bred at *Oxford*. *Hooker* takes Notice of his extraordinary Services in *Ireland*, for which he was made Colonel of *Munster*; and Sir *Roger Williams*, in his *Actions of the Low-countries*, tells us he was the first English Commander who led a Regiment thither to serve the Prince of *Orange* against the *Spaniards*. But *John Prince*, who pretends to give us his Life among his *Worthies of Devon*, mentions nothing

of the Vessels, called the *Delight*, but few Days before also suffered the same Fate; and even the rest returned not without great Hazard, Hardship, and Loss; teaching (says *Camden*) that it is a more difficult Manner to carry over Colonies to remote

thing of his Land-services. The said *J. Prince* quotes Sir *W. Pole's* MSS. to vouch this *Gilbert's* being knighted by the Queen at Greenwich 1577. But *Hooker* aforesaid shews him to have been knighted in the Church at *Drogheda*, by Sir *Hen. Sidney* Deputy of *Ireland*, seven Years sooner at least; and agreeable thereto, we find him call'd Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* in a Letter of Sir *Thomas Smith's*, dated 1572, among Sir *D. Digges's* Collection before mentioned, p. 299. Lastly, another Writer of his Life, in *Latin*, places his last Expedition to *Newfoundland* 20 Years sooner than he undertook it, if it is not the Fault rather of the Printer than the Author, *Vid. Hollandi Herwologia Anglicæ*. fol. *Arnheim* 1620, p. 65. As for Sir *Humphrey's* Writings, we have extant in *Hakluyt*, Vol. 3. p. 11. his Discourse to prove a Passage by the North-west to *Cathay* and the *East-Indies*, in ten Chapters; first publish'd in 4to. 1576. at the End of which he mentions another Discourse, now lost I fear; wherein he amended the usual Errors of *Sea-cards*, which make the Degrees of Longitude in every Latitude of equal Bigness; and invented a spherical Instrument, with a *Compass of Variation*, for the perfect Knowledge of the Longitude; and laid down a precise Order to prick the *Sea-cards*, with certain Rules for the shortning any Discovery, and knowing at the first Entrance of any *Fret*, whether it lies open to the Ocean more Ways than one, and how far the *Sea* stretches itself into the *Land*. As for the Picture at *Compton*, said by *Prince* to be drawn for Sir *H. Gilbert*; if his Author, Sir *W. Pole*, is no truer in his Assertion of the Queen's having given Sir *Humphrey* the Gold Chain represented about the Neck thereof, than he was in her having knighted him, and there are no other Signatures besides that Chain, and the Inscription of *Virginia* on the *Globe*, with the Verses under it relating thereto; I see not but the Picture is to be doubted, as rather meant for his Brother *Ralegh*, who was honoured with a Golden Chain by the Queen, and whose Title to that Inscription on the *Globe* was beyond any Man's in the World. But the stately Poem in *Latin Hexameters*, upon his last Expedition, by *Stephanus Parmenius Budeius*, a learned *Hungarian*, who was drowned with him, was undoubtedly, among other *English* Adventurers therein nam'd, chiefly intended for his Honour.

Countries upon private Men's Purses, than he and others had persuaded themselves, to their own Loss and Detriment ; but neither these unfortunate Attempts by Sea hitherto, nor the Ruin of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Estate, nor the Loss of his Life, nor the Hardships of all his Company besides, could teach *Ralegh* that Lesson : These Examples, and this Experience were so far from satiating, that they did but sharpen his Appetite to such honourable Dangers.

And as we are assured from Family Tradition, by a late Author of his own Name and Lineage, that the Discoveries of the great *Columbus*, the Conquests of *Fernando Cortez*, the famous *Francis Pizarro*, and other Leaders of the *Spaniards*, who under the Emperor *Charles* and his Son *Philip II.* had made the greatest and most surprising Additions to their Empire that ever Prince received, or Subjects wrought, were the favourite Histories that took up *Ralegh's* early Reading and Conversation while he was but a young Man ; we may presume they so possessed his noble Genius (with perhaps also some late domestic and living Examples) that no little personal Oppositions at Home, or particular Misadventures Abroad, could ever discourage him from the Pursuit of these grand and national Undertakings. But when, by his own Observation, he found the *Spaniards* had only settled upon the middle and southern Parts of *America*, and that there were certain vast Territories yet unknown to the North of those Lands, which the *Spaniards* already enjoyed, as fit perhaps for Settlement, and as easy to conquer, as any they did enjoy : And when, by his Enquiries, among the most observant Pilots and Mariners who had sailed in the *Spanish* Ship to the Gulph of *Mexico*, many of whom he had Opportunity to meet and discourse with in *Holland*

Holland and Flanders, he had learnt that the Spaniards always went into the Gulph of Mexico by St. Domingo and the Island of Hispaniola, where the Currents with the Trade-winds always ran together, and set into the Bay; that they always disembogu'd, as they called it, or came out by the Havana and the Channels of Bahama, which they now call the Gulph of Florida; and that, as they returned by this Gulph, they found a continued Coast on the West Side trending away North, which they generally lost Sight of by standing away to the East, to make for the Coast of Spain; Ralegh fully determined that there was a vast Extent of Land North of that Gulph, or West from the Coast of Spain, which might be well worth discovering; and, after mature Deliberation, fully resolved upon the Discovery. As soon as he had digested his Proposal, and displayed the Manner of prosecuting it in proper Schemes, he laid them before the Queen and Council, to whom it appearing a rational, practical, and generous Undertaking, her Majesty was pleased in the Beginning of the Year 1584, to grant him full Power to enjoy such Countries as he proposed to discover, by her Letters Patents.

Immediately upon the Grant of this Patent, Ralegh gave his Instructions for an American Voyage* to Captain Philip Amadas and Captain Arthur Barlow, two experienced Commanders, and had got a Couple of Barks well furnished with Men and Provisions at his own Expence, in such Readiness, that on the 27th Day of April following they departed

* But that he now sailed thither himself, or then made the Discovery, whatever he might do before, of the Country hereafter mentioned, in Person, and returned in the Beginning of 1585, as the Author of his Life, in *Lives English and Foreign*, tells us, vol. I. p. 90, is all Fancy and Fiction.

from the West of *England*. The 10th of *May* they arrived at the *Canaries*, and a Month after fell upon the Isles of the *West-Indies*, which, with the Rest adjoining (says my Author, one of those Captains) are so well known to yourself (directing the Account of this Voyage to his Proprietor) and to many others, that I will not trouble you with the Remembrance of them. In the Beginning of *July* they were saluted with a most fragrant Gale from the Land they were seeking, and soon after arrived upon the Coast; but sailed along some six-score Miles before they could find an Entrance by any River issuing into the Sea. At last, discovering one, they manned out their Boats to view the Land adjoining, where they saw Vines laden with Grapes in vast Abundance, climbing up the tall Cedars, and spreading so luxuriantly along the sandy Shore, that the Sea often over-flowed them. On the 13th of *July* they took Possession in Right of the Queen, and afterwards delivered the Country over to *Ralegh's* Use. They thought this Land had at first been the Continent, but found it afterwards only an Island 20 Miles long, called *Wocoken*; plentifully stocked with Animals, Groves of sweet-smelling Trees, Pulse, Grain, and esculent Roots. They observed along the Coast, a Tract of Islands 2 or 300 Miles long; and passing between them, saw another great Sea, 20, 40, and in some Places 50 Miles over, before they could reach the Continent; and in this inclosed Sea above 100 Islands of various Size, whereof one is 16 Miles long, called *Roanoak*, and about seven Leagues distant, up the River *Occam*, from the Harbour they first entered; at which they chiefly settled while they staid, finding it so pleasant and fruitful as to yield three Harvests in five Months. But they remained upon the Borders of *Wocoken* two Days before they beheld a human Creature; on the

the third, they saw a Boat rowing towards them with three of the Natives; one of them landed, and walked up the Shore near their Ship, for they were then on Board; then the two Captains, with some others, took their Boat and rowed to Land, and by their courteous Carriage, soon prevailed on the Native to return with them on Board, where they cloathed him, and gave him Victuals, Wine, and several little Toys or Utensils, which won the simple Creature's Heart. Soon after his Departure he returned again with a Boat full of Fish, to be divided between the Ship and the Pinnace, and then he left them. The next Day came the King's Brother *Granganimeo*, with a great many Attendants; for the King himself, who was named *Wingina*, and his large Territories *Wingandacoa*, lay ill of the Wounds he had lately received in War. His Brother was highly pleased with his Entertainment, and having received several Presents, soon after sent the Savages to traffick with the *English*; also came again himself, and exchanged 20 Skins, worth as many Nobles, for a Tin Dish, which he hung as a Gorget about his Neck, to defend him from the Arrows of his Enemies: Then also he brought his Wife and Children, with her Attendants 40 or 50 in Number. She was well-favour'd, but bashful, clad in a Mantle of Deer-skin, lined with Fur, and a Kind of Apron of the same, her Hair hung down long on each Side, with a Band of white Coral about her Forehead, and long Bracelets of Pearl down to her Middle, as big as Pease in her Ears, a Bracelet whereof, we delivered to your worship, says my Author to *Ralegh*. Her Husband's Apparel was much like hers, only about his Head he wore a broad Plate of Gold or Copper, and his Hair was long but on one Side. After this Interview, familiar Commerce passed between

the Natives and the *English*, who, when they went to *Roanoak*, were much caref's'd and treated by the Lady aforesaid. And when she could not prevail with them to stay, being but few in Company, though the Natives had no Edge-tools of Iron or Steel, and had proffered a great Box of Pearl for some Armour and a Sword, she sent her Women to watch them all Night in their Ships on the Bank-side. And indeed all the People, who saw them, admired much at their Ships, their Fire-arms, their Cloaths, and above all, their Complexions; for, except a Vessel which was cast away with some christian Adventurers about 26 Years before near *Secotan*, the southermost Town in *Wingandacoa*, never any People in Apparel, or of fair Colour were seen or heard of among them; which made them wonder so much at the Whiteness of their Skins, and so fond of seeing and touching them. Under these favourable Recommendations, and the Distress which the Natives were in for some powerful Friends to defend them from the Invasions of their Neighbours, the Promises of visiting them again, wherewith the *English* left them, after having learnt as much of the Situation, State and Product of the Country, as was at this Time convenient, were very acceptable. So bringing over a Couple of the *Indians* with them, named *Manteo* and *Wanchese*, to shew them our fine Country, they arrived safely in the West of *England* about the Middle of September following.

When *Ralegh* had laid before her Majesty these and all other Reports most worthy of Notice, of this rich, beautiful and Virgin Country; and had acknowledged how much this hopeful Progress towards the Possession of it was owing to the Auspices of a Virgin Queen; she was so well pleased with the Honour and Advantage it promised, and gave him

him such Encouragement to compleat the Discovery, which he forthwith prepared to do by another Expedition, that she called it herself by the Name of *Virginia*.

About two Months after, he was elected a Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*, Sir *William Courtenay* being the other Representative. There was then 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. Yet we find *Ralegh* mentioned to have been chosen of the Committees upon some Bills that were then read. On the 14th of *December* following, the Bill, in Confirmation of his Patent aforesaid for the Discovery of Foreign Countries, was read the first Time. In the Afternoon it was read the second Time, and committed to the Vice-chamberlain *Hatton*, Secretary *Walsingham*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Richard Greenfield* (or *Grenvill*), Sir *William Courtenay*, Sir *William Mohun*, and others. Three Days after the said Bill was, without any Alteration, ordered to be engrossed. The next Day it was read the third Time, when it passed the House. Between this Time and the 24th of *February* following he received the Honour of Knighthood; for being then in a Committee for considering after what Manner and Measure they should supply her Majesty by Subsidy: This is the earliest Time I meet with of his being styled Sir *Walter Ralegh*; a Title which her Majesty bestowed, as all others of Honour, with Frugality and Choice. Therefore was it a more certain Cognizance of Virtue or Valour, than Titles of more pompous Denomination in the Reign of her Successor, who suffered Lucre to corrupt the noble Fountain, to turn it into vulgar Channels, and drain it even to the

Dregs.* Nay, that this Honour was intended by that Queen as the most significant Testimony of personal Desert, may be instanced, according to an ingenious Observer of her Reign, in Sir Francis Vere, *a Man nobly descended*; and Sir Walter Ralegh, *exactly qualified*, says he, *with many others, set apart in her Judgment for military Services; whose Titles she never raised above Knighthood*: saying, *when importuned to make Vere a Baron, That in his proper Sphere, and her Estimation, he was above it already.*

About the Time that her Majesty granted *Ralegh* the Patent above-cited for the Discovery of remote Countries, she seems also to have given him another to license the Vending of Wines throughout the Kingdom, that he might be better able to sustain the great Charges which the other brought upon him. There were no Restrictions belike in this Patent from increasing the Number of Vintners in any Part of the Realm. And hence arose his Controversy at this Time with one of the Universities.

* Sir Edward Walker, Garter, and Secretary of War to King Charles I. observes, ‘That in all Queen Elizabeth’s 44 Years Reign she created but six Earls, and eight or nine Barons. So that when she died, the Nobility consisted but of one Marquis, 19 Earls, two Viscounts, and about 30 Barons: But doubts whether in the Reign of King James, the Dispensing of Honours so liberally was not one of the Beginnings of general Discontents, especially among Persons of great Extrication. So that when this King died, having reigned but 22 Years, he left the Nobility in his three Kingdoms above double the Number to what he found them, though his Reign was peaceable, and not full of Action, which renders Men in Capacity highly to merit from their Prince; and so, without Envy, receive Advancement.’ And a little further, ‘When Alliance to a Favourite; Riches, though gotten in a Shop; Persons of private Estates, and of Families, that many of them, and their Fathers, would have thought themselves highly honoured to have been but Knights in Queen Elizabeth’s Time, were advanced; then the Fruits thereof began to appear, &c.’

For *Ralegh* having by Virtue of that general Patent given Licence to one *John Keymer* to sell Wine in *Cambridge*, some of the hotter Heads, especially the other Vintners there, among whom was *Baxter*, a 'Squire Beadle, licensed to sell Wine by that University, opposed this *Keymer* and his Wife with such Violence, that she was likely to have died. Complaint being made to *Ralegh*, he wrote a Letter to *The worshipful Dr. Howland, Vice-chancellor and the Rest of the Masters*, to tell them how much he took this riotous Demeanor as a Contempt of the Queen's Grant to him ; presuming, if he had given any unlawful Privilege, the Conference he had offered, by his Deputies, for a quiet Decision of the Matter by learned Council between them, would have been accepted. Further telling them, that if the Abuse was not regulated, and the said *Keymer* permitted to enjoy the Liberty granted him, he would take some other Course for Reformation therein ; but resting assured they would use such means as might occasion no further Trouble, he not desiring to execute his Grant to its Extent among their Vintners, who were the only Disturb-
ers herein, respecting more their own Gain than quiet Government ; he only craves their Answer, and that the riotous Persons might not rest unpunished : So bids them heartily farewell ; from his Lodgings at the Court the 9th of July 1584 ; and subscribes himself *Your very affectionate loving Friend.* This producing no Answer in seven Months, and *Ralegh* having heard they continued to oppress *Keymer* ; he wrote again ; *To his loving Friend the Vice-chancellor, &c.* telling him, that being by Information perswaded, himself, with the grave and well-disposed of the University, were so grieved with the unseemly Outrages lately committed by the young and unbridled Heads thereof, to the

the Contempt of the Queen's Prerogative and his Discredit, as sufficient Order had been taken for the Bearer's Quiet; which caused him to rest from requiring Reformation therein at his good Lord-treasurer's Hands; who as yet understood nothing from him of these Riots, through the Good-will he bore to their University: And that he meant so to deal with them for the other four Taverns, as should sufficiently have contented them. But his too favourable Dealing with them had given such Encouragement, as, that, intending further to disturb the Bearer, they had warned him to appear before them; with which he had persuaded him to comply. Upon their sending no Answer to this, and Ralegh hearing they had suddenly clapped up the Man in Prison, he sent 10 Days after the last, his third Letter from the Court, directed *To the Vice-chancellor, and the rest of the Masters, &c.* And herein tells them, he cannot a little marvel at their peremptory and proud Manner of Dealing. That he was content to use all Manner of Courtesy towards them in Respect of his honourable good Lord the Lord-treasurer; but perceived his reasonable, or rather too submissive Dealing, had bred in them a Proceeding unsufferable; having committed a poor Man to Prison, for doing nothing but what was warranted by the great Seal of *England*; which, supposing they had a Charter, he knew not that any Man or Society would so much take upon them to do, before a Trial. *As I reverence the Place, says he, of which you are the Governors, so I will not willingly take any Wrong or Disgrace from you.* But as he was assured the Lord-treasurer would be indifferent in the Case, and as the Matter so much concerned the Validity of his Patent elsewhere, as well as in their University, he would try the utmost of his Right as well for this one, where-with

with he was content to have been satisfied, as for all the other four. So having thought they would have vouchsafed him an Answer to his last Letters, he ends, subscribing himself *Your Friend, as you shall gave Cause.* This rous'd them to some Consideration, and soon after, a handsome apologetical Letter was sent from the Vice-chancellor to Sir W. Raleigh, setting forth, that the hard Opinion he had conceived of them for this Matter, made them doubt what Manner of Answer they might address to him without Offence; and that their Silence was so ill taken, they knew not how their Endeavours to excuse it might give him Satisfaction. That they had not neglected any reasonable Means to procure his Favour for the quiet Enjoyment of that whereof they had the Fruition for above two hundred Years; nor omitted to become Petitioners to him in a very humble Manner. That his Counsel had not made any just Exception against their Charters; and those who had the Hearing of the Case, thought them to have the better Warrant. Yet that he used such hard Terms, as they little looked for at his Hands; *being by Birth a Gentleman; by Education trained up to the Knowledge of good Letters; instructed with the liberal Disposition of a University, the Fountain and Nursery of all Humanity; and further, by God's good Blessing, advanc'd in Court, from whence the very Name of Courtesy is drawn.* That the Prejudice he apprehended from their Example against his Patent, was unlikely to fall out; since other Places were not privileged as the Universities were. That her Majesty's Grant, by her Prerogative, gave him his Title; and the like Prerogative was the Ground of their Charters. And as he would think it hard to have his Patent impeach'd by an After-grant, they hoped he would with like Equity measure them, who were warranted

ranted to have the sole Dealing with all Vintners in Cambridge Town, and the Precincts thereof. Touching the Imprisonment of the Party, whom he charged them with proceeding against before Trial ; and who, according to Mr. Brown's Promise to the Lord-treasurer, was to have given over at Michaelmas last ; however the Course thereof had been otherwise reported to him, it was only at this Time to correct his Contempt in not appearing, being lawfully warned, and refusing to answer before the ordinary Judge, or enter Bond for Appearance when Cause should require. That for their own Part, it would be no Disadvantage whether he or other, one or many, were Vintners there ; but in Regard of the Youth committed to their Charge, Duty bound them to consider who they admitted to keep Taverns, the Number whereof was also limited ; which, if they exceeded, would endanger their Privileges ; for the Preservation whereof as they had all taken a special Oath, so they right humbly *eftsoons* beseech'd him to have Regard of them for their Duties therein. Concluding thus ; *Whatever Kindness you shall any Ways shew to the University ; as the Body thereof doth still continue, so the Memory thereof cannot decay.* There is not one of us, but you may readily command wherein it may please you to employ us ; only we pray you, and that in the heartiest Manner, to vouchsafe us your Favour in Matter of our Privileges ; That we may leave them in no worse Estate to our Posterity ; than we did receive them of our Predecessors. *Thus desiring God so to direct you with his blessed Spirit, as may be most to his Glory, and your greatest Comfort, we take our Leave ; from Cambridge.* This might probably pacify Ralegh at present, both for their Neglect in not answering his Letters, and their Forwardness in imprisoning

the

the Man; till the Difference was a few Months afterwards accommodated by the Lord-treasurer, who was Chancellor of that University. †

The Parliament being soon after, on the 29th of March 1585, prorogued, *Ralegh* appears several Ways engag'd in the laudable Improvements of Navigation. For his Brother *Adrian Gilbert* of *Sandridge*, afterwards knighted, in Pursuance of the Arguments laid down by his Brother Sir *Humphrey*, having been at great Charges in finding out the Northern Passage to *China* and the *Moluccas*; and in Consideration thereof been granted a Patent by the Queen two Years before this Time, to pursue the Discovery by Partners, under the Title of *The Colleagues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage*; *Ralegh* was now one of the Associates in this Enterprize; and after having duly consulted about the likeliest Means to Success, and liberally contributed towards the Expence, they chose Captain *John Davis*, an experienced Navigator, to be Undertaker of the Exploit. He set first out upon it this Summer from *Falmouth*. in

† For the said Lord-treasurer *Burghley* sent, in a Letter to Dr. *Norgate*, his Vice-chancellor, on the 26th of July 1585, the Opinion of the two chief Justices, Sir *Christopher Wraye* and Sir *Edmond Anderson*, upon this Controversy between that University and Mr. *Rawlie*, as he is therein call'd, for the Nomination of Vintners, and setting the Price of Wine there; which Opinion is as follows — “First, touching the Nomination of Vintners there, we think it appertaineth to the University, by Usage and Charters from her Majesty, confirmed by Parliament; and that Mr. *Rawlie* can nominate none there. For the Price; it seemeth they may set Prices, so as it be according to the Statute, and not otherwise. And if the Vintners set at higher Prices, they are to be punished by Law. Which Penalty Mr. *Rawlie* may dispense withal; and yet cannot see for the Penalty by his Patent against the Statute Laws; for therein all Liberties to the University is excepted.” After this, we hear no more of the Dispute.

two Barks. When he came to Land sixty-six Degrees forty Minutes Latitude, he anchor'd in a very fair Road, under a brave Mountain; which, for the splendid Appearance it made, the Cliffs thereof being as orient as Gold, they named *Mount Ralegh*, in Honour of their Proprietor; and soon after fell into the very Passage they sought, since well known by the Name of *Davis's Streights*. The farther Search whereof, through the same Patronage and Support, Captain *Davis* made in two Voyages more, the two following Years, and in a Manner compleated the said Discovery.

But about two Months before *Davis* begun his said first Voyage for this Discovery, *Ralegh* sent out his own Fleet for *Virginia*, which consisted of seven Sail, whereof some were his own Ships, and they departed from *Plymouth* on the 9th of *April*, the Year above specified. He deputed his gallant Relation Sir *Richard Greenville* General of the Expedition, and Mr. *Ralph Lane*, who was afterwards knighted, to be Governor of the Colony, which they now transported. There went besides, Mr. *Thomas Candish*, *John Arundel*, *Raymond*, *Stucley*, *Bremige*, *Vincent*, Mr. *John Clark*, and several others, whereof some were Captains, and others Assistants for Council and Direction in the Voyage. So they shaped their Course to the *Canary Islands*, from thence to *Dominica*, and to the Island of *St. John de Puerto Rico*, where they were sadly stung with the *Musketoes*, and near which they took two *Spanish Frigats*; one whereof was freighted with a rich Cargo, and divers *Spaniards* of Distinction, who afterwards were ransom'd for good round Sums of Money. Then they made away to *Hispaniola*, soon after which the General, and some of his Company, were near being cast away in catching of Seals.

Seals. From thence they sailed to *Florida*, * and on the 26th of June anchor'd at *Wocoken*, where they sent Word of their Arrival to King *Wingina* at *Roanoak*. They carried the *Indians* with them from *England*; and *Manteo*, on the 6th of July, led Mr. *Arundel* to the main Continent, where they found some of their Men, who had been conducted thither twenty Days before, by Captain *Raymond*. On the eleventh following, the General, accompanied by *Arundel*, *Stuckley*, *Lane*, *Candish*, *Hariot*, *Amadas*, *Clark*, and others, passed over the Water to the main Land, and victuall'd their Ships; in which Voyage they first discover'd the Towns of *Pomeioc*, *Aquasgococ*, and *Secotan*; also the great Lake *Paquipe*, and many other Places; then return'd to their Fleet. They afterwards revisited those Parts, and were kindly entertained by the Savages. Coming at last to Anchor to *Hatorask*; Prince *Grangino*, or *Granganimeo*, before mentioned, came attended by *Manteo* to visit them on board the Admiral, which was named the *Tyger*. The Particulars which passed between them about the Settlement are not mentioned in the short Journal of this Voyage; but we may conclude it was agreed on to their mutual Satisfaction, since one hundred and seven Men, whose Names are printed at the End of the said Journal, under the

* One Argument used by a late Author to prove this was the first Attempt made for the Discovery of these Parts of *America*, is, that these Navigators " knew no other Way to sail from " *England* to the Coast of *Virginia*, than to go first to the *Canaries*, from thence to *Hispaniola*, and into the Gulph of *Mexico*; " then out by *Cuba* and the Gulph of *Bahama*; and so coast " along the Shore from *Florida* to *Virginia*, from the Latitude of " 30 Minutes to 42; which is in short (says he) like going from " *London* by *Portsmouth*, and from thence to *Exeter*, away to " *Bristol*, and so up by the Banks of the *Severn* to come at " *West-Chester*."

Government of Mr. *Lane*, were left for a Year in the Country, without Disturbance, to begin the Plantation. On the 25th of *August* the General weighed Anchor, and set Sail for *England*; about six Days after he took a *Spanish* Ship of three hundred Ton, richly laden; and on the 18th of *October* arrived with the Prize at *Plymouth*, where he was courteously received by his worshipful Friend.

An End having been put to the *Munster* Rebellion by Force of Arms, and the Country further laid desolate by a raging Famine, which devour'd what the Sword had left, except a few who remained in Cities, fled to *England*, or could feed upon Weeds and Carrion, so as even to rob the Graves and the Gibbets of the Dead, to keep the dying alive; the Queen soon became desirous of repeopling the Country, and to have Ways consider'd on, how the late Earl of *Desmond*'s large Territories in *Ireland* might be dispoed of to the Advantage of her and her Subjects. After Commissioners were sent over for this Purpose, and proper Methods taken to prevent frudulent Conveyances by the Rebels, there was at last a Scheme resolv'd on for the Plantation of *Munster*; and Secretary *Fenton* carried over the Instructions towards the latter End of this Year. The whole Forfeiture was above 574,000 Acres of Land; and after some Restitutions had been made, the Remainder was divided into *Seigniories* among certain *Gentleman-undertakers*, as they were called; but chiefly such as had been instrumental in appeasing the *Irish* Rebellion. One of the largest Divisions, which was twelve thousand Acres, situate in the Counties of *Cork* and *Waterford*, was given by her Majesty to Sir *Walter Ralegh* and his Heirs, with certain Privileges and Immunities, upon those Conditions of planting and improving the same, to which the rest

rest were also obliged. And tho' many of the *Undertakers* did not people their *Seigniories* with well-affected *English*, but sold them to *English Papists*, or otherwise to their Profit; nor fortified according to their Covenants; nor forbore encroaching upon the Lands of the loyal and protected *Irish* (as the Crown on the other Side fail'd of maintaining certain Forces promis'd for their Security from fresh Invasions;) yet I meet with none of those Irregularities objected to *Ralegh*; on the contrary, that he peopled his Plantation unexceptionably; that he kept the said Estate to the latter End of the Queen's Reign, and then sold it to *Richard Boyle*, afterwards the famous Earl of *Cork*, as, in a Memorial of his own Life, the said Earl has related. But as capacious as this Benefit seemed, it was rather expensive perhaps at first, than profitable to him.

For Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who, at his Departure from *Virginia*, had promised the Colony he left behind to return punctually with Supplies by the following *Easter* at furthest, was not altogether so expeditious as they expected; probably through some Difficulties attending the Charge thereof, which *Ralegh's* new Undertaking of planting also that Seigniory might probably render more burdensome. *Greenvil* brought over Letters from Governor *Lane* to a very worthy Encourager of all naval Adventurers; describing the Commodities and Fertility of the Country they were about to cultivate and civilize; the said Governor also drew up Notes while he was there, which he afterwards methodized into a Discourse of two Parts, displaying the Particularities of the Country of *Virginia*, and the Reasons which moved their Departure from thence into England. In this Discourse we learn, that their Discovery for Sir *Walter Ralagh* had extended from *Roanoak* southward, as far as *Secotum*, aboyt eighty Miles;

Miles ; Northward as far as the *Chesepians*, being a hundred and thirty Miles more ; and to the North west, as far as *Chawanook*, a hundred and thirty Miles ; and further mentions many Towns about the Water-side, discovered by the Way. It also informs us of his Enquiries after a Fishery and Traffick for Pearl in those Parts ; besides a Mine of strange Metal like Copper, but paler and softer ; moreover, of the taking Prince *Skyco* Prisoner ; and after the Death of *Granganimeo* aforesaid, how his Brother King *Wingina* changed his Name, and plotted an Insurrection against the *English* ; for which he lost his Life ; while another King called *Okisco*, sent to pay Homage and acknowledge Subjection to the grand *Weroanza*, or Queen of *England* ; and after her, to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Lastly, the Arrival of Sir *Francis Drake* about the 10th of June 1586 ; who, returning from his prosperous Conquest of *St. Domingo*, *Cartagena*, and *St. Augustine*, determined, in his Way homeward, to visit his Friend's Colony in *Virginia*. They had despairs of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s Promise ; and the rather, because of the Preparations then making for *Flanders*, and other Parts of *America*. Their Corn was indeed within a Fortnight of inviting the Sickle ; but they were in Need of many other Provisions. Hereupon *Drake* readily proffer'd them all Manner of Supplies, by Victuals, Men, Ammunition, and Ships, to carry on and compleat their worthy Undertaking. The Governor desired only a Ship, and so much Provision as about *August* would carry him and his Company to *England*, which *Drake* granted in full Sufficiency ; besides Pinnaces, Boats, and two experienced Masters or Pilots, to abide with them, and apply themselves earnestly in the Action. All this was performed in two Days. On the next Day,

while

while some were writing Letters into *England*, and others relating their Adventures to each other, some at Sea, some on Shore, there arose a most violent Tempest, which lasted three Days; drove most of the Fleet from their Anchors away to Sea, and in them the Provisions and Masters aforesaid, with the chief of the *English* Colony; who they saw no more till they met in *England*. Then *Drake* proffer'd them another Ship; but the rest of the Colony, who were left behind, all begg'd to go for *England*; to which *Drake* consenting, took them aboard on the 19th of *July*, and set Sail. Sir *Walter Ralegh* had in the mean Time provided a Ship of a hundred Ton, freighted with all Kind of Provisions in a most plentiful Manner, for the Relief of this Colony; but not sailing till after *Easter*, the said Colony was newly departed before this fresh Supply arrived at *Virginia*. After some Time spent upon the Country, in seeking the Colony and not finding it, they returned with all the Provision aforesaid into *England*. About a Fortnight after, Sir *Richard Greenvil* arrived at *Virginia* with three Ships more, well stored for the same Company of Planters; but he, after much Search, missing also of them and of the aforesaid Ship, left fifteen Men at *Roanoak* with Plenty of Supplies, and made for *England*; and not without some Conquests over the Spaniards at the *Azores* in his Return. And indeed *Ralegh* was also about this very Time victorious at the same Place; for, when he sent the aforesaid Ship to relieve the Colony, or soon after, he dispatched two more, named the *Serpent* and *Mary-Spark*, both of them his own, to the *Azores* against the Spaniards, under the Conduct of Captain *Jacob Whiddon*, *John Evesham*, and others. They departed from *Plymouth* on the 10th of *June* aforesaid, and took more *Spanish* Prizes than they could

could bring home. In one of them was the Governor of St. Michael's Island; in another, which they took near the Isle of Graciosa, was the famous *Pedro de Sarmiento*, Governor of the Streights of Magellan; who was the furthest and most experienced Navigator in all Spain. * They took also three other Vessels, but turned two adrift, after having taken out of them what they wanted; because they could not spare Hands to man them; and after a Fight for thirty-two Hours with two great Carracks, and the other Guard-ships of twenty Sail more, richly laden, they gave over for Want of Powder, and returned safe to Plymouth, where they were received with triumphant Joy; then proceeding to Southampton, they were met by their Owner Sir *Walter Ralegh*; who rewarded them with their Shares, out of the Merchandize, and other Commodities of Value, which in those three Prizes were thus taken from the Enemy. Not long after this, there was another Voyage set out, the same Year, by the Earl of Cumberland to the South-Sea, but performed no further than the Latitude of forty-four Degrees to the South of the Equinoctial, in which as Sir *Walter Ralegh* was also an Adventurer, his fine Pinnace, named *Dorothy*, being engaged therein, and some small

* While this *Sarmiento* was *Ralegh's* Prisoner in *England*, they were one Day surveying a Map together, concerning which *Sarmiento* told him a pleasant Story of the Painter's Wives Island; which *Ralegh*, afterwards, ingeniously applied; where he compares the Liberties of local and historical Fiction, of such as *Geographers* make, in filling up the blank Spaces of their *Maps* with Lands of *Pigmeys*, and Rocks of Load-stone; to those of *Historians*, in repairing the broken Accounts of past Ages; yet concludes, with an encouraging Difference, against the ignorant Describers of remote Places, in Favour of liberal Conjecture, to enlighten the Obscurities of antient Times. See the *History of the World*, Lib. 2. Cap. 23. Sec. 4.

Prizes also being taken, he had, no Doubt, his Proportion in the Profits that arose from them.

But to return to the *Virginian Colony*; it arrived at *Plymouth* on the 27th of *July* following. *Camden* has remember'd, that by this Colony of *Ralegh's*, and in those Ships of *Drake's*, the famous *American Plant* called *TOBACCO* was first brought into *England*, by or under Governor *Lane*, doubtless according to the Instructions they had received of their Proprietor; for the Introduction among us of that Commodity, is generally ascribed to *Ralegh* himself. There are some pleasant Stories of this Plant, with Relation to him, which have been as carefully preserved as the Box he kept it in. + But the Tradition of *Ralegh's smoaking Tobacco at first privately in his Study, and of the Servant, who used to wait on him there, surprising him one Time with his Tankard of Ale and Nutmeg as he was intent upon his Book, before he had done his Pipe; and seeing the Smoke reeking out of his Mouth, threw all the Ale in his Face, then running down Stairs alarmed the Family with repeated Exclamations, that*

+ Being at *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*, soon after Mr. *Ralph Thoresby* the Antiquary died, *Anno 1725*. I saw his *Musæum*; and in it, among his other Rarities, what himself has publickly call'd (in the Catalogue thereof, annex'd to his 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; 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 Receiver at Top, to 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. This travelling Box, with the Manuscripts, Medals, and other Rarities in its Company, descending to a young Clergyman, the Son of the deceased, was soon after reported to have been translated to *London*.

his Master was on Fire, and before they could get up would be burnt to Ashes. This I say, if true, has nothing in it of more surprising or unparalleled Simplicity, than there was in that poor *Norwegian*, who upon the first Sight of *Roses* could not be induced to touch, tho' he saw them grow, being so amazed to behold Trees budding with Fire: Or, to come closer by Way of Retaliation, than there was in those *Virginians* themselves, who, the first Time they seized upon a Quantity of Gunpowder which belonged to the *English* Colony, sowed it for Grain, or the Seed of some strange Vegetable in the Earth, with full Expectation of reaping a plentiful Crop of Combustion by the next Harvest to scatter their Enemies.

But passing over these Tales; as *Ralegh* was the first, who brought this Herb in Request among us, and laid the Foundation for that great Traffick therewith, which has been of such considerable Benefit to his Country; there is no less Honour due to him than has been conferred on that Ambassador, who had before brought it out of *Portugal* into *France*; where, in mentioning the Herb, they pay grateful Acknowledgments to the Importer, by calling it *Nicotiana*, after his own Name: Nay, his politick Sovereign *Catherine de Medicis*, did so zealously encourage the Use of it, that it was also afterwards in Honour of her called the *Queen's Herb*. Nor was the Queen of *England* backward in listening to, and promoting the Advantages it was promised to produce. We may gather from some Authors, that she was very curious to know its Virtues and Properties; and that once conversing with *Ralegh* upon this Subject, *He assured her Majesty he had so well experienced the Nature of it, that he could tell her of what Weight, even 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 Ballance, 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 further 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. Whether those two Queens did ever recommend the Use of this Herb by their own Example, we are not certain; but it is evident, it soon became of such Vogue in Queen Elizabeth's Court, that some of the great Ladies, as well as Noblemen therein, would not scruple to take a Pipe sometimes very sociably; however, it was such an Abomination to the refined Palate of her Scotch Successor, that he not only refused the Use of it himself, but endeavoured to rob his Crown of what has since proved one of its greatest Revenues,* by restraining his Subjects

* An Author of Experience has lately informed us; 'That the Benefit of this Vegetable to Great Britain is prodigious, if we consider the short Time since it was first introduced into England by Sir Walter Ralegh. 'Tis now become, says he, the Staple of two of his Majesty's Colonies, inhabited by half a Million of People; many of whom could hardly support themselves at Home; yet there they live in great Splendor and Ease; having sumptuous Buildings, rich Equipages, Slaves and other Attendance. According to the exactest Computation that has been made on this Branch of our Trade, about 430 Sail of Ships, with above 5000 Seamen, have been employed in one Year to bring over about 75000 Hogsheads of Tobacco from Virginia and Maryland; the Freight of which, at 8*l.* per Ton (a Medium in Times of Peace) amounts to

jects also from it. Indeed it is not to be wonder'd that such a Philosopher, as could magnify the Power of Witches, after the Manner he has done in one of his learned Pamphlets, should be such a Politician as to discourage the taking of Tobacco in another.* But those who have not ad-

* 150,000*l.* sterling; most of which Sum centers among ourselves, in the Payment of Sailors and Tradesmen, who live by Shipping; besides about 15*s.* per Hogshead, Custom-house Fees, Cooperage, Lighterage, Wharfage, Porterage, Cartage, Warehouse Rent, Brokerage, and other incident Charges. 'Tis further calculated, that out of the said 75000 Hogsheads imported, there are exported 46000 Hogsheads, containing 720*lb.* per Hogshead, at Fourpence per Pound on Board; which amounts to 552,000*l.* towards supporting the Ballance of Trade with foreign Nations." The same Author a little further observes, "as another great Benefit arising from this Vegetable, that the Produce is laid out in our *British* Manufactures, and exported to the *British* Colonies; which in one Year has amounted to 500,000*l.* (and would be much more, if proper Encouragement were given to manufacture it before Exportation) therefore it may be justly said, that Tobacco is become in few Years one of the most valuable Branches of Trade belonging to Great Britain." Thus far Mr. John Lacy, Tobacco-merchant, in his *Observations on the Nature, Use and Trade of Tobacco*. Folio, one Sheet, printed Mar. 1. 1733. Besides the Advantage this Vegetable is of to Trade, a large Revenue arises to the Crown by *Custom-duties on Tobacco*.—I have seen an Account, upon the Veracity whereof I can depend, by which it appears, the Money paid on this Article of Tobacco into his Majesty's Exchequer in the Year 1731, was 175,277*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* and that a Medium for seven Years past to that Time was 169,079*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*

* Entitled the *Counter-blast to Tobacco*, 4to. without Date. There is also extant King James's Warrant to the Lord-treasurer *Dorset*, Anno 1604, for laying a good heavy Imposition upon Tobacco, that less Quantity may be brought into the Realm, and only sufficient for the better Sort, who will use it with Moderation for their Health: Wherefore he authorises the said Treasurer to order, that from the 26th of October ensuing, the proper Officers should take, of all who import Tobacco, the Sum of six Shillings and eightpence upon every Pound Weight, over and above the Custom of Twopence per Pound, usually paid heretofore. *Rymer's Fœdera*, Tom. XVI. Fol. 60*1.*

mired at his Prejudice in this Attempt to dispel the Fumes of that Herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the witty Title of his Performance without Imputation of Irreverence to his Memory, may yet applaud his Policy, in so far conduced to its Suppression, as to exclude it from the Body of his Works, when this *Royal Pamphleteer* resolved to become an Author in Folio. As for the Uses and Virtues of this Plant; since so many learned Writers have given us whole Books upon them, I shall only here observe from the first Author among us, immediately upon his Return with the Colony aforesaid from *Virginia*, where he had been employed by *Ralegh* to survey the Country; that the Savages distinguished it by fowing apart from all other Vegetables, and held it of highest Estimation in all their Sacrifices by Fire, Water and Air, either for Thanksgiving to, or Pacification of their Gods. And as by sucking it through it through Pipes of Clay, they purged all gross Humours from the Head and Stomach, opened all the Pores and Passages of the Body, preserving it from Obstructions, or breaking them, whereby they notably preserved Health, and knew not many grievous Diseases wherewith we in *England* are often afflicted: So we ourselves, says he, during the Time we were there, used to suck it after their Manner, as also since our Return, and have found many rare and wonderful Experiments of its Virtues, whereof the Relation would require a Volume by itself, the Use of which by so many Men and Women of great Calling, as well as others, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient Witness.

The learned Author of this Account, Mr. Thomas Hariot, having further confuted the Calumnies, which had been raised of this new discovered Country, by the idle, ignorant and avaritious Part of the Colony

Colony lately returned from it, and given a faithful Relation of the merchantable Commodities, with those fit for Food or Building, and an Account of the Natures of the People, in three Parts, expresses himself towards the Conclusion of the whole in this Manner. *Seeing the Air there is so temperate and wholesome; the Soil so fertile, and yielding such Commodities, as I have beforementioned; the Voyage also to and fro sufficiently experienced to be performed twice a Year with Ease; and at any Season; and the Dealings of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberal in large giving and granting Lands there, as is already known, with many Helps and Furtherances else; the least that he hath granted, having been 500 Acres to a Man only for the Adventure of his Person: I hope there remains no Cause whereby the Action should be disliked.*

I remember to have met with a scarce old Tract in the Lambeth Library, written by a learned and ingenious Author of those Times; he adds: *Yet you, more respecting the good Ends whereunto you levelled your Line for the Good of your Country, did not give over 'till you had recovered a Land, and had made a Plantation of the People of your own English Nation in Virginia, the first English Colony that was ever planted there; not a little to the Derogation of the Spaniards Glory and Impeachment to their Vaunts, who, because, with all cruel Immunity, they subdued a naked and yielding People, whom they sought for Gain, and not for Religion or the Plantation of a Common-wealth, over whom, to satisfy their insatiable Covetousness, they did most cruelly tyrannise, and against the Course of all human Nature scorch and roast them to Death, as by their own Histories doth appear. These, I say, do brag and vaunt, that they only have drawn strange Nations and unknown People to the Obedience of their Kings, to the Knowledge*

ledge of Christianity, and to the enriching of their Country ; and thereby claim the Honour to themselves alone. But if these your Actions were well looked into and with due Consideration, it shall be found much more honourable in sundry Respects for the Advancement of the Name of God, the Honour of the Prince, and the Benefit of the Common-wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gain and reduce, in all Christian-like Manner, a lost People to the Knowledge of the Gospel and a true Christian Religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and sweet Sacrifice, and a more acceptable Service before God ? And what can be more honourable to Princes, than to enlarge the Bounds of their Kingdoms, without Injury, Wrong and Bloodshed, and to frame them from a savage Life to a civil Government, neither of which the Spaniards in their Conquests have performed ? And what can be more beneficial to a Common-wealth, than to have a Nation and a Kingdom to transfer unto, the superfluous Multitude of fruitless and idle People (here, at Home, daily increasing) to travel, conquer, and manure another Land, which, by the due Intercourses to be devised, may and will yield infinite Commodities ? And how well you do deserve every Way, in following so honourable a Course, not we ourselves only can witness, but strange Nations also do honour you for the same ; as doth appear by the Epistle of Bassimerus of France to the History of Florida, and by Julius Cæsar a Citizen of Rome, in his Epistle to his Book, intitled Columbeados. To this we may here add the Testimony of Camden ; who, speaking of this Undertaking of Virginia, at the Return of the last Colony sent thither by Sir Walter Ralegh, says, He was a Man never to be sufficiently commended for the great Pains he took in discovering remote Countries, and advancing the Glory of the English Navigation.

That

That *Baffimerus* was the learned *Martine Bassaniere* of *Paris*, as I find elsewhere, with whom *Richard Hakluyt*, the worthy Collector of our naval Adventures, being acquainted, and having procured a very valuable History in Manuscript of the first Discovery of *Florida* about 20 Years before this Time, by *Rene Laudonnier* and three other French Captains, he sent it over to that Monsieur *Bassaniere*, who published it from the said French Copy, this Year at *Paris*, and dedicated it as aforesaid to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who, as appears above, is therein celebrated, for I have not yet seen, though I have been promised, that original French Edition. But it was translated into English the Year following by *Richard Hakluyt* himself, who also dedicates it anew to the same Patron: And indeed we find *Ralegh* from this Time a very considerable Patron of learned and ingenious Authors, not only in History and Geography, but Antiquities, Chymistry, Poetry, and other polite Branches of Art and Science; for Admiral *Coligny* having sent over with the aforesaid Discoverers of *Florida*, a very skilful Artist from *France*, to take Draughts of whatever he found observable and worthy of Representation in the said Country: which he did, not only among the animal and vegetable Rarities thereof, but also, it seems, from the Customs of the Natives and historical Events among the Discoverers themselves: This Painter living afterwards in *London*, at, or before the Publication of those Discoveries; was supported by *Ralegh* in the great Expence of publishing also his Draughts and Descriptions. For *Hakluyt*, among other Reasons for not particularizing the Commodities of those Parts; the Accidents of the Frenchmens Government therein; the Causes of their good and bad Success; with the

the Surprises made by their Enemies, tells *Ralegh* he does not reckon them up again; *the rather*, because the same, with divers other Things of chiefeſt Importance, are lively drawn in Colours at your no ſmall Charges, by the ſkilful Painter James Morgues ſometime living in Black-Friars, London, whom Monsieur Chastillion, then Admiral of France, ſent thither (to Florida) with Laudoniere for that Purpose, which (Painter) was an Eye-witness of the Goodneſs and Fertility of thoſe Regions, and bath put down in Writing many Singularities, which are not mentioned in this Treatife; and which he bath ſince published together with the Portraitureſ. Hereunto we may further add, that there was about this Time alſo another Book dedicated to *Ralegh*, in Praise of Musick, wherein, beſides the Antiquity and Dignity thereof, is declared the sober and lawfull Uſe of the ſame in the Congregation and Church of God.

I apprehend, there was a greater Propriety in the Publisher's Choice of this Patron to that Work, than is now commonly known; for I have ſome-where met with Hints, that Sir Walter *Ralegh* was a great Proficient in Musick, either vocal, instru-mental, or both; whence we might be ſomewhat induced to conſtrue ſome Lines of Spenser's con-cerning him, hereafter quoted, in the literal Senſe.

About this Time it was, her Maſteſty conſered upon him ſome Preferments; but of Honour more than Profit perhaps to him: For Hooker in the Dedication of his *Irish History*, dated the 12th of October this Year, ſuperscribes it to the right wor-thy and honourable Gentleman, Sir Walter *Ralegh*, Knt. Seneschal of the Dutchies of Cornwall and Exe-ter, and Lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devon

and Cornwall.* To these Dignities I presume he was then but newly advanced, because the said Historian in the Body of the Dedication begs Leave to remember, *How it bath pleased God to bring you, says he, into the Favour of your Prince and Sovereign ; who, besides her great Favour towards you many Ways, bath also laid upon you the Charge of a Government in your own Country ; where you are to command many People by your honourable Office of the Stannary, and where you are both a Judge and a Chancellor to rule in Justice and to judge in Equity.*

How Ralegh used this Favour, and what Usage it also procured him, the same Dedication does somewhat further reveal in these Words. *It is well known, that it had been no less easy for you, than for such as have been advanced by Kings, to have builded great Houses, purchased large Circuits, and to have used the Fruits of Princes Favours, as most Men in all former and present Ages have done ; had you not preferred the general Honour and Commodity of your Prince and Country before all that is private ; whereby you have been rather a Servant than a Commander to your own Fortune.*

The Earl of Essex had now been near a Twelve-month abroad, under his Father-in-law, Leicester, Governor of the Netherlands ; was but nineteen Years of Age when he went over, being his first Engagement in any publick Action, yet no less than a General of the Horse ; and before that, as himself says, *he had small Grace, and few Friends at Court.* † So that it must be now after their Re-

* There is in Being an old Manuscript List of the Officers in Queen Elizabeth's Time and their Fees ; in which I find that, as Officer of the Coinage of Tin, and Steward of the Stannaries in the Dutchy of Cornwall, Sir Walter Ralegh's Fee was 53 l. 6 s. 8 d. Cotton. Libr.

† On the 8th of December 1585, the Earl of Leicester and his turn,

turn, that *Leicester* set him up a Competitor against *Ralegh*, as we are before informed out of Sir *Henry Wotton*. But *Leicester*, as great as his Power was, could no more bridle the licentious Reflections of the Populace than *Ralegh*; an Instance whereof we have from some antient Authority it seems, tho' in a modern Author, who speaking of *Tarleton*, the best Comedian of these Times in England, tells us, that when a pleasant Play he had made was acting before her Majesty, he 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

Train, with an Army of about 5000 Men, set out from *Harwich* in 50 Sail of Ships to his Government of the *Netherlands*, and it was committed as absolutely to him, as it had been to the Emperor *Charles V*. But at last the *Hollanders* growing jealous of his Authority, and complaining of certain Innovations, Factions and treacherous Commanders under him, he was recalled, and returned to *London* the 23d of November this following Year (soon after the Corpse of his much lamented Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney*) not without leaving behind a printed Vindication of himself in *Dutch*, now scarce to be found; and striking a Medal, representing his own Head on one Side, and seven unguarded straggling Sheep on the other. The Author of a brief Discourse of Dr. *Allen's* seditious Drifts, &c. 4to. 1588. p. 46. endeavours to clear the Earl's Conduct in that Government against the said Doctor; as *E. Cliffe*, in his Breviate of *Holland's* Deliverance and Ingratitude to the Crown of *England* and the House of *Nassau*, 4to. 1665. p. 55. does against *Vander Sande* and *Hugo Grotius*; especially the latter, who insinuates, as if the Earl, who died within two Years following, was poisoned by his Wife, because she soon after married again. I have read, this Earl's Effects were then seized upon by the Crown for Debt, and heard that an Inventory of them is in the Possession of Sir *John Evelyn*, Bart.

a seeming Unconcernedness ; but yet was so offended, that she forbade Tarleton and all her Festers from coming near her Table, being inwardly displeased with this impudent and unreasonable Liberty. Ralegh seems to have little regarded these Aspersions, but constantly attended his publick Charge and Employments, whether in Town or Country as Occasion called him. Accordingly we find him the latter End of this Year in Parliament, where, among other weighty Concerns, the Fate of *Mary Queen of Scots* was determined. There is nothing particular upon Record in the Journals of the House of Commons of Ralegh's Opinion in this Matter, nor indeed any Debates upon the Sentence that had been pronounced against that Queen. For on the 12th of November, a Petition agreed upon in both Houses was presented to Queen *Elizabeth*, by the Speaker *Puckering*, the Privy-council, and a Body of the Commons, joined with the Lord Chancellor *Bromley* and twenty other temporal Lords, for the speedy Execution of the said Queen of *Scots*, in Consideration of the treasonable and rebellious Practices wherewith she had been proved to endanger this Realm and its Ruler. The said Petition was immediately printed, and that Queen in less than three Months after executed. He was appointed one of the Committee to confer upon the Amendment of some Things, whereunto the Clergy were required to be sworn, and that some good Course might be taken to have a learned Ministry ; for the Queen had in her Speech at the Close of the last Sessions told the Bishops of some Faults and Negligences, which if you, my Lords of the Clergy, said she, do not amend, I mean to depose you.

Now Ralegh, resolving to persevere in planting his Country of *Virginia*, prepared a new Colony of one hundred and fifty Men to be sent thither, under

the Charge of Mr. *John White*, whom he appointed Governor, and with him twelve Assistants, to whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the Name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of *Ralegh* in *Virginia*. Their Fleet, consisting of three Sail, departed from *Portsmouth* on the 26th of *April*, 1587, and in less than three Months following arrived safe at *Hatorask*, from whence they went to the Isle of *Roanoak* to look for the fifteen Men left there by Sir *Richard Greenvil* the Year before, meaning from thence to pass to the Bay of *Chesepiock*, where they intended to make their Seat and Fort, according to the Charge given them by Sir *Walter Ralegh*. But when they came to the North part of the Island where Governor *Lane* had built his Fort, they found it razed, and the Ground-rooms of the Dwelling-houses, which had been also erected about it, inhabited by Deer, and overgrown with Melons, or such like Sort of Fruit, which those Animals broozed upon. At *Croatoan* they were very well received and entertained by the Natives, thro' the Means of *Manteo* their Countryman. Of these they learnt, that the *Englishmen* they were seeking, had been treacherously set upon by a Party of the Savages, who wounded some of them, and drove the rest to some remote and obscure Parts of the Country. On the 13th of *August*, their Friend *Manteo* was, according to the Commands of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, christned in *Roanoak*, and called Lord thereof, and of *Dasa-monguepeuk*, in Reward of his faithful Services. Three Days after, the Governor's Daughter *Eleanor*, Wife of *Ananias Dare*, one of the Assistants, was delivered of a Daughter in *Roanoak*; and the Infant was christned there the Sunday following, who, because she was the first *Creolian* or Christian born in that Country, was baptized by the Name of

of Virginia. Now having re-established their Interest and Alliance with the Natives, as far as this short Interview would permit, and delivered their Ships of the Provisions for the Colony, the Planters began to consider, they should be in Want of fresh Supplies; therefore upon some Difference about choosing a Factor to return for that Purpose into *England*, they unanimously petitioned the Governor to return himself, to which he at last consented, and the Ships with some few of the Company arrived in *England*, not without Storms, Sickness, and the Death of several of them by other like Casualties, about the latter End of the same Year.

It was but five Days after the going forth of this second Colony, that Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* dedicated his Translation of the Voyages to *Florida*, before mentioned, to the Right Honourable Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as he stiles him, Captain of her Majesty's Guard, Lord-warden of the Stannaries, and her Highness's Lieutenant-general of the County of *Cornwall*. In this Dedication it will somewhat appear, that neither the Returns, which might have been made by any merchantable Products in *Virginia*, nor the Profits arising to him from any *Spanish Prizes*, which had been taken at Sea, were equivalent to the great Expences he had been at, in settling this Plantation; and further, that he had received no particular or private Assistance in this Enterprize from the Queen, because his Hopes therein, and her Majesty's Regard thereof, are so handsomely excited by the said Author. † But

† Here this Author illustrates his Address by these Examples;
“ The Spaniards at their first Entrance into *Hispaniola*, found
“ neither Sugar-canæ nor Ginger growing there, nor any Kind
“ of our Cattle; but finding the Place fit for Pasture, they sent
“ Kine and Bulls, and sundry other profitable Beasts thither, and
“ transported the Plants of Sugar-canæ, and set the Roots of
Ginger;

But the Ships, in which this second Colony was transported, had not been many Days returned into *England*, before we find *Ralegh's* Thoughts diverted, for a while, from planting in a foreign Country, and engaged upon Schemes of displanting rather those powerful Enemies who were preparing to root themselves in his own. For the Rumour grew stronger every Day of such a mighty Fleet threatening us, as if all *Spain* and *Rome* were to land upon our little Island, and over-run the whole Kingdom. The Queen and her Privy-council therefore no longer delayed all proper Means for the Defence of the Realm; but out of all her Commanders by Land and Sea appointed those of most approved Abilities in naval and military Affairs, as well as of the greatest Authority in their respective Counties, to hold Consultations for the Security of her Person, her People, and their Possessions. And as there were such Consultations distinctly held by the most ancient and experienced Commanders at Sea; so we find by the like Appointment a Council of War also held on the 27th of November this Year, by others of highest Repute for their Knowledge, how to put the Forces of the Realm in the best Order, to withstand any Invasion by Land. For this Purpose were chosen the Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir Thomas Leigh-

"Ginger; the Hides of which Oxen, with the Sugar and Ginger, are now the chief Merchandise of that Island. The Portugals also at their first Footing in Madera, as John Barras writes in his first *Decade*, found nothing there but mighty Woods for Timber, whereupon they called the Island by that Name: howbeit, the Clime being favourable, they enriched it by their own Industry, with the best Wines and Sugars in the World. The like Manner of Proceeding they used in the Isles of the Azores, by sowing therein great Quantity of Woad. So they dealt in St. Thomas under the Equinoctial; and in Brasile, and in sundry other Places.

ton,

ton, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Greenvil, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and Ralph Lane, Esq; Of their Determinations in this important Council I have a Manuscript drawn up perhaps by Sir Walter Ralegh himself ; the said Draught being annexed to another Manuscript now before me, which was apparently of his composing.

Besides this grand Scheme for the Safeguard of the Kingdom in general, *Ralegh* seems to have had some special Regard to several particular Places. For there has been found among the Lord Burghley's Papers, *a Remembrance for the Lord-treasurer*, touching the Request of Sir W. R. dated it seems this Year ; which makes Request for five Pieces of Brass Cannon lying at *Woolwich* ; also for Letters to the Marquis of *Winchester*, Lieutenant of *Dorsetshire*, for a hundred Men and Arms to defend the Castle and Island of *Portland*, with a Supply of Powder, there being but one *last*. Further, for Removal of the unserviceable Ordnance there to *London* ; and that the Lord Marquis would give Order for his said hundred Men, by his Commission directed to the Lieutenant of *Portland* ; and he will undertake to collect Men of Sufficiency, not of the trained Number. Lastly, for his Lordship's good Remembrance for the Towns of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*. From whence my Author is not only inclined to believe this Paper was sent by Sir Walter Ralegh, but that he was now Governor of *Portland Castle*, and had those Towns under his Care. We may indeed hence believe this Paper was written by him ; and that he not only took those Places, but several others, under his Consideration, that they might be put in the best State of Defence ; but that he was now Governor of *Portland Castle*, or limited to the Defence

of that Place at the Time of the Invasion, as might be imply'd from my Author, seems not very consistent with his Lieutenancy in the West.

But as much engaged as *Ralegh* seems at this Time to have been for the Safety of the Kingdom, he found some Interval to consider also upon Means for the Relief of his Colony; for after Governor *White* returned, and had delivered him his Letters, with other Advertisements concerning his late Voyage, and the State of the Planters in *Virginia*, *Ralegh* immedately appointed a Pinnace to be sent hither, with all such Provisions as he apprehended they might want; and also wrote Letters to them, promising that he would prepare a good Supply of Shipping and Men, with all other Necessaries, to be with them the Summer following. This Pinnace and Fleet he accordingly prepared at *Bideford* in the West of *England*, under the Command of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and all Things being now ready, they waited only for a fair Wind. In the mean Time, the Alarm so increas'd throughout all *England*, of that vast and formidable Armament made by the King of *Spain*, under the Sanction of the Pope's *Crusado*; for the Invasion and Conquest of the whole Island; that most of the Ships of War then in any Readiness, received Orders from the State to attend in their Harbours for the Defence of their own Country; and Sir *Richard Greenvil* was personally commanded not to depart out of *Cornwall*. Governor *White* nevertheless labour'd earnestly for the Relief of the Colony, that he obtain'd two small Pinnaces, called the *Brave* and the *Roe*, wherein fifteen Planters, and all convenient Provisions for those who winter'd in the Country, were transported; but the Names of the Captains who commanded those Vessels are not remember'd. On the 22d of April 1588, they put

over the Bar at *Biddeford*, and the same Night came to Anchor at the Isle of *Lundy*; but the Company minding more to make a gainful Voyage than a safe one, run in Chase of Prizes; 'till at last one of them was met with by a Couple of strong Men of War of *Rochelle*, about 50 Leagues to the North East of *Madera*; where, after a bloody Fight, the *English* were beaten, boarded and rifled. But it observable, the *French* Men were so immoderate in possessing themselves of their Spoil, that, by over loading the Boats with the Freight of the *English* Ships, they sunk what they were too eager to share. In this maimed, ransacked and ragged Condition the said Ship returned to *England* in a Month Time; and about three Weeks after returned to the other, having perhaps tasted of the same Fare; least without performing the intended Voyage; the Distress of the Planters abroad, and Displeasure of their Patron at home.

In the mean Time the King of *France* sent Queen *Elizabeth* a Message, assuring her, that the Tempest, which had been gathering in *Spain* for three Years, would certainly break very speedily upon her Kingdom; therefore advised her to make the best Preparation she could for its Defence. Nor did the King of *Spain* keep it now any longer a Secret, having this Year, published at *Lisbon* an ample and ostentatious Account of this *Invincible Armada*, as the *Spaniards* themselves had called it wherein it appears the whole Fleet consisted of 130 or, according to Sir *Walter Ralegh* and *Hugo Grotius*, 140 Sail; some few Tenders, or others, joining them by the Way, not being perhaps in the *Spanish* List reckoned: Carrying, by the Generality of Accounts, above 2600 Pieces of Brass and Iron Ordnance; near 19000 Soldiers; between 8 and 9000 Sailors, besides Officers, Priests, Galley

ley-slaves, Servants, and other Attendants ; amounting in all to about 30,000 Persons ; or, according to the Confession of *Don Diego Piementelli*, one of their own Commanders, who was driven into Zealand, the whole Fleet, Army, &c. were no less than 32000 Men ; and cost the King of Spain 30,000 Ducats every Day. The General of this mighty Navy was the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Knight of the golden Fleece ; and *John Martines de Ricalde* was chief Admiral. In Flanders the Prince of *Parma* was also making great Preparations to join this *Armada* ; had gathered up an Army consisting of more than 100, some say 200 Companies of Foot, and 4000 Horse ; and was very busy in making Rafts, Ferry-boats, floating Bridges, Portcullices, Gabions, and what not ? Nor were they idle in *England* ; for how well the Directions of the Council of War aforesaid were put in Execution, and how far *Ralegh* may be presumed to have been engaged among the most indefatigable in this Service, is to be inferr'd from the Words of that Author, who says, *In a very short Time the whole Kingdom and every Corner were speedily furnished with armed People on Horseback and on Foot ; and those continually trained, exercised, and put into Bands in such warlike Manner, as in no Age ever was before in this Realm.* And a little further, *That all concurred in one Mind, to be in Readiness to serve for the Realm ; and some one Country was able to make a sufficient Army of 20,000 Men fit to fight, and 15000 of them well armed and weaponed : And in some Countries the Number of 40,000 able Men : That the maritime Countries from Cornwall all along southward to Kent, and from thence Eastward to Lincolnshire, were so furnished with Soldiers, both of themselves, and with Resort from their next Shires, as there was no Place to be doubted for landing of any*

foreign Forces, but there were within 48 Hours to come to the Place above 20,000 fighting Men on Horseback and on Foot, with all Manner of Ammunition, Provision, and Carriages, under the principal Nobles of the Countries, and Captains of the greatest Knowledge. Besides these Armies for the maritime Countries, the City of *London* exercised before the Queen 10,000 Men, and had several Thousands more in Readiness; that there was also two great Armies raised, whereof one were encamped at *Tilbury* in *Essex*, between the City and the Mouth of the *Thames*, consisting of 22000 Foot and 1000 Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Leicester*.

The Queen review'd this Camp several Times, din'd, made Orations in it, and lodged in the Borders of it. The other Army, consisting of 34000 Foot and 2000 Horse, commanded by the Lord *Hunsdon*, was planted about the Queen's own Person.* And it encreas'd daily by the several Bands and Troops, which were led from the inland Countries by such Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, as had no special Charge or Government in their respective Counties; while the young Earl of *Essex*, and others among them, entertain'd her Majesty with Tiltings and Tourneys, Barriers, Mock-fights, and such-like Arts, as in publick are wont to render Men popular. † But the Lieutenants of

the

* But six Years before this Occasion of rais'ing the military Strength of *England*, according to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, there were, upon a general View and Mustre, found in the Kingdom, of all Men fit to bear Arms, 117200. See his *Select Essays and Observations* 8vo. 1650, in his Discourse of the Invention of Shipping. p. 27.

† The Earl of *Essex* was now Master of the Queen's Hoise. See the Letter to *Mendoza* aforesaid, p. 25. In which Sir *Henry Wotton* agrees, who makes this further Observation :

" This

the maritime Counties were otherwise employ'd. And as the Earl of Pembroke had been assiduous in levying the Forces of Wilts and Somersetshire, and the Earl of Bath those of Devonshire; so Raleigh seems to have been no less forward and industrious in raising and reducing those of Cornwall to the best Order and Discipline for the Service of his Country, against the common Enemy; notwithstanding what he might have done, as has been said before, at Portland: And, like the rest of the Lords-Lieutenant, to have sent up constantly his Certificates to the Queen of the Numbers that were assembled; the Posture they were in; the Provisions they were supply'd with; or those whereof they stood in need.

But notwithstanding all these Land-Preparations, which moved some speculative Warriors at Court to think a Sea-force unnecessary, as if the English were sufficient to cut the Spaniards to Pieces in landing, or when they were ashore, and run away with their Ships at the same Time; Sir Walter Raleigh knew better what another Kingdom might do, even against England, by the Advantage of a Fleet, if we have none; no Man having so solidly resolv'd as himself that weighty Question, whether England, without the Help of a Fleet, is able to debar an Enemy from landing? He knew that Ships, without putting themselves out of Breath, will easily out-run the Soldiers that coast them: He

" This Service at Tilbury Camp was, in my Judgment (says he)
 " the very Poison of all that followed; for there, while the
 " Queen stood in some doubt of the Spanish Invasion, she made
 " him in Field, Commander of the Cavalry, as he was before
 " in Court, and much graced him openly in View of the Sol-
 " diers and People, even above my Lord of Leicester: The
 " Truth is, from thenceforth, he fed too fast." Parallel be-
 " between Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, and George Villiers
 Duke of Buckingham.

knew

knew that a Fleet after Sun-set may be seen at the *Lizard*, and by the next Morning at *Portland*, which an Army should be six Days in marching; and consequently, that the Sailor may chuse his Landing-place, where there are no Soldiers that can oppose him: And even supposing an Invader should offer to land near where our greatest Army was ready to receive him, *Ralegh* doubted, when the Choice of all our Train'd-Bands and of Officers were drawn together, as at *Tilbury*, to attend the Person of the Queen, and to defend the City of *London*, whether those that should remain to guard the Coast could be of any such Force as to encounter an Army like that which the Prince of *Parma* should have landed in *England*.

By Sea therefore all possible Defence was likewise made, and the chief Command was very properly conferr'd on the Lord-admiral *Howard*, who, hearing the *Invincible Armada* was upon the Point of hoisting Sail, sent Sir *Francis Drake*, his Vice-admiral, with fifty-six Ships well appointed, to the Western-parts, and himself arrived there on the 23d of *May* with others, which made up the Fleet about a hundred Sail; while the Lord *Henry Seymer* was sent to lie with forty *English* and *Dutch* Saips (according to *Camden*) between *Dover* and *Calais* to intercept the Prince of *Parma*. * The

Invincible

* *Michael Castelnau*, who was Ambassador here many Years, and who has given the most noble and ingenuous Character of the Queen, in his *Memoirs*, of any Foreigner I have met with that knew her, observes that she buit a noble Fleet, the Bulwark of her Kingdom, and launch'd a large Man of War every second Year. But by that long List of the *English* Navy (which this Year opposed the *Spanish* Armada) among the MSS. in the Royal Library 14. B. XIII, lately printed by Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Naval Expeditions*, Fol. 238. it appears there were very few Ships of that Burden among them. For tho' that List raises their

Invincible Armada loosed Anchor from *Lisbon* four Days before ; but met with such Storms, Sickness, and other Disasters, that the Lord-admiral put forth towards *Spain*, in Hopes of surprising them in their Distress ; till more maturely considering they might pass by undiscover'd, he return'd to *Plymouth*, and suffer'd his Men to relieve themselves on Shore. The Queen had received such Assurance they were so disabled from coming this Year by that Storm, that she made Secretary *Walsingham* send for four of her first-rate Ships to be brought home to *Chatham*. But their Return was prevented by the Intelligence which Captain *Thomas Fleming* brought into the Harbour on the 19th of July, that he had discovered the Enemy approaching from the *Lizard-Point* in *Cornwal*. The Captains and Commanders were then it seems at Bowls upon the *Hoe* at *Plymouth*; and the Tradition goes, that *Drake* would needs see the Game up, but was soon prevailed on to go and play out the Rubbers with the *Spaniards*. All Hands were now at Work to warp out the Ships, which, with the admirable Industry of the Seamen, was very speedily perform'd, the Wind blowing stiffly into the Haven from the South-west. The Lord-admiral, with the few he could then get ready, lay all Night in the Road. Next Day about fifty or threescore more join'd him, and at Noon they ken'd the *Spanish* Fleet; some with lofty Turrets and Decks rear'd one above another; and others rowed along with two or three hundred Oars a-piece; all advancing with their *Spanish* Gravity, the

their Number beyond all other Accounts, to 197 Sail (manifestly omitting some which were there, and probably admitting several which were not;) yet there are not above six Ships among them mentioned to be of 500 Ton, and not above seven of greater Burden.

Wind being abated, in a semicircular Order ; and extended seven Miles from End to End. The *English* suffered them all to pass by, so got the Advantage of the Wind, when they began to chase them in the Rear ; nor did the *Spaniards* offer to land at *Plymouth*, their Commission being to join the Prince of *Parma*, and sail directly to *London*. The next Day, which was the 21st of *July*, the Lord-admiral sent out a Pinnace call'd the *Defiance*, and begun the Fight. This, I take it, was near the *Eddystone* ; for there we have Account of the first Conflict, and of the first *Spanish* Ship that was taken or sunk. Then the Lord-admiral in the *Ark-Royal*, *Drake* in the *Revenge*, with *Hawkins*, *Frobisher*, and others, having thunder'd thick upon the Enemy for two Hours together, withdrew, 40 of their Ships not being yet come up. In this Engagement the *Spaniards*, by endeavouring to circle in and shelter one of their disabled Galleons, she had her Foremast broken, and was left behind, which *Drake* took the next Day, with *Don Pedro de Valdez* and other Nobles in her, besides 55000 Ducats, which were shared among his Sailors. Immediately after, another of their greatest Ships was set on Fire, with all the People in her, and yet the Powder escaped. But how the Lord-Admiral, all the first Night, followed the *Spanish* Lantern, instead of *Drake's* into their Fleet, while *Drake* at the same Time was making another mistaken Pursuit ; and how the *Ark Royal* followed the *Spanish* Fleet also the second Night, so far, almost alone, that it was the Afternoon following before the *English* Fleet overtook her, with other Particulars ; I leave to the more ample Accounts of this Engagement, that I may attend the Motions of Sir *Walter Ralegh* ; who, from being at first the nearest, now growing impatient at being the most remote from the

the Enemy, appears to have committed his Charge by Land to proper Officers, or detached Part thereof to march up nearer the *Spaniards*, and with a gallant Company of Nobles and Gentlemen, in several Ships to have join'd the *English* Fleet; that is to say, on the 23d of July, when the *Spanish* Fleet was advanced over against *Portland*; where, this whole Day being one continued Engagement from Morning till Night, it proved the most general and bloody Fight of any between them in the *British* Channel; and here, after the taking of a great *Venetian* Ship, and others of lesser Bulk, the *Spaniards* were driven from all Intention of assaulting the *English*, till they had joined the Prince of *Parma*; for during this Fight the English Navy increas'd; whereunto, out of all Havens of the Realm resorted Ships and Men; for they all with one Accord came flocking thither (*to Portland*) as unto a set Field where immortal Fame and Glory was to be attained, and faithful Service to be performed unto their Prince and Country. In which Number having mentioned the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*; he also names Sir *Walter Raleigh*, among the foremost of near 20 other Knights and Gentlemen, whereby the *English* Ships were augmented to 100 Sail; and doubtless by some of those *Camden* mention'd to have been left behind in *Plymouth-Sound*, with which *Raleigh* very probably advanced.* These, ever asunder, and always in Motion, were on every side useful to annoy the Enemy; now presenting a broad-side, and sheer-

* What further persuades me to believe *Raleigh* entered the Fleet at this Place and Time is, my having met with a certain foreign History, hereafter mentioned, which had been his own Book, and wherein he has with his own Hand corrected other Passages relating to himself; but has let this of his joining the Fleet, as above, pass uncontradicted.

ing off ; then tacking about and discharging the other ; in such sort, that Sir *Henry Wotton* call'd it a *Morrice-dance* upon the * Waters, while the sluggish and unwieldy Castles of the Enemy cluster'd and hamper'd together, could only offer Offence from one disabled side ; and that, when they had done, flew over the *English Men's Heads*. *Camden* tells us, that in this Day's Engagement, the Lord-admiral was advised by some of his Officers, with more Heat than Discretion, to grapple with and board the Enemy. Now *Ralegh*, having made some excellent Animadversions upon this very Circumstance, goes nigh to prove out of his own Words, that he was not only in this Day's Engagement ; but that the Counsel he might thence appear to have given, did greatly contribute to the Success of it. He has shewn how well he knew, that in such Case the advantage of Weapons would be likeliest to carry it, whereof the Enemy was provided with far the greatest Number ; also, that in such close Fight, how liable the lesser Ships were to be crush'd by the greater ; that these by their very Height must have further Advantage over those that endeavour'd to board them from below ; and lastly, in these of more bulk and breadth being also more firm and more steady, those who could best keep their Feet would probably be best able to use their Hands.

Next Day the *Spaniards* were glad to lie by, and the *English* no less pleased with the Ceſſation, that they might take the Opportunity of ſending to Shore for a Recruit of Ammunition ; and this, being a Circumſtance taken Notice of alſo by *Ralegh* himſelf, further confirms his having been now

* His Parallel between *Robert Earl of Essex* and *George Duke of Buckingham*, beforementioned.

among them. The 25th of July, the English had another sharp Battel with the Spanish Admiral, and the three great Galleasses at the Isle of *Wight*, in which *Cambden* mentions the taking of a Portuguese Galleon, and that from this Time the Galleasses durst not venture upon any new Engagement, but closing themselves up again in a Rundel as they called it, made the best of their Way to tell the Prince of *Parma* how they had been served. The English Fleet followed and kept playing upon their Rear all the next Day, having determined to forbear any closer Engagement 'till they came to the British Frith, or Streights of *Calais*, where the Lord *Seymer* expected their Arrival. But so far was this Invincible Armada from alarming the Sea-coasts, says *Camden*, that the English Gentry of the younger Sort entered themselves Volunteers, and, leaving their Friends and Families, did with incredible Cheerfulness hire Ships at their own Charge, and in pure Love to their Country joined the grand Fleet in vast Numbers. And here *Camden* names those Nobles and some of those Gentlemen, with *Ralegh* among them, which composed the Squadron before-mention'd, as if it entered but now from *Dover*, or some of those Ports; not that he confines their Entrance to this Day, otherwise than naming them under it, or any other Way suggests, they did not join the grand Fleet three Days before; but seems, by remembering them in this Place, to have believed, they were most conspicuous or in greatest Number at this Time, unless he postponed the Mention of them to a Day, that was least throng'd with Circumstances of Action. Indeed, that this noble Squadron of Volunteers was united to the Queen's Navy, when such valiant Services were performed against the *Spaniards* in the great Fight before *Calais*, another Writer also, greatly to their Com-

mendation agrees; but neither is he so expressive as to satisfy us it was the first Appearance they made, and that they were not before at *Portland*. For, having mentioned the Earls of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and other Gentlemen of Distinction, who without any Charge or Knowledge of the Queen, joined the Fleet before *Calais*, and ventured their Lives in the said Engagement; he goes on to observe, how earnest all Ranks and Degrees were; by instancing also, that the Earl of Oxford, one of the most ancient Nobles in this Land, went to Sea, and served the Queen among them, as did Robert Cecil, Lord Dudley and Sir Walter Ralegh, a Gentleman of the Queen's Privy Chamber, says he, and in his Company a great Number of young Gentlemen, among whom were William Cecil, Edward Darcie, and Arthur Gorge, the same Persons mentioned with others by *Camden*, and also in larger Number by the Dutch Historian above quoted, three Days before. *With the Recital of whom, I only shew you* (continues my last Author, the Letter-writer) *how far we have been deceived to think, that we should have had a Party here for us, when, as you behold, both by Land and Sea, all Sorts of Men were so ready, at their own Charges, without either Commandment or Entertainment, to adventure also their Lives in Defence of the Queen and the Realm.* From hence it appears, this Squadron must have also been at the final Overthrow of the Spanish Armada, which on the 27th of July in the Evening anchored before *Calais*, intending to hold on for *Dunkirk*, in Expectation of the Prince of *Parma*, who was always preparing but never ready, and, the English following, anchor'd also within Culvering Shot of them. Here the Lord Seymer join'd the English; and then the Lord-Admiral's Fleet was increased to a hundred and forty Sail, says

Camden; wherein he both exactly agrees with the Augmentation thereof at *Portland* by these Volunteers, as we have it from the *Dutch* Historian there quoted; and also excludes all intermediate Addition, of Ships at least, by the Number himself has before given us of the Lord *Seymer's* Squadron. Next Day the *English* resolv'd, according to the Queen's Directions, upon the Stratagem of the Fireships to burn or disperse the *Spanish* Navy; and the same was put in Practice at or soon after Midnight, so successfully, that the Enemy, cutting their Cables with the utmost Horror and Precipitancy, were, some scatter'd by the Wind, some fell foul of each other, and others struck upon the Sands; the *English* chasing and thundering upon them from all Quarters; then was a great Galleass taken by Captain *Preston*, its Commander *Moncada* slain, and a Booty of near as much Gold fell to the Conquerors as was taken in another before-mentioned.* On the 29th of July the *Spaniards* ranged themselves into the best Order they could within Sight of *Graveling*; hither the *English* Fleet also pursued them,

* 'It was affirmed by Men of great Judgment in *Calais*, that never was seen by any Man living such a Battery; so great for Number, so furious, and of so long Continuance, as the *English* made against the *Spanish*: *Calais* saw the *Spanish* Navy first driven from their Anchors with Fire; they saw the greatest Galleass of the *Spanish*, whereof was Commander that worthy Nobleman *Moncada*, spoiled, and himself slain in it by the *English*: *Calais* saw the next Day, that the *English* fought and beat the *Armada* from eight o'Clock in the Morning 'till four in the Afternoon without ceasing: *Calais* saw the *Spanish* hoist up all their Sails and fly as fast as the Wind could drive, and the *English* pursue them: Yet *Calais* saw a sufficient Navy of *England* left before *Dunkirk*, able to master all the Shipping that the Duke of *Parma* had provided.' Thus in a scarce old Tract in the *Harleyan Library*, B. H. called, *A Pack of Spanish Lies*, first printed in Spain, translated, and now ripped up, unfolded and condemn'd, 4to. 1588. p. 6.

and

and here the Spaniards received their last fatal Adieu, by incessant and numberless Damages from the English Cannon the greatest Part of the Day, till their Galleons, Galleasses, Gallies, Ursas, and Zbras were so miserably shatter'd, having their Hulls pierced through and through, their Oars and Rudders cut away, their Tackling all rent, and their Masts broken, that some were deserted as unserviceable, some sunk with the Crew that was in them, and others retiring upon the neighbouring Coasts were seized and plundered by the Inhabitants : While those, that had the Ability left them, most prudently employ'd it in running away. The English still followed them into the Northern Seas, even beyond the Latitude of 57 Degrees, and, leaving them past all Thoughts of the Prince of Parma, return'd on the 4th of August ; when the violent Storms that arose resumed their Cause, and compleated their Victory ; for, by the Tempests, Shipwrecks, Sickness and Famine in their dangerous Passage homewards, they sustained greater Losses than even all they had met with throughout the narrow Seas. For the Particulars of those Losses we shall refer to the distinct and more copious Narratives of this Invasion, * and close this Account

* At the End of an old Pamphlet before quoted, called, *Certain Advertisements out of Ireland*, concerning the Losses and Distresses of the Spanish Navy, there is one List of fifteen Spanish Ships, which perished, or were taken by the English in July and August in the narrow Seas ; and another List of 17 more, sunk, burnt and taken on the Coasts of Ireland in September ; so that both Losses were 32 Ships, in which were also destroyed and taken 10185 Men, whereof 1000 were detained Prisoners in England and Zealand ; further adding, there were Multitudes besides slain, sunk, or starved, who were not accounted for. Insomuch, as Van Meteran in *Hakluyt* more distinctly computes with whom, I observe, most of our Historians agree, there returned not Home above 53 Sail, leaving also behind the greater

count with the Summary thereof, which was soon after published to the World by Sir Walter Ralegh himself, where giving the Honour of the Victory to the Courage and Conduct of the Lord-Admiral Howard, he says, that notwithstanding the Victories they pretended to have obtained, it was soon manifested to all Nations, how the Navy, which they had termed invincible, consisting of 140 Sail, was by 30 of the Queen's Ships of War, and a few Merchantmen, beaten and shuffled together, even from the Lizard Point in Cornwall to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdez with his mighty Ship; from Portland to Calais, where they lost Hugo de Moncada, with the Gallies of which he was Captain; and from Calais, driven with Squibs from their Anchors, were chased out of the Sight of England round about Scotland and Ireland; where, for the Sympathy of their barbarous Religion, hoping to find Succour and Assistance, a great Part of them were crush'd against the Rocks; and those other who landed (being very many in Number) were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken; and so sent from Village to Village, coupled in Halters, to be shipped into England; where her Majesty, of her princely and invincible Disposition, disdaining to put them to Death, and scorning either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back again to their own Country, to witness and recount the worthy Atchievements of their invincible Navy.

The Services of Sir Walter Ralegh against this invasion, his Diligence in regulating the Forces of

and better part of their Men; and, as they all conclude, There was not a famous or worthy Family in all Spain, which in this Expedition lost not a Son, a Brother, or a Kinsman.

Among the English, there were not in the whole eight or nine Days Engagement above 100 lost, and among them only one Captain, named Cock.

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the Land, and his Interest in strengthning those of the Sea ; the Charges he was at, and the Dangers he voluntarily incur'd, however undistinguish'd more than is above express'd by our common Historians, and those few inaccurate Accounts thereof, which are descended to us ; were yet received with such Approbation by the Queen, that she seems, as some Recompence for them, to have this Year made a considerable Augmentation to his Patent of Wines ; as if he had, besides the Grant before-mentioned, another now also bestowed upon him for Tonnage and Poundage upon those Liquors, except it is the same Patent with the former, only renewed this Year, or wrong dated in the Author who mentions it. Be it as it should, this Patent seems to have been one of the most beneficial Favours which *Ralegh* ever received of the Queen ; and might perhaps exceed in Profit the Pension which she settled on the Lord-Admiral himself for his Conduct and Courage in the said Overthrow. This Benefit *Ralegh* enjoy'd as long as she liv'd : though, towards the Close of her Reign, the Number of such-like Grants to others being very much encreased, they were inveighed against in Parliament as grievous and burdensome Monopolies, by those especially, who had not the Merit or Interest to procure any for themselves. Sir Robert Naunton tells us, in his Conclusion of *Ralegh's* Character, with relation to the Grants he thus obtain'd ; That though he gained much at the Court, yet he took it not out of the Exchequer, or merely out of the Queen's Purse, but by his Wit, and the Help of the Prerogative ; for the Queen was never profuse in delivering out her Treasures ; but paid many, and most, of her Servants, part in Money and the rest with Grace. We meet with another Office, which *Ralegh* himself erected, no less praise-worthy than

his was profitable to him. For one Writer, in the short Account he gives of him, having spoken of the Division he made of his Time, in allowing five Hours to sleep, four to Reading, two for Discourse, and the rest to Business and other Necessaries, and having hinted at the Diversity of his Correspondencies, Intelligence and the like, says, that *in the Capacity of an Agency for all Sorts of Persons, he set up a kind of Office of Address.* And further, that *considering the Dispatch of such Variety of Engagements in the former Part of his Life, one must be much to seek how a Man of so many Actions should write any Thing, and one of so many Writings should do any Thing.* By another little Hint, that has been elsewhere preserved, we may conceive this Office did chiefly respect a more liberal Intercourse, a nobler Mutuality of Advertisement, than would perhaps admit of all Sorts of Persons; and such as advanced rather to the Improvement of Men themselves, than their Means. But this Suggestion is drawn only from comparing it with the general Tendency of those other Schemes, among which I once saw it mentioned, in a Letter written by an ingenious Person of great Note for his Writings to a Nobleman, who had the greatest Correspondence with such Persons of any in his Time; recommending, that long dried Fountain of Communication, which Montaigne first propos'd, Sir Walter Ralegh put in Practice, and Mr. Hartlib endeavour'd to revive. *

* The Notice of this most useful Scheme (since I have not at present Mr. Hartlib's own Account) I shall here offer in Sir William Petty's ingenious Representation of it, directed many Years since to the said last Projector himself. ' We must recommend, says he, an *Office of Address*, according to the Projection of Mr. Hartlib, that painful and great Instrument of this

Don Antonio, King of *Portugal*, who had been expell'd from his Dominions by King *Philip*, and was now, in *London*, soon after the Signal Overthrow of the *Armada* aforesaid, took this Opportunity to renew his Motion to Queen *Elizabeth* for her Assistance towards his Restoration, which he propounded to the Lord-Treasurer in a Letter full of liberal Offers, written in the *Portuguese* Language, all with his own Hand. The Queen not only consented to the Enterprise, as thinking it more convenient to return the late Visit of the *Spaniards* in their own Country, than suffer them to repeat it here, but lent six of her Men of War,

• this Design; whereby the Wants and Desires of all may be made
 • known to all. Where Men may know what is already done,
 • in the Busines of Learning; what is at present in doing, and
 • what is intended to be done; to the End, that by such a general
 • Communication of Designs and mutual Assistance the Wits
 • and Endeavours of the World may no longer be as so many
 • scattered Coals, which, for want of Union, are soon quenched;
 • whereas being but laid together, they would have yielded a
 • comfortable Light and Heat. For, methinks, the present
 • Condition of Men is like a Field, where, a Battle having been
 • lately fought, we see many Legs, Arms, and Organs of Sense,
 • lying here and there, which, for want of Conjunction, and
 • a Soul to quicken and enliven them, are fit for nothing but to
 • feed the Ravens and infect the Air: So we see many Wits
 • and Ingenuities dispersed up and down the World, whereof
 • some are now labouring to do what is already done; and puz-
 • zling themselves to re-invent what is already invented: Others
 • we see quite stuck fast in Difficulties for want of a few Direc-
 • tions, which some other Man, might he be met withal, both
 • could and would most easily give him. Again, one Man
 • wants a small Sum of Money to carry on some Design that re-
 • quires it, and there is perhaps another, who has twice as
 • much ready to bestow upon the same Design; but these two,
 • having no Means ever to hear the one of the other, the good
 • Work, intended and desired by both Parties, does utterly perish
 • and come to nothing. But this we pass over lightly, though
 • very fundamental to our Busines; because the Master-Builder
 • thereof himself has done it so solidly.

and disbursed 60,000 Pounds towards defraying the Charges thereof. This Encouragement, and the late Provocation, so spirited up the warlike Men of the Kingdom, and *Ralegh* among the rest to become Volunteers therein, that they augmented the Number of the said Ships with a hundred and twenty Sail more, and mann'd them with fourteen or fifteen thousand Soldiers and Sailors at their own further Expence, committing the Charge by Sea to Sir *Francis Drake*, and that by Land to Sir *John Norris*, who were probably the most considerable Contributors thereto.

But first *Ralegh* took Care for the Relief of his Plantation in *Virginia*, which that he might more effectually secure than could be expected from his own single Assistance, especially after the many heavy Disbursements he had made, and the great Disappointment the Colony must doubtless have received by missing of the last Supplies he sent them, through the Losses, which his Agents too rashly brought thereon ; he made an Assignment to divers Gentlemen and Merchants of *London*, for continuing the Plantation of this new discover'd Country with *English* Men. And this was now no less advisedly done with regard to himself, than affectionately with respect to the People employ'd therein : Whom, though he generously assisted with his Advice and Interest in some future Prosecutions of this Undertakings ; yet these proving improsperous, through the oblique Courses they took at first setting out upon this new Foundation, like that in which they lately fail'd, it was twenty Years from this Time, before even a whole Company could make a more successful and advanced Progress in this Settlement, than Sir *Walter Ralegh* of himself alone had done ; it having cost him no less than 40000l.

As for the Expedition before mentioned, which was set out under *Drake* and *Norris*, about five Weeks after the said Assignment, that is on the 14th of *April*, 1589, in which *Don Antonio* was by *Ralegh*, among the rest, accompanied to *Portugal*, we need not here be circumstantial thereon; especially as to the Action at the *Groine*, the Overthrow of the *Spaniard* at *Puente de Burgos*, the taking of *Peniche*, with the Castle of *Cascais*, the Assaile of *Lisbon*, and the burning of *Vigo*; seeing our Historians have not distinguished what Part *Ralegh* had therein: In which perhaps they seem not so grateful to him as he was to his Associates; but particularly in not mentioning him at the taking of that great Number of easterling Hulks and other Ships laden with *Spanish* Goods, Provisions and Ammunition, for a new Invasion of *England*, which from the 2d of *June* some or other of the Adventurers (none are named) continued to bring into the *English* Fleet, then lying in the Road of *Cascais*, for six Days together. This Fleet of ours was but thinly mann'd at first, and having lost some thousands by Sickness and Intemperance with the new Wines of those Countries; Hands could not be spared to bring home much above a quarter of those Vessels and their Lading, that were thus taken: For Sir *Roger Williams*, who was a Colonel in the Land-Service of this Expedition, has said in a Letter of his, still extant, *It is well known, we had above two hundred Sail of all Sorts, of which we could not carry with us above threescore for the Want of Men.* Hence arose at their Return into *England*, a little Contention between *Williams* and *Ralegh*; for *Ralegh* having taken some of these Prizes, *Williams* placed in one of them his Lieutenant with some of his Soldiers, without which, says *Williams*, *it could not have been carried into England*:

land : Wherefore he would have laid Claim, it seems, both to the Ship and its Cargo ; *this Voyage, as he goes on, having cost him a Thousand Pounds,* as it did several other of the Adventurers no doubt. But his Claim not being thought reasonable, the Earl of Bath, Lieutenant of Devonshire, discharged his Men from that Vessel at Dartmouth. Williams, at this, growing very turbulent, and his Clamours reaching the Queen's Ear, procured her Displeasure against him, which occasion'd his said Letter to three of the Privy-Council ; whence this Intelligence is extracted. From this Letter we farther collect, the Atchievements of the English in this Voyage so well satisfy'd the Queen, in the Disablement of the Enemy, especially as to their naval Powers, that she honoured the Commanders or chief Adventurers therein, and Sir Walter Ralegh among the rest, with a golden Chain ; for Sir Roger presum'd, the Earl of Essex (his great Friend, as appears in the Histories of this Expedition) with the rest who were in the Action, would testify, *That I deserve a Chain as well as my Fellows*, say he. As for the coarse Expression which follows, of Ralegh's belying his Hulk, as he had done the Ark of Noah, the best Ship that ever was, tho' it may betray some Impoliteness of Manners and Impetuosity of Disposition in Sir Roger's Civil Capacity ; yet in the Field, and against an Enemy, those rougher Qualities might invigorate his Courage and Experience, and illustrate the miliary Character of the Man.

In the latter End of June this Year, and some Weeks before this Dispute, the English Fleet return'd home ; but Ralegh appears first to have touch'd upon the Coast of Ireland, probably to make a short Visit to his Seigniory there, and see some of his Acquaintance among the new Settlements

ments in the Province of Munster. We may be pretty well convinc'd that *Ralegh* was in *Ireland* this Year, from his own Writings; * and that it was upon his Return from a long Voyage, out of some Verses hereafter following in *Spenser* the Poet. For here we may observe, that while *Ralegh* was a Commander in the *Irish Wars*, under the Lord *Grey*, as we have before related, this *Edmund Spenser*, then famous for those *Pastorals* he had newly published, going over Secretary to that Nobleman, had frequent Opportunities, by his ingenious Conversation, so to make his Learning and other Accomplishments known, as engag'd the Friendship of our *WORTHY* so substantially towards him, that none of the great Men in Queen *Elizabeth's* Court, after the Death of Sir *Philip Sidney*, was so great a Patron to that extraordinary Genius as Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Indeed the Queen herself, in Regard that *Spenser* employ'd his Time so commendably in *Ireland*, as afterwards more publickly appear'd, in the excellent *Political View* he made of that Kingdom, gave him a considerable Tract of Land out of Earl *Desmond's* capacious Forfeitures, amounting, at the lowest Computation that has been made, to 3000

* Where, speaking of the long Lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late Memory, he says, " I myself knew the old Countess of *Desmond* of *Inchequin* in *Munster*, who lived in the Year 1589, and many Years since; 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 Nobility and Gentlemen of *Munster* could witness." *History of the World*, Lib. I. Cap. 5. Sect. 5. Of this old Lady, see more in Lord *Bacon's History of Life and Death*, and Sir *William Temple's Essay on Health and long Life*, in his *Miscellanies*, Part 3. (publish'd by *Jonathan Swift*, M. A. Prebendary of St. *Patrick's*) 8vo. 1701. p. 125, where, telling us she lived far in King James's Reign, it appears she must have been alive at the Time Sir *Walter Ralegh* was writing that he knew her, in *Ireland* the Year aforesaid.

Acres of Ground, lying in the County of Cork ; the Preservation and Improvement whereof engaged Spenser to settle there ; and a pleasant Seat he had, at Kilcolman near the River Mulla, which ran through his Grounds, and which he has so beautifully describ'd in some of his Poems. Here it was in this Retirement that *Ralegh* now paid him a Visit, the Circumstances whereof Spenser himself has most agreeably celebrated in that Poem, which, bout two Years after this Time, he dedicated To the Right Worthy and Noble Knight Sir Walter Ralegh, &c. In this Dedication he has these Words; *I make you Present of this simple Pastoral, unworthy of your higher Concept for the Meanness of the Style, but agreeable with the Truth, in Circumstance and Matter : the which I humbly beseech you to accept in Part of Payment of the infinite Debt in which I acknowledge myself bounden unto you for your singular Favours and sundry good Turns shewed me at my last being in England ; and with your good Countenance, protect against the Malice of evil Mouths, which are always wide open to carp at, and misconstrue my simple Meaning.* In the Pastoral itself, † the Poet gives us this Description of *Ralegh's* first accosting him in the said rural Retirement.

One Day, quothe he, I sat, as was my Trade,
Under the Foot of Mole, that Mountain bore,
Keeping my Sheep amongst the cooly Shade
Of the green Alders by the Mulla's Shore ;
There a strange Shepherd chanc'd to find me out,
Whether allured with my Pipe's Delight,
Whose pleasing Sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by Chance, I knew not right,

† Entitled, *Collin Clout's come home again* (in the last Edition of Spenser) Vol. 4. p. 1121.

*Whom when I asked from what Place he came,
And how he bight ? himself he did ycleep
The Shepherd of the Ocean by Name,
And said, he came far from the Main-sea deep.*

*He sitting me beside in that same Shade,
Provoked me to play some pleasant Fit ;*

*And when he heard the Musick that I made,
He found himself full greatly pleas'd at it :*

*Yet æmuling my Pipe, he took in Hond
My Pipe, before that æmuled of many,*

*And play'd thereon, for well that Skill he con'd ;
Himself as skilful in that Art as any.*

It further appears, they now entertain'd each other with some of their poetical Compositions ; Spenser rehearsed a pretty Tale he had made of the Amours between some of his neighbouring Rivers ; but Ralegh's Muse ran upon a more melancholy Strain, which, by the transient View it gives of some little Cloud he had lately, but undeservedly, been under at Court, lets us into a Piece of his secret History ; where the Poet tells us,

*His Song was all a lamentable Lay,
Of great Unkindness and of Usage hard,*

*Of Cynthia the Lady of the Sea,
Which from her Presence, faultless, him debarr'd :*

*And ever and anon with Singults rife,
He cried out to make his undersong,*

*Ab my Love's Queen, and Goddess of my Life !
Who shall me pity, when thou dost me Wrong ?*

But it immediately appears to have been soon blown over by some pathetical Address of Ralegh's to the Queen, whereby he was, at this Time, restored

stored to her Favour, as we may fully conclude from these Words :

—Right well be sure did plain,
That could great Cynthia's sore Displeasure break,
And move to take him to her Grace again.

And this is confirmed a little further, where, through *Ralegh's* Affection for his Welfare, and his Regret to behold so rare a Genius banished to a Desert, and buried in such a State of Obscurity, he persuades *Spenser* to go along with him into *England*, and proffers to introduce him to the Queen. The Poet, knowing his Interest, embraced his Offer. Then having given a Description of the Sea, with *Ralegh's* great Ship, suitable to the Simplicity of the Character he assumes; and having represented *Ralegh's* Description of the Flocks and Herds of that *Royal Shepherdess*, which were kept upon those watry Hills, under the Charge of *Triton* and *Proteus*, he makes him further say :

And I among the rest, of many least,
Have in the Ocean Charge to me assign'd;
Where I will live or die at her Behest,
And serve and honour her with faithful Mind.

He then proceeds to the Progress of their Voyage, now they passed by the *Isle of Lundy*, and landed at *St. Michael's Mount* in *Cornwall*; so took their Journey to the Court, where the Poet having expatiated on the dazzling Presence of the Queen, agreeable to the Admiration of a Spectator, in his pastoral Character, we have this further Acknowledgment.

The Shepherd of the Ocean, quothe he,
Unto the Goddess's Grace me first enhanced:

*And to my oaten Pipe inclined her Ear,
That she thenceforth therein 'gan take Delight,
And it desired, at timely Hours to hear ;
All were my Notes but rude and roughly dight.*

This Honour the Poet further magnifies, as the more wond'rous Condescension in her Majesty, in that she had so many more learned Shepherds about her to glorify her Name. Here he takes an Opportunity to give a Character of the several Poets and Wits then shining in her Court: Among the rest,

*And there that Shepherd of the Ocean is,
That spends his Wit in Love's consuming Smart :
Full sweetly temper'd is that Muse of his,
That can impierce a Prince's mighty Heart.*

As to Ralegh's poetical Talents, we shall hear more of them very speedily. In this Place, we must pursue his farther Design of bringing Spenser over into *England*, which was to make him oblige the Publick with what he had hitherto finished of his capital Work, called the *Fairy Queen*. For, though Spenser had begun this grand Poem through the Encouragement of Sir *Philip Sidney*, before he went over into *Ireland*; yet it was there he seems to have writ most of what we have in Print; and now, by the Encouragement of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, that he was brought to publish the three first Books which he had compleated thereof: 'Tis certain he took his Advice in the Publication of them, and particularly in drawing up a Plan to explain or discover the general Intention and Meaning of that allegorical Poem. This he directed to his said Patron, *The right noble and valorous Sir Walter Ralegh, &c.* in a letter dated the 23d of January this

Year 1589 ; concluding with *An humble Request for the Continuance of his honourable Favours, and Wishes for the eternal Establishment of his Happiness.* This Letter is printed at the End of the said first three Books of that Poem, which were published at London the ensuing Year. Among the commendatory Verses thereto also subjoined, the first two Copies are both said to be written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and not without great Probability, being subscribed with the initial Letters of his Name. The first of these Copies, written in alternate Verse, is highly poetical ; for our Author, Correspondent with the visionary Manner of his Author, fancying himself in the Temple of the vestal Virgins, where his Curiosity led him to the Tomb of *Laura*, which was guarded by *Love* and *Virtue*, he was suddenly attracted from thence, by the Appearance of the *Fairy Queen*, at whose Approach the *Soul of Petrarch wept* ; seeing those Graces desert that Mistress of his, to attend upon this royal Lady, and Oblivion supply their Place. The Compliment is surely fine, and perhaps the more judiciously express'd, in not being bounded more periodically than it is, according to the Doctrine of our modern Criticks in the Structure of Versification ; for being the Recital of one solemn and surprising Thought, it may engage our Attention more closely to the End of the two or three Quadrains it is compris'd in, than if the Author had affected to divide or bound the Sense with a full Period at the End of every four Lines. But every Reader may easily judge for himself, the Poem being in most Editions of *Spenser*, and therefore needs not here be recited. His other Verses upon this Poet are composed in a Measure more obsolete to the Manner of our Age ; but what the Queen herself imitated, in some Poetry still to be seen of her

Writing, being in Lines of six and seven Feet long. It may be sufficient therefore to observe, there is a distinguished Conduct also in this Performance; for the Induction is writ with great Modesty, in Regard to himself.

*The Praise of meaner Wits, this Work like Profit
brings;
As doth the Cuckow's Song, delight, when Philomela
sings.*

And, having advertised the Poet that his Portraits are to be judged of or improved by the Originals of those Virtues whereof he has compos'd his fictitious Queen, he very dexterously transfers or appropriates them to the real one then reigning: So concludes with a Compliment to him; which though of a very transcendent and absolute Nature, yet in Regard to the little good *English Poetry* then in being, and the great Fame of that Poet still surviving among us, is still thought not more expressive of Sir *Walter Ralegh's Affection*, than his Judgment:

*Of me no Lines are lov'd, nor Letters are of Price,
Of all that speak the English Tongue, but those of
thy Device.*

We further observe among the Copies of Verses inscribed by Spenser himself, at the End of his said *Fairy Queen*, to the several Ministers of State and Noblemen in Queen *Elizabeth's Court*, one to the *Noble and valorous Sir Walter Ralegh, &c.* as he again stiles him: And this, because it not only informs us what a favourite *Ralegh* was at this Time with the Queen; but also gives us Occasion to dilate upon his own poetical Productions a little more

nore copiously than Opportunity has before offered,

To thee that are the Summer's Nightingale,
 Thy sovereign Goddesses most dear delight,
 Why do I send this rustick Madrigal,
 That may thy tuneful Ear unseason quite?
 Thou only fit this Argument to write;
 In whose high Thoughts Pleasure hath built her
 Bowre,
 And dainty Love learned sweetly to indite:
 My Rhymes I know unsav'ry are and sowre,
 To taste the Streams, which, like a golden Showre,
 Flow from thy fruitful Head, of thy Love's Praise,
 Fitter perhaps to thunder martial Stowre,
 When so thee lift thy lofty Muse to raise:
 Yet 'till that thou thy Poem wilt make known,
 Let thy fair CYNTHIA's Praises be thus rudely
 shwon.

Hence we learn Sir Walter Ralegh wrote a Poem, call'd CYNTHIA; that it was in Praise of the Queen, and that it was not now publish'd. Spenser, in his Letter to Ralegh above-cited, also mentions gain something of this Poem, where he says, *In that Fairy Queen, I mean Glory in my general Intention; but in my Particular, I conceive the most excellent and glorious Person of our Sovereign the Queen, and her Kingdom, in Fairy-land. And yet in some Places else, I do otherwise shadow her. For considering she beareth two Persons; the one, of a most Royal Queen or Empress; the other, of a most virtuous and beautiful Lady; this latter Part in some Places, I do express in Belphœbe; fashioning her Name according to your own excellent Conceit of CYNTHIA; Phœbe and Cynthia being both Names of Diana.*

Diana. This is all I remember to have met with of that Poem.

But this very Year that *Ralegh* was in *Ireland* there was a Book published by a learned and inge-
nious Gentleman ; in which others of *Ralegh*'
Poems, and perhaps that beforementioned, are
quoted with great Commendation * ; as if these
few little Pieces had before this Time rendered him
eminent, and advanced his Name among the
prime Wits or leading Poets of the Age ; not tha-
we are sure they were now in common Print, or
vulgarly known to be his ; for the said Author,
speaking of the most considerable Writers in *Eng-*
lish Poetry, says ; *In her Majesty's Time sprung up*
another Company of courtly Poets, who have writt
excellently well, if their Doings could be found ou
and made publick with the rest ; of which Number is
Edward Earl of Oxford, Thomas Lord Buck-
hurst, when young, Henry Lord Paget, Sir Philip
Sidney, Sir Walter Ralegh, and many others ; some
of whom he further names.

Then proceeding to give his Judgment in short
Characters of them ; and having distinguish'd the
Earl of Oxford for *Comedy*, *Buckhurst* for *Tragedy*,

* This Treatise, now very scarce, is called *The Art of English Poesy*; contrived in three Books : The first of Poets and Poesy ; the second of Proportion ; the third of Ornament. London, 4to. 1589. I never saw but one of them, and this is in the curious Library of that worthy Owner *James West*, Esq; of the Middle-Temple. There is a wooden Print of the Queen before it ; and, though dedicated to the Lord Burghley, the Work is address'd directly to the Queen. Therefore that Passage in the first Book, cap. 26. where the Author is so luxuriant upon the *Epithalamies*, or poetical Manner of celebrating Marriages ; and that in the third Book, cap. 23. where he makes the *Imperial Ambassador*, a *Bohemian* born, so bluntly express in the *French Tongue* what a gallant Horsewoman the Empress was, will, among some others, be allowed very remarkable, in a Book so publickly and so particularly tendered to the Perusal of our Virgin-Queen.

Sir WALTER RALEGH. III

Sir Philip Sidney, and the other Gentleman who wrote the late *Shepherd's Calender*, (meaning Spenser) or *Eclogue* and *Pastoral*, he adds; *For Ditty and amorous Ode, I find Sir Walter Ralegh's Vein most oftly, insolent, and passionate.* But it is in the Chapter of *Sententious or Rhetorical Figures*, that his Critic illustrates his Observation, by some Examples out of Sir Walter Ralegh's Poems; which, because rare to be met with, I shall here rehearse. That Critic therefore, where he is speaking of some elegant Tautologies in Poetry, and particularly the Excellencies of the *Anaphora*, or Figure of *Report*, as he translates it, gives us the following Example, written by Sir Walter Ralegh; whether in his *Cynthia, I cannot yet tell; but, to his greatest Mistress, in most excellent Verses*, says that Author.

*In vain, my Eyes, in vain you waste your Tears;
In vain, my Sighs, the Smokes of my Despairs:
In vain you search the Earth and Heav'ns above,
In vain you seek, for Fortune keeps my Love.*

urther speaking of the *Epizeuxis*, which he en-
lishes the *Underlay* or *Cuckow-Spell*, another Sort of
lepetition, when in one Verse we iterate one
Vord without Intermission, he brings, as an Ex-
ample, that of Sir Walter Ralegh; *very sweet, says
e.*

*With Wisdom's Eyes, had but blind Fortune seen,
Then had my Love, my Love for ever been.*

nd in another Place, to distinguish that Form of
lepetition, called *Ploche*, or the *Doubler*, a speedy
teration of one Word, but with some little Inter-
mission, he exemplies the two *closing Verses of a
most excellent Ditty*, as he calls it, written by Sir
Walter

Walter Ralegh. These two closing Verses confirm the Genuineness of those which precede them in a Transcript of this very Ditty I once saw in a Nobleman's Library, from the Copy of a celebrated Lady *, who probably had it out of the Family. 'Tis there entitled, *The Excuse, written by Sir Walter Ralegh, in his younger Years.* And, because by the foregoing Parts of this admir'd Ditty the Conclusion will be best understood, I shall here repeat the whole from the aforesaid Transcript.

*Calling to mind my Eyes went long about,
To cause my Heart for to forsake my Breast ;
All in a Rage, I sought to pull them out ;
As who had been such Traitors to my Rest :
What could they say to win again my Grace ?
Forsooth, that they had seen my Mistress' Face.*

*Another Time, my Heart I call'd to mind ;
Thinking that he this Woe on me had brought ;
Because that he, to Love, his Force resign'd,
When of such Wars my Fancy never thought :*

* Lady *Isabella Thynne*; the same who is so finely celebrated by Mr. *Waller*, tho' her Surname is no where to be found in any of the printed Editions I have seen of his Poems; but I have had an old MS. Collection, in which one Poem is directed to the Lady *Isabella Thynne cutting Trees in Paper*; which Poem is printed among Mr. *Waller's*, but her Name left out. In the Print also we have only a Fragment; but my Copy had it entire For the Poem which follows it, in Mr. *Waller's* printed Collection, is a Compliment to the same Lady, for restoring him this Piece, because he desired to print it, though the last Thought was torn off and lost; which, to his Regret, he never could recollect; so was obliged to print it imperfectly, in his own Apprehensions at least, though all the World besides have looked upon what is printed of it as a perfect Master-piece, even of that great Hand: And for our Consolation it may be observed, if he had not lost this Conclusion, we should have lost that fine Poem which was the Consequence of it.

With

What cou'd he say when I wou'd him have slain :
That he was hers— and had forgone my Chain.

At last, when I perceiv'd both Eyes and Heart
Excuse themselves as guiltless of my Ill ;
I found myself the Cause of all my Smart,
And told myself, that I myself would kill ;
Yet when I saw myself to you was true ;
I lov'd myself, because my self lov'd you.

There is one old Collection I never saw, printed
about the Time we are now upon, with several of
Sir Philip Sidney's Sonnets in it, and therefore I
think under his Name ; which possibly may con-
tain some also of Sir Walter Ralegh's. But in that
modern Collection there is also printed, not over-
correctly it seems, another Poem of his : This I
have likewise seen in Manuscript, where it is call'd
the *Silent Lover* ; and have heard several Lines in
it applauded, especially the Beginning. But the
part, which would be most agreeable in this Place
to an Historical Reader, is that from which he
might fancy he could make some further Guesses
at the Object of Ralegh's Address.

But seeing that I sue to serve
A Saint of such Perfection,
As all desire, and none deserve
A Place in her Affection ;
I rather chuse to want Relief,
Than venture the revealing ;
Where Glory recommends the Grief,
Despair despairs the healing.

nd a little farther very persuasively :

Silence in Love betrays more woe
 Than Words tho' never so witty ;
 A Beggar that is dumb, you know,
 May challenge double Pity.

In short he has said such handsome Things of Silence, that it were a Pity any Words even in it Commendation, but his own, should break it. But it will perhaps hereafter be thought he could breal it himself with as much Success, as now he seem to have commanded the keeping it. All that have seen more of his Juvenile Compositions in th Kind, is a Pastoral Sonnet, which old Mr. Isaac Walton reciting, tells us was written by Sir Walter Ralegh, in his younger Years, * in Answer to another, famous also in those Days, composed by Christopher Marlow.

There is another Poet besides Spenser, who wrote something of Ralegh relating to these Times, th near twenty Years after them ; and as on a different Subject, so with a different Disposition toward him. This Poet was Sir John Harrington, the Translator of *Orlando Furioso* ; but that which is here mention'd for, is a little Book in Prose, yet not clear of Poetry, tho' it was intended for a Piece of Church-History, and as a Supply to Dr. Francis Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops. This, at the Time that Ralegh was under Royal Displeasure in the next Reign, and in Confinement ; but growing into Favour with the hopeful Prince of Wales, Sir John Harrington, then a Courtier, presented to the

* See Isaac Walton's *Compleat Angler*, 4th Edition, 8vo. 1666 p. 76, &c. This Walton was 25 Years of Age at Ralegh's Death and lived 90 Years. Besides that Book, for which he has been called the Father of Anglers, he wrote five Lives of learned and religious Men, excellently well, being either from a person's Knowledge of them, or their intimate Friends.

Prince; 'tis full of little Jests and Tales against the married Clergy, and against some of the Laity who had any Controversies with them, the better to in-nuance with that young Prince, and engage his At-tention; otherwise the Author would doubtless have written it with a Gravity suitable to the Subject; but he tells the Prince, *he took some kind of Plea-sure with the Pains of writing it, supposing (says he) I was all the while telling a Story as it were in your Highness Presence and bearing.* Among the Stories he tells, there is one concerning Dr. Thomas God-win, Bishop of Bath, and Wells, and Sir Walter Ralegh, it seems; the Relation of which, because that Bishop died about the latter End of 1590, we shall not longer defer. This Bishop, he tells us, came to that See, among his other good Qualities, unreprovable for Simony, and in the Queen's good Opinion: If he had held on as clear as he enter'd, I should have highly extoll'd him, says our Author; but, continues he, see his Misfortune, which first lost him the Queen's Favour, and after forced him to another Mischief. For being aged, diseased, and lame of the Gout, he married, as some thought, for Opinion of Wealth, a London Widow, his second Wife at least: When a chief Favourite of that Time (whom he had named before in this Kind, and therefore thought by some, as perhaps it might be, Sir Walter Ralegh) had labour'd to get the Manor of Banwell from this Bishoprick; but disdaining the Repulse, and hearing of this im-petitive Marriage, he took Advantage thereof, caus'd it to be told the Queen (knowing how much she disliked such Matches) and instantly pursued the Bishop with Letters and Mandates for the Ma-nor of Banwell for a hundred Years. The good Bishop, to pacify his Persecutors, and to save Ban-well, was fain to part with Wilscomb for 99 Years;

and so purchased his Peace. And, as he did not hold on so clear as he enter'd, it might be with Reference to the Simony before-mentioned ; the Queen saw it not unreasonable, but espoused the Alienation ; so that it was her Gift. And the Bishop's own Son, Dr. *Francis Godwin*, when he was Bishop also, and reviving his *Catalogue of Bishops*, in the next Reign, before *Ralegh* was out of Prison, makes no Complaint against him in the Account of his Father's Life ; tho' he might safely, if he could justly, have done it, and *Ralegh* had been possess'd of that for which this Author's Father had not, according to the Custom of those Times, received Satisfaction. On the contrary, with much Modesty, rather laments that his Father should take upon him the Duties of Ecclesiastical Government, when his Infirmities had render'd him unable to discharge them.

If this Affair did any ways displease the Hierarchy, there was another Occurrence fell out about this Time, in which *Ralegh*, by shewing a generous and charitable Instance of his Power and Interest, might give some further Umbrage for its Displeasure. It was in the Case of Mr. *John Udall*, Minister of the Gospel, a good Scholar, and a Man of good Parts ; but very zealous for the Reformation, even under the episcopal Government ; for which he was reckoned among the Nonconformists, or rather Puritans of those Times. He had been bred at *Cambridge* ; was seven Years Minister of *Kingston upon Thames* ; and, through the Fayour of the Earl of *Huntington*, about a Twelvemonth at *Newcastle upon Tine*. Here he was silenced, sent for to *London* by Letters from the Lord-chamberlain *Hunsdon*, in the Name of the Council, and examined about a Book he had newly published against

against the Clergy *. But because, contrary to the Laws, he would not betray himself, he was committed close Prisoner to the Gatehouse; debarred of all Communication with his Family or others; thence conveyed to Croydon in July this present Year 1590; brought to the Bar in Fettered, and indicted for publishing a Libel against the Queen. No Evidence *Viva Voce* produced to attest it, but only Depositions taken in the high Commission-Court, no Court of Record, and Hear-say Reports urged against him, his Witnesses not being permitted to testify in his Behalf, because the Court said it was against the Queen: The Words of the Statute being wrested, says my Author, by Baron Clark and Serjeant Puckering, as if the Treatise called, *The Demonstration of Discipline*, for which Udall was now indicted, because written against Bishops who exercised their Government under the Queen, was therefore consequently written against her royal Person. So the said Judges directed the Jury to find Udall Author of the Book

* Entitled, *The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescrib'd in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End.*

The horrible Treason in this Book it seems (which was inserted in the Indictment) lay in these Words to the Bishops: Who can without blushing, deny you to be the Cause of all Ungodliness, seeing your Government is that which giveth Leave to a Man to be any Thing saving a sound Christian: For certainly it is more free in these Days to be a Papist, an Anabaptist, of the Family of Love; yea, any wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be: And I could live these twenty Years any such in England, yea, in a Bishop's House may-be, and never be molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned by you; *That you care for nothing but the Maintenance of your Dignities, be it to the Damnation of your own Souls, and infinite Millions more.* Strype's Life and Acts of Arch-bishop Whitgift, Fol. 1718. P. 343.

with-

without legal Proof, and to leave the Felony to them.

The Jury did as they were taught, being told it should be no further Danger to the Author, but tend to his good ; of which Verdict they afterwards repented. Then he was kept half a Year uncondemned in Durance ; and at the Assizes in February following at Southwark, not relinquishing his Tenets, he had the Sentence of Death pronounced against him by Puckering. But it seems before Udall received this Sentence, he had procured a Friend to sollicit Sir Walter Ralegh, that the violent and aggravated Constructions which had been made of his Doctrine and Principles, might not be his utter Destruction, 'till a more unprejudiced Judgment was made of them ; and immediately after the Sentence was pronounced, the Sheriff brought him a Reprieve from the Queen. The Dr. Bond, one of her Chaplains, came to him in Prison with a Form of Submission for him to subscribe. After two Days Conference, they agree upon another. But, says Udall, *at the same Time that Dr. Bond was with me, I received a Letter from a Friend of mine that did sollicit Sir Walter Ralegh for me.* This Letter he then exhibits, and thereby it appears Ralegh had advised or encouraged Udall to explain himself to him concerning those Imputations which had been infused into her Majesty, which accused him with maintaining, the Church of England and its Sacraments were not in Church and no Sacraments ; that its Laws and the Government were against the Word of God ; that all ecclesiastical Matters ought to be governed by Presbytery ; and that she ought to be subject to the Censures thereof ; for (says that Correspondent) *ye will write half a Dozen Lines to Sir Walter Ralegh concerning these Opinions, that he may shew*

to her Majesty, he hopes to obtain your Life. I know it is very easy for you to answer all those Things, therefore do it with speed; and in your writing to Sir Walter take Knowledge, that he hath sent you such Word. Hereupon Udall wrote a Letter, which he also sets forth, directed to the Right honourable Sir Walter Ralegh, Knt. Lord-warden of the Stanaries, wherein, after the Remembrance of his Duty and Thanks for his great and honourable Care over him, and for his Good, he most humbly beseeches him to be a means to appease her Majesty's Displeasure for the Accusations untruly suggested against him.

After this he remained, according to his own Expression, without great Hope of Liberty, yet without Fear of further Extremity. Whence it may be rightly observed by some Historians, that Sir Walter Ralegh, through his generous Intercession, did procure Udall's Reprieve, or save him from Execution. 'Till a few Months after, being further pestered with stricter Forms of Submission, by Dr. Andrews, he was forced to make further Applications, not only by the Earl of Essex, but Sir Walter Ralegh again, and Dean Nowell, against the Menaces of the approaching Assizes at Kingston. About the same Time the King of Scots also wrote a Letter to the Queen in Behalf of the said Mr. Udall, and other learned Nonconformists*.

But

* Herein his Majesty tells the Queen, ' That hearing of the Apprehension of Mr. Udall, Mr. Cartwright, and certain other learned Ministers of the Evangel, within your Realm (says he) of whose good Erudition and fruitful Travels in the Church, we hear a very credible Commendation, howsoever their Diversity from Bishops, and others of your Clergy, in Matters touching them in Conscience, hath been a mean, by their Dilatation, to work them your Misliking; at this present, we cannot (weighing the Duty we owe to such as are afflicted for their

But this wrought only so far, when *Udall* was brought to *Kingston*, that he was immediately returned to Prison before the first Day of the Trials and thereupon the unlucky Disturbance of *Hacke* the Enthusiast ensuing, *Udall* was discouraged from making further Solicitation 'till the Lord-chancellor *Hatton* died. The *Easter* after which, he sue for Liberty to go to Church, which was denied him, being a condemned Man: But, by the Lord treasurer's Means, getting a Copy of the Indictment, and a Pardon framed according to it, he was referr'd therewith to Archbishop *Whitgift* Unto whom (says he) I both sent divers Petitions, abundant Letters; and also got many of my Friends both honourable Personages and others, to sue to him yet could not his Good-will be gotten. And when the Turkey Merchants applied to his Grace, that *Udall* might go over to *Guinea*, he would not consent to that, unless they would be bound he should not return 'till he had her Majesty's License; but this *Udall* would not consent. And though Sir *John Puckering*, now Lord-Keeper, was at last moved to deal with the Archbishop, so that he promised to obtain *Udall*'s Pardon of her Majesty and Liberty for the said Voyage; yet *Udall* never enjoyed one or the other, for he died in Prison before they were fully confirmed *.

Here we may give another Instance of *Raleigh* friendly and generous Exercise of his Power an

their Conscience in that Profession) but by our most effectual and earnest Letter, interpose us at your Hands to any hard Usage of them for that Cause. So requesting her earnestly let them be released out of their present Straite, he concluded from Edinburgh the 12th of June 1591.'

* Of whom we have this Tradition, That he was the first Man King *James* asked for when he came into England, and being answered, he was dead, the King replied, By my Soul then the greatest Scholar in Europe's dead.

nterest, for an old Officer in the Army, since
here is no Date to it, that confines us to any par-
ticular Year. This Officer had a Sum of Money
ong owing him, it seems, from the Treasury, and,
knowing how well Ralegh was acquainted with the
ustice of the Debt, no less than what Influence his
Applications would be of for procuring it, prevailed
n him to write to the Lord Treasurer's Secretary,
who was afterwards knighted; and well known by
he Name of Sir Michael Hicks, that he might
btain his Lordship's Order for the Payment of
he Money. These are the Words of his Letter :
I am most earnestly to intreat you for this Gentleman,
Captain Spring ; that partly for Love, partly for
honest Consideration, you will further him with my
Lord Treasurer for a Debt of Three hundred Pounds,
which her Majesty owes him. It hath been long due ;
and he has got good Warrant for it ; besides, he has
served her Majesty very long, and hath received many
Wounds in her Service. These Reasons delivered
by a Man of your Utterance, and having his good
Angel at your Elbow to instruct you, I doubt not,
but it will take good and speedy Effect. (Concluding)
I never wrote unto you for any Man, or in any Mat-
ter, wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than
for this Bearer ; and so not doubting of your assured
Friendliness, I leave you to God ; and remain your
most assured loving Friend. In a Postscript he says,
Always remember you must deal consonably for my
Sake, and I will requite you. Examples of this
kind shew Men worthy of the Power they enjoy,
and shine brighter in their Characters than many
Actions of a more publick and magnificent Na-
ture ; Power being so often corrupted with Pride
and other Passions, as frequently render the Pos-
sessors of it mischievous, rather than beneficial to
their Fellow-Creatures. But Ralegh, in these and

many other Instances, was so far from misusing that, above the narrow Apprehensions of Repulse or laying himself under Obligations, he appear to have exerted it in the most strenuous and generous Manner, either for preventing or relieving the Distress of others, which moved the greate Compassion when his own Misfortunes brough him to Need, and yet to fail of the like libera and successful Mediation for himself. The Truth is, *Ralegh* was so famous in these Days, for such like good Offices, that the Queen seems to have distinguished him by a Title more honourable, in the proper Sense it is to be here taken, than any other she conferred upon him: for one Day, having told her he had a Favour to beg of her, *When Sir Walter, said she, will you cease to be a Beggar* To which he answered, *When your gracious Majesty ceases to be a Benefactor.* With great Justice therefore seems, a certain noted Author of these Times, to have adapted his Work to a Patron when he dedicated a Discourse upon *Friendship* which he published not long before this Time, to *Sir Walter Ralegh.*

But Friendship made such a rare and lasting Impression on him, that it may be said to have extended beyond the Life of the Object; and he well deserves to be remembered in his Grave, who could leave us such noble Patterns in memory of the Dead. But this Place requires only our notice of the Memorial he wrote, to clear from some *Spaniſh* Aspersions, the Fame and Conduct of the valiant and renowned Sir *Richard Greenville*, in that bloody Expedition, where he made such a glorious though untimely End. This brave Commander was Vice Admiral in the Lord *Thomas Howard's* Expedition, to intercept the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet at the Isles of *Azores* in its Return from *America*. The *English* Squadron

quadron consisted of six of the Queen's Ships, & Victuallers of *London*, with two or three Pinnaces. They set out early 1591, and waited six Months at *Flores*, one of those Islands, in Expectation of the said Fleet. As there was, besides the English ships before numbered, one also of Sir Walter's in his Expedition, named *Bark Ralegh*, commanded by Captain *Thynne*; and as he employed some time in the latter End of this Year to describe that memorable Engagement they had with the Spaniards; the brief Abstract I shall give thereof from his own Words, cannot be arraigned of Triviality, nor perhaps of Digression; since, besides his Gratitude for the past Services of his heroick乡man, it so well displays his Sentiments at this time of the religious Hypocrisies and Cruelties of their common Enemy. The King of *Spain* therefore, having had Intelligence of their waiting thus for his *Indian* Fleet, sent an Armada to the *Azores* of fifty-three Sail to convoy it home, under the command of *Don Alphonso Baçan*. This Fleet was not in sight of the English by then they had any warning of it; and they were so unprepared for its reception, that many of their Crew were on Shore, providing Ballast, Water, and other Necessaries; and those who were on board, were half of them, through Sickness, unfit for Service. The Spaniards were now so near at hand, that the English had scarce Time to weigh Anchor; and *Greenville*, in the *Revenge*, was the last upon the Place, being desirous of receiving all his Crew aboard from the Island, whereof he had no less than ninety who were sick and diseased. So that, unable to recover the Wind, and having but one hundred sound Men, he was persuaded to cut his main Sail, cast about, and trust to the sailing of the Ship; for the Squadron of *Seville* was on his Weather-bow:

But he, through the Greatness of his Spirit, utterly refused to turn from the Enemy ; protesting, he would rather die than be guilty of such Dishonour to himself, his Country, and her Majesty's Ship assuring his Company he would pass through the two Squadrons in spite of them, and force those o' *Seville* to give him Way ; which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the Mariner term it, sprung their Loof, and fell under the Lee of the *Revenge* : But while he had regard to thos who were nearest, the huge *San Philip*, being in the Wind of him, and approaching, becalmed his Sails in such a manner, that the Ship could neither make way, nor feel the Helm ; so large and high charged was the *Spanish* Galleon, being of fiftee hundred Ton, carrying three Tire, of eleven piece in each on a Side, and discharging eight foreright from her Chase, besides those of her Stern-port After the *Revenge* was thus entangled with the *Philip*, four others loofing up also, boarded her two on the Larboard, and two on the Starboard The Fight thus beginning at Three a-Clock in the Afternoon, on the last of *August* the Year aforesaid, continued very terrible all that Evening But *San Philip* having received the lower Tire of the *Revenge*, charged with cross-bar Shot, shifte with all Expedition, utterly misliking her first greeting. Some said she founder'd hereupon ; but this is uncertain. The *Spanish* Ships were fille with Soldiers ; some having two hundred, beside Mariners ; some five, others eight hundred Men in the *English* Ship there were only Mariners, with the Commanders Servants, and some Gentleme Voluntiers. After many Exchanges of great and small Shot, the *Spaniards* many times attempted to board the *Revenge*, but were as often beaten back into their own Ships, or into the Sea ; and when

London Victualler, who was under the Lee of the Revenge, offered to undertake any Service for her Assistance, Greenville bid him “Save himself, and leave him to his Fortune. The Fight thus continuing while the Day lasted, and some Hours of the Night, many of the English were slain ; some of the Spanish Ships sunk ; and in many others there was great Slaughter : Greenville, though wounded in the beginning of the close Fight, was never so disabled as to forsake the upper Deck for eight Hours together ; and then being shot into the Body with a Muskét, as the Wound was dressing, he was again shot into the Head, and his Surgeon at the same time wounded to Death. Still the Fight continued, and as fast as the Spaniards were beaten off by the Revenge, others came in their Places ; so that by Morning she had sustained, for fifteen Hours together, the Vollies, Boardings, and Entries of fifteen several Ships of War, and repulsed them all ; besides the rest which battered her loose and at a distance. But with the Light, increased the Discovery of her dismal Condition ; and the more irksome was the one, in that it would not let her conceal the other from her surrounding Enemies *. Now was to be seen

* As for her Friends, the Lord Thomas Howard, and the other Ships, Sir Walter Ralegh further says of them, ‘ If all the rest had entered, all had been lost ; for the very hugeness of the Spanish Fleet, if no other Violence had been offered, would have crush’d them into Shivers ; of which the Dishonour and Loss to the Queen, had been far greater than the Spoil or Harm that the Enemy could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is true, that the Lord Thomas would have entered between the Squadrons, but the rest would not condescend ; and the Master of his own Ship offered to leap into the Sea, rather than conduct it with the rest to be a Prey to the Enemy ; where there was neither Hope or Possibility either of Defence or Victory. Which also in my Opinion, says Ralegh, had ill sorted with,

seen nothing but the naked Hull of a Ship, and that almost a Skeleton, having received 800 Shot of great Artillery, and some under Water; her Deck covered with the Limbs and Carcasses of forty valiant Men, the rest all wounded, and weltering in, or covered with their own Blood; her Masts all beaten over-board, all her Tackle cut asunder, her upper Works razed, and all in effect levelled with the Water; incapable of any further Management or Motion, but what the Billows gave her. *Greenville*, now finding their Distress irreparable, commanded the Ship to be sunk, that the *Spaniards* might not carry a Splinter home as a Trophy of their dear-bought Victory; dear-bought indeed! The *Admiral* of the *Spanish* Hulks, and another great Galleon, called the *Ascension* of *Seville*, being both sunk by the side of the *Revenge*; another also in the Road of *St. Michael*; and a fourth run herself a-ground to save her Company. There were besides slain and drowned in this Fight two eminent *Spanish* Commanders, and near a thousand of their Men, as one of their own Officers, who was severed from the Fight by the ensuing Storm, and taken by a *London* Vessel, confessed. Sir *Richard* exhorted the Remainder of his

* or answered the Discretion of a General, to commit himself and his Charge to assured Destruction, without hope or any likelihood of prevailing thereby, to diminish the Strength of her Majesty's Navy, and enrich the Pride and Glory of the Enemy. The *Foresight* of the Queen's (continues he) commanded by Mr. *Vasavour*, performed a very great Fight, and stayed two Hours as near the *Revenge* as the Weather would permit, not forsaking the Fight till he was likely to be encompassed by the Squadrons, and with great Difficulty cleared himself. The rest gave divers Vollies of Shot, and entered as far as the Place permitted, and their own Necessities, to keep the Weather Gage of the Enemy, until they were parted by Night. Thus in Sir *Walter Ralegh's* said report of this fight.

Company

Company to trust in God's Mercy, and to none else; and, as they had thus long and resolutely repulsed so many Enemies, that they would not now lessen the Honour of their Country, by any Overtures to lengthen for a few Hours or Days their own Lives. Several joined in Opinion with him; but the Majority prevailed, who urged, the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a Composition, as they to offer it; and that there were divers valiant Men yet living, who might do their Prince acceptable Service, and revenge this Action upon the Enemy; that the Ship could be of no Use either to the one or the other, for upon the first working of the Sea she must needs sink, being so crushed, rived, and leaky, having six Foot Water in the Hold, that she could never remove out of the Place.

Accordingly the Spanish General Don Alfonso Agan yielded that all their Lives should be saved, the Company sent into England, and the better part only to pay a reasonable Ransom, free from Gallies or Imprisonment. Though the Master-unner would have slain himself when he found their Resolution thus by Reason over-borne; but that he was by Force withheld. Then the General sent many Boats aboard the Revenge, and divers of the English suspecting Sir Richard's desperate Disposition to blow up or sink the Ship, stole away the Spaniards. But the General prevailed upon him to remove out of the Revenge, being very un-viry, filled as it was, like a Slaughter-house, with the Bodies and Blood of the dead and wounded. Sir Richard told them, they might do with his Body what they pleased, for it was now of no Use to him; and, as he was carried out of the Ship swooned, but revived again, and desired the company to pray for him. The General left nothing

thing unattempted for his Recovery; highly respecting the unconquerable Resolution in so rare a Spectacle of consummate and approved Intrepidity, who could make such Resistance for so long Time and such Havock upon such an *Armada*, with a single Ship and so few Men. Sir Richard lingered two or three Days, and then died aboard the General, who greatly bewailed his Loss*; but the *Revenge*, with 200 Spaniards in her, being overtaken by the Storms aforesaid, was sunk with the other abovementioned at St. Michael's Island. In th Manner did they honour the Burial of that renowned Ship; and thus did she to the last make good her Name upon them.

Ralegh had formed an Enterprise upon Panam with a Design also of meeting the Spanish Fleet. The Scheme he laid down appeared so feasible to her Majesty, having provided no less than 13 Ships of his own and his Associates, all we-

* Linschoten a Dutch Author, tho' he mistakes in some particulars; as making this Engagement to have happened a fortnight later, &c. yet agrees with Sir Walter Ralegh, that Sir Richard made a wonderful Opposition; for he mentions, 'no less than seven or eight Ships boarding the *Revenge*; that she listed them at least 12 Hours; that the Spaniards lost above 400 Men in the Fight; and that when Sir Richard was conveyed into the Spanish Admiral's Ship the *St Paul*, all the Captains were astonished at his stout and courageous Heart, he shewed no Sign of Faintness, nor Change of Colour; before feeling the Hour of Death approach, said in the Spanish Tongue, *Here die I Richard Greenill, with a joyful and quiet Mind, having ended my Life like a true Soldier, that has fought for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour, &c.* He gives further, as an Instance of his Bravery, that while he continued amongst the Spanish Captains, and they were at Dinner with him, he would carouse three or four Glasses of Wine, and take the Glasses between his Teeth and break them in Pieces, and swallow them down; so that often Blood would run out of his Mouth, without any other Harm to him.'

manned, and plentifully furnished with Arms, Provisions, and all other Necessaries; that she added to them two of her own Men of War, named the *Garland* and *Foresight*; and gave him a Commission, constituting him General of the Fleet. The Honour of Lieutenant general was given to Sir *John Burgh*, a Gentleman altogether worthy of the command. And indeed all his Comorts, Officers, soldiers and Sailors, were such as had given sufficient Proof of their Valour in divers Services. With these Ships thus equipped, *Ralegh* departed in February, the Year aforesaid, to the West of England, there to store himself with such further Conveniences as he should need; but the westerly winds blowing for a long Time contrary, bound him to keep Harbour so many Weeks, that the fittest season for his Purpose was expired, and much of his Provisions consumed. The Queen, understanding how unluckily he was detained, it being the 1st of May 1592, before *Ralegh* could put to Sea, sent Sir *Martin Forbisher* after him, who overtook him the next Day, with Letters of Revocation. But *Ralegh* finding his Honour so far engaged in the Undertaking of this Voyage, interpreting the Queen's Letters, as if her Commands had been propounded in Terms of Latitude, either advance or retire at his own Discretion, would no Means consent to leave the Fleet, now under sail. So he continued his Course upon the Seas, till he met with a ship belonging to Mons. *Gourdon*, Governor of *Calais*, in which was one Mr. *Nevelvies*, who was returned from a twelve Years captivity in *Spain*; and who assured him, there was little Hopes of any Success this Year in the *West-Indies*; for the King of *Spain* had sent express orders to all the Ports, both of the *Islands* and *erra Firma*, that no Ships should stir that Year,

nor any Treasure be laid aboard for Spain. But neither this disagreeable News, nor the other Discouragements, could deter him from proceeding 'till on the 11th of May, when he was off *Cape Finister*, a most raging Tempest arising; so scatter'd the greater Part of the Fleet, and sunk his Boats and Pinnaces, that, as the Rest were driven and divided, Ralegh himself, in the *Garland*, was great Danger of being swallowed up in the Sea. Hereupon, considering the Season was too far gone for his Enterprise upon *Panama*, and his Victuals too much consumed; that the same Consumption might further disable him from lying upon the Spanish Coast, or at the Islands, to meet with the Indian Fleet, for which he had received such little Encouragement to wait, Ralegh made a Division of his Fleet into two Squadrons, committing one under the Charge of Sir John Burgh, and the other to Sir Martin Forbisher; and gave his Instructions for Sir Martin, in the *Garland*, with Capt. Gifford, Capt. Thinne, Capt. Greenhill, and others, to sail off the south Cape to terrify and keep the Spaniards on their own Coast; while Sir John Burgh, with Capt. Cross, Thomson, and others, should lie at the Azores for the Carracks from India. The Success of these Directions was answerable to the excellency of Judgment that contrived them. For the Spanish Admiral, receiving Intelligence that the English Fleet was cruising upon their Coast, gathered all naval Power to watch Forbisher, and defend the southern Parts of Spain; while the Carracks, guarded, were left a Prey to Sir John Burgh. Before the Fleet separated, they met on the Spanish Coast with a great Biscayan, called *Sancta Clara*, a Ship of 600 Ton; which, after a Fight for some Time, they mastered, and found freighted with Sorts of little Iron-work, valued by the English.

or 7 thousand Pounds; but of treble the value to the Spaniards. This, having cleared, they sent to England. Then Sir John Burgh, in a Ship of Sir Walter Ralegh's, named the *Roebuck*, coasting long towards the South Cape of St. *Vincent*; and, by the way spying a Sail, gave her chase; which being a Flyboat and good Sailor, drew him far southward, before he could fetch her; at last she came under his Lee, and struck sail. The Master confess'd a great Fleet was prepared at St. *Lucar* and *Cadiz*; for the Rumour of Ralegh's putting out strong for the *West-Indies* had so alarmed the King of Spain, that he raised this Fleet to oppose and encounter him; though looking for the Arrival of his *East-India* Carracks, he first ordered those Ships to convoy them from the *Azores*; but persuading himself if Ralegh's Fleet did make for the *West-Indies*, that then the Islands would be infested only by some small Men of War, which the Carracks of themselves would be able to cope with, his Order was to *Don Alphonso de Baçan* to pursue Ralegh's Fleet, and engage him, what course soever he held: and the English soon found his Information true. For Sir John Burgh, as he returned to his Company, descried the Spanish Fleet to sea-ward of him; which having likewise discovered him, made full Account to bring him into the Spanish Harbour; but he dexterously escaped them, and shaped his Course to the *Azores*, according to Ralegh's Directions. Here he took several small Caravels; but learnt little Intelligence from them. Arriving at *Flores* on the 21st of June, and making to the Shore of *Santa Cruz*, he found them all in Arms; but, shewing a White Flag, he was accommodated by the Inhabitants with whatever he wanted. Here he learnt News of the *East Indian* Carracks, one whereof had

lately passed by for *Lisbon*, and that four more were behind. He made after, and soon discovered the foremost, nainedt the *Santa Cruz*; which was pressed so close upon by the *English*, that she fired her self; but they took, besides some Spoil, certain Prisoners out of her, who confess'd, that within fifteen Days three other great Carracks would arrive at the same Island. Sir *John*, having taken Counsel with his Officers, departed six or seven Leagues to the West of *Flores*, causing the Ship in his Company to spread themselves North and South, two Leagues distant from each other, by which Extension they could discover two whole Degrees. Thus they lay till the 3d of August when Captain *Thompson* first saw that prodigious great Carrack, called the *Madre de Dios*, or *Mother of God*, one of the greatest Burden belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*. Captain *Thompson* first attacked her; but with the loss of several Men; then Sir *John Burgh*; in the *Rosbeck* aforesaid, intangled her; and Sir *Robert Gross* fastened himself to her at the same Instant: But Sir *John* was forced to disengage a while, for Fear of sinking, being sho under Water. At last *Gross* fell athwart her all alone, prevented her running ashore to fire herself as the other had done, and gave the Rest Time to come up to his Succour; which, after he had fought with her three Hours, he received by the Lord *Cumberland*'s Ships: And then having made a great Slaughter of the Spaniards, they boarded and possessed themselves of her with little Difficulty.

This Prize was reckoned the greatest and richest that ever had been brought into *England*; and when the News of her being taken arrived, *Ralegh*, after Consultation with Sir *John Hawkins*, wrote a Letter to the Lord-admiral, in these Words; *Our* very

very good Lord, we have conferred together about the East Indian Ship to be brought to Plymouth by Sir John Burgh; and, in our Opinions, she can be no less worth than 500,000 l. being a Ship of so great Burden, and laden with so rich Commodities as appeareth she is: Wherefore we have considered, that the Spanish Men of War, lying upon the Coast of Bretagne, hearing of so great a Prize taken from the King, or the Merchants of the Country; and, envying that such a Benefit should grow to us, to their Hindrance and Dishonour, will endeavour by all possible means, being distant but a Day or Night's Sailing; either to recover the Ship again, or to burn her and all her Lading, rather than she shall be deliver'd here; seeing that the Places of Defence where the ship may remain, are not able to resist their Power: In our Opinion therefore we think fit, and do pray your Lordship, that the three Ships of her Majesty's which are appointed to keep the narrow Seas, may, by our Lordship's Letter and Directions, be appointed to go Westward, and there to guard the Indian Ship for a Time, until the Garland and some of the same Fleet be return'd; whose Arrival cannot be any long Time expected; or till some Order may be taken for her unlading or keeping of her otherwise; which we pray your Lordship may be done with some Expedition. And so we humbly take our Leave, this 27th of August 1592. Your Lordship's humbly at Commandment, W. Raleigh (and underneath) John Hawkins. By this Means this mighty Ship * was brought

* This Carack was in Burden no less than 1600 Ton, whereof 100 were Merchandise: She carried 32 Pieces of brass Ordnance, and between 6 and 700 Passengers; was built with Decks seven story, one main Orlop, three close Decks, one Forecastle, and Spare-deck of two Floor apiece. According to the Observations of Mr. Robert Adams, an excellent Geometrician, she was in

brought safe into Dartmouth on the 7th of September following, where it daily drew vast Numbers of Spectators from all Parts to admire at the Huge-
ness of it, being far beyond the Model of the big-
gest Shipping then known among us either for War
or Burden.

But as to the Lading, tho' Sir John Burgh did prudently seize upon the whole to her Majesty's Use, to prevent all licentious Spoil; whereby the Treasure brought home was sufficient to recompense the Adventurers Cost, and the Sailors Peril, howe-
ver, the Dividends are not known, more than that her Majesty had the largest Share; and though, through the Varieties thereof, our Nation was let into the Discovery of those Merchandises, whereof we had before but an imperfect Knowledge; yet the whole Cargo, when it came to be landed and valued in England, fell short above two Thirds of the Computation which had been made by Ralegh and Hawkins, as above *. For a large Quantity of Jewels were never brought to Light; and so much of her other Goods was also purloin'd by the Sailors, Soldiers, and Officers, that at her Arrival in Eng-
land, she drew five Foot less Water than she did when she was first freighted at Cochin in the East-
Indies. And indeed the Sailors boldly confess'd,

in length from the Beak-head to the Stern 165 Feet; in breadth near 47 Feet; the length of her Keel 100 Feet; of the Main mast 121 Feet; its Circuit at the Partners near 11 Feet; and her Main-yard 106 Feet.

* As to her Lading, according to the Catalogue taken at Leadenhall the 15th of September this Year, the principal Wares consisted of Spices, Drugs, Silks, Callicoes, Carpets, Quilts, Cloth of the Rind of Trees, Ivory, Porcellan or China Ware, Ebony; besides Pearl, Musk, Civet, and Ambergris; with many other Commodities of inferior Value. The Cargason freighted ten of our Ships for London, and was, by moderate Computation, valued at 15000*l.* Sterling.

They

They had rather trust their Souls to a merciful God by Perjury, than their Fortunes to the Hands of unmerciful Men.

The latter end of this Year, and Beginning of next, we meet with Sir Walter Ralegh in the Parliament-House, whether return'd for a County or a Borough, and for which, does not at present particularly occur. A late Author of his Life observes, *that his Speeches were full of Reason and Eloquence, no Man in his Days being more a Master of Language than himself*; and Matter too, he might have added; none more satisfactorily confirming his Arguments with Facts and Experience than he did, even in his unpremeditated Speeches, no less than in the more deliberate Compositions of his Pen; so full of Observation he was upon all Times and Countries, and so readily he could apply it upon all Occasions; which now won him great Regard, as a Speaker in the House, and afterwards as an Author, to the whole World. Soon after the opening of the Session, we find him upon the Committee for the Liberties and Privileges of the Members, to examine and make Report of all Cases touching the Elections and Returns during the said Session of Parliament: Also in another against Popish Recusants: (And when the Bill for certain Subsidies to be granted her Majesty was in Debate, and some Members were for having it expressly distinguish'd in the Bill, that the said Subsidies should be for maintaining a War impulsive and defensive against the Spaniard, that the Conquests we made over them might be legal and warrantable; Sir Walter Ralegh seconded those Speeches, and said, *He knew many, who held it not lawful in Conscience, as the Time was, to take Prizes from the Spaniard; and he knew, that if it might be lawful and open War, there would be more voluntary Hands*

to fight against the Spaniard than the Queen should stand in need of to send to Sea. Accordingly he was appointed of the Committee for drawing the Articles and Préamble of the said Bill. Further, when the Necessity of the said Subsidy came to be enforc'd, Ralegh spake for it, not only (as he protested) to please the Queen, to whom he was infinitely bound above his Deserts ; but for the Neeessity he both saw and knew. He very well discover'd the great Strength of the King of Spain ; and, to shew his Mightiness, he told how he possess'd all the World ; as also that his Malice and ill Purpose was evident to this Realm, he shewed how on every Side he had beleaguer'd us. That in Denmark, the King being young, had corrupted the Council and Nobility ; so as it was very likely he would speed himself of Shipping from thence. In the marine Towns of the Low-Countries, and in Norway, he laid in great Store of Shipping. In France, he had the Parliament Towns at his Comand ; in Britany, he had all the best Havens ; and in Scotland, had so corrupted the Nobility, that he had promis'd them Forces to assist the Papists ; that they were ready to join with any foreign Forces that would make them strong, to be by themselves and resist others ; for, as he thought, there were not six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion. In his own Country, there is all possible preparing ; and he is coming with sixty Gallies, besides other Shipping, with Purpose to annoy us. We must then have no Ships, if he invade us riding at Anchor ; all will be little enough to withstand him. At his coming, he fully resolveth to get Plymouth, or at least to possess some of the Havens this Summer within our Land ; and Plymouth is a Place of most Danger, for no Ordnance can be carried thither to remove him, the Passages will not give leave. Now the Way to defeat him, is to send a Royal Army to supplant him

n Britany, and to possess ourselves there ; and to
end a strong Navy to Sea, and to lie upon the Cape,
and at Lambuck ; to which Places come all his
Ships with Riches from all Parts, and then they may
set upon all that come. This we are able to do, and
indoubtedly with fortunate Success, if we undertake it.
But some Division arising upon the Question how
they should make the Motion for this Supply to
the Lords, *Ralegh* made so judicious a Distinction
of the Cause thereof, and so clearly demonstrated
the erroneous Manner in which it had been pro-
ounded, that it appears plainly, the successful
Turn which follow'd thereupon was owing to him
alone. After this Conference, several Forms of
Provision were propos'd by way of treble Subsidies,
and like proportionable Fifteenths and Tenthys,
with other Kinds of Benevolence : Sir *Thomas Cecil*
was for three Subsidies to be paid in four Years,
and to be charged upon Men of ten Pounds and
upwards, to spare those who were under. Sir
Henry Knivet alledged the Poverty of our Country
against the Reasons used, and imputed that Poverty
to the bringing in more foreign Wares, than we
vented Commodities, whereby our Money was
carried out of our Country, which was thus become
like a Pond that was fed with a Spring, but having a
Breach, through which more passed away than came
in : Thereupon moved for a Survey to be taken
of all Men's Lands and Goods in *England*, and so
much to be yearly levied as might maintain the
Queens Wars, the Proportion being set 100,000
Pounds yearly ; or, if that was disliked, every
Man on his Word should deliver in, to his Power,
the Profits of his Lands and Goods ; so a Propor-
tion to be cess'd accordingly. To him who argued
of the Poverty of the Land, from the Multitude of
Beggars, *Ralegh* gave these Reasons : That the bro-
ken

ken Companies in Normandy and the Low-Countries, who returned maimed hither, never went back again to the Towns from whence they came : For a Multitude of Clothiers, taking their Looms into their Hands, spun their Wool themselves ; and except we would work for them cheaper than they can make themselves, they will set none to work. This engrossing of so many Trades into their own Hands, beggars so many as usually lived by the Trade. As for the surveying of so many Men's Estates, he thought it inconvenient. For many, being esteemed richer than they are, would be found Beggars, and increase the Opinion of their Number, by losing their Credit which is now their Wealth. He further reported of his own Knowledge, that the West-Country, since the Parliament begun, had taken from them the Worth of 440,000 Pounds ; and that those of Newcastle lay still for fear, because the Bourdeaux Fleet was taken this Year by the Enemy. For the Enemy approaching us, and being become our Neighbour, our Trades will decay every Day, and so our Poverty increases. Thus it is most certain ; the longer we defer Aid, the less able we shall be to yield it ; yet in the End, the greater Aid will be required ; so sparing them now, we shall charge them when they shall be less able to bear it. For it is most true, 100000 Pounds would have done the last Year, that which three will not now do ; and three will do this Year, that which six will not do hereafter. In the Conclusion, he agreed to three Subsidies ; in them, the Three-pound Men to be spared ; the Sum which came from them, to be levied upon those of ten Pound and upwards ; and the Payment to be speedy. Mr. Francis Bacon assented to three Subsidies ; but not to the Payments under six Years : But to his Reasons of Difficulty and Danger in a speedier Levy, which might hazard a double Peril, by making it four Shillings in the Pound, a

ouble Payment; Ralegh answer'd, I see no Reason
hat the Suspicion of Discontentment should cross the
rovision for the present Danger. The Time is now
ore dangerous than it was in Eighty-eight; for then
he Spaniard coming from Spain, was to pass dange-
ous Seas, and had no Place of Retreat or Relief if
e fail'd: But now he has in Britany great Store of
ipping; a Landing-place in Scotland; and Men
nd Horses there as good as any we have. But for
e Difficulty in getting this Subsidy, I think it seems
ore difficult by speaking, than it would be in ga-
ering. In the End, it was carried agreeable to
s Propositions.

Soon after there was a Bill read in the House
gainst counterfeiting the Hands of Counsellors or
rincipal Officers; and upon the second reading,
was committed to Sir John Woolley and Sir Wal-
ter Ralegh, with others. But after a Meeting in
the Middle Temple Hall, Sir John made Report to
the House, that himself, and the Residue of the
Committee, upon the End of their Examination,
id think it a very dangerous Bill; and not fit to
ass the House. But the Bill against Aliens selling
reign Wares among us by Retail, produced several
eighty Arguments and Speeches in the House,
hich have been transmitted to us. These Foreign-
s were Dutchmen, who had nestled themselves in
t. Martins, antiently allow'd for a Sanctuary,
nd therefore still had this Privilege: Here they
actis'd Spinning and Weaving, to the great De-
iment and Complaint of Merchants and regular
Dealers in our own City; insomuch that threescore
English Retailers had been ruin'd by them since the
ast Parliament, to the Diminution, besides their
wn private Substance, of the Queen's Subsidy and
he publick Treasure; 20000*l.* a Year at least hav-
ng been carried out of the Realm by them. They

had indeed some learned Council who pleaded for them at the Bar, and some of the Members spok in their Behalf. Other Arguments were used ; but against these, Raleigh concur'd with those who thought that Denization ought not to circumven Birth-right ; and that to behave ourselves like Citizens to Foreigners, was but making ourselves Strangers to our Neighbours. Whereas it is pretended (says he) that for Strangers, it is against Charity against Honour, against Profit, to expel them ; in my Opinion, it is no Matter of Charity to relieve them. For first, such as fly hither have forsaken their own King ; and Religion is no Pretext for them, for we have no Dutchmen here, but such as come from tho' Princes where the Gospel is preach'd ; yet here they live, disliking our Church. For Honour : It is Honour to use Strangers as we be used among Strangers ; and it is a Lightness in a Commonwealth, yea a Baseness in a Nation, to give a Liberty to another Nation which we cannot receive again. In Antwerp where our Intercourse was most, we were never suffer'd to have a Taylor or a Shoe-maker to dwell Nay, at Milan, where there are Three hundred Pound Englishmen, they cannot so much as have Barber among them. And for Profit ; they are all of the House of Almoigne, who pay nothing ; yea, even cut our Profits, and supplant our own Nation. Custom indeed they pay ; paying Fifteen-Pence where we pay Twelve-Pence ; but they are discharged of Subsidies. The Nature of the Dutchman is to fly to no Man but for his Profit ; and they will obey no Master long ; now under Spain ; now under Mountfort now under the Prince of Orange ; but under no Governor long. The Dutchman, by his Policy, hath gotten Trading with all the World into his Hands yea, he is now entring into the Trade of Scarborough Fishing, and the Fishing of the Newfoundlands which

which is the Stay of the West-Countries: They are
the People that maintain the King of Spain in his
Greatness; were it not for them, he were never able
to make out such Armies and Navies by Sea; it cost
her Majesty 16000 l. a Year the maintaining of these
Countries; and for all this, they arm her Enemies
against her. Therefore, I see no Reason that such
Respect should be given to them: And, to conclude;
n the whole, no Matter of Honour, no Matter of
Charity, no Profit in relieving them.

This Speech we may meet with in some modern Writings, quoted in Sir Walter Ralegh's Praise, both for his Knowledge in the Interest of his Country, and his unbias'd Affection in exerting it. As for the Bill, he was one to whom it was committed, and who, after the Travels of the said Committee upon it, offered it again to the House with the addition of a Proviso. On the 27th of March following, that is to say, in the Year 1593, it was read the third time; and, after many long speeches, which are not specify'd, passed upon the Question, by the Division of the House, with the difference of fourscore Voices; the Yeas being 162, the Noes 82. About a Week afterwards there was a Bill, for explaining a Branch in *an Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in due Obedience*, read; and many Speeches pass'd in the House before it was committed, through the many Imperfections in the Preamble and Body of the said Bill. For it pretended a Punishment only of the Brownists and other Sectaries; but, alledging nothing against them in particular, contained some ensnaring Clauses that might comprehend more innocent Persons. As the Speeches before Sir Walter Ralegh's, on this Occasion, are not rehearsed, we can only guess at them, by what is preserved of his; who said, *In my Conceit, the Brownists are worthy*

worthy to be rooted out of a Commonwealth*; but what

* This Sect was so calied from *Robert Brown*, Son of *Anthony Brown*, Esq; of *Toletborp* in *Rutlandshire*, and Grandson of *Francis Brown*, whom King *Henry VIII*, Anno Regn. 18. privileged by Charter to wear his Cap in Presence of himself, his Heirs, or any of his Nobles, and not to uncover but at his own Pleasure. This *Robert* studied Divinity in *Cambridge*, and was soon discovered by Dr. *Still*, Master of *Trinity-College*, to have somewhat extraordinary in him that would prove a great Disturbance to the Church. He travelled to *Zeland*, and returned, as we are told, confirmed in Error and Obsturacy, which he first preached at *Norwich* Anno 1581, and wrote a Book to justify his Doctrine; for which Bishop *Pbreah* of that Diocese confined him: But being related to the Lord *Burghley*, and he rather imputing it to Zeal than Malice, interceded to have him charitably persuaded out of his Opinions, and released. The latter being done, he was sent home in 1585, but remain'd incorrigible; wherefore his good old Father would own him for his Son no longer than his Son own'd the Church of *England* for his Mother; but he chose rather to part with his aged Sire than his new Schism: So with *Richard Harrison* a Schoolmaster, he set up for an Orator against Bishops and all Ecclesiastical Authority. When Gentleness was found ineffectual, Severity was so long, and upon so many Occasions exercis'd, that this *Brown* used to boast he had been committed to *Thirty-two Prisons*, and in some could not see his Hand at Noon-day; yet did he to the last save his Life and Living, which was *Achurch* in *Northamptonshire*. This Favour is conceived to proceed from the Promises he made of Conformity together with the Interest of his powerful Kindred. He allowed a Salary for one to discharge his Cure; and tho' he oppos'd his Parishioners in Judgment, yet agreed in taking their Tithes. He was of a Nature uncontrollable, so far from the *Sabbatarian* Stricnes, afterwards espoused by some of his Followers, that he seemed rather a *Libertine* therein. In a Word, he had (says my Author) a Wife with whom he never livcd, and a Church in which he never preached, tho' he received the Profits thereof; and as all the other Scenes of his Life were stormy and turbulent, so was his End; for the Constable of his Parish requiring somewhat roughly the Payment of certain Rates, his Passion moved him to Blows, whereof Complaint being made to Justice *St. John*, he rather inclin'd to pity than punish him; but *Brown*, at fair Words also disgusted, ceased not till he was sent to *Northampton* Jail on a Bed in a Cart, being very infirm, and aged above 80 Years; where soon after he ficken'd and died Anno 1630.

Danger

anger may grow to ourselves if this Law pass, ere fit to be considered. For it is to be feared that ten not guilty will be included in it ; and that Law hard, that taketh Life, and sendeth into Banishment ; where Mens Intentions shall be judged by a Jury ; and they shall be Judges what another means. ut that Law, which is against a Fact, is but just ; id. punish the Fact as severely as you will. If 2 3000 Brownists meet at the Sea, at whose Charge all they be transported, or whither will you send em ? I am sorry for it, but I am afraid there are near 20000 of them in England ; and when they are ne, who shall maintain their Wives and Children.

Committee was therefore appointed to revise and correct this Bill, among whom Raleigh is the remotest named : And being read the third Time, passed upon the Question.

This Year we met with a notable Libel in print, t forth by a *Lover of his Country*, as he calls himself, to expose certain Ministers and Counsellors of State, who had been instrumental in framg that searching Proclamation against the Semiraries which was published about two Years before, or the King of Spain having lately founded an *nglisch Cloyster* at *Valladolid*, as a Nursery to supply us with Treason and Rebellion ; so many opeful Stocks of that Species were soon transplanted into *England*, as occasioned the said Proclamation to extirpate them. Now this Answer as published to calumniate the supposed Authors of it ; and as Raleigh appears, among other very good Company, to have his Share of the Slander herein ; so he might probably have had a Hand in those wholesome Articles for the Safety of the realm, which occasioned it. For after this Libel as reviled the greatest and wisest Ministers of the Nation, it seems to have reserved the Quintessence for him, who had the Ability so many Ways to crush

crush the pernicious Purposes which were dail hatching by the viperous Brood which brought forth. For *Ralegh* had given such Proofs of his sound and sincere Affection to Religion, that his Sentiments were made use of to reform or regulate even the Professors of it; yet now his Head must be turn'd so excessively to its Detriment, to provoke this Libeller's pious Spleen against nothing less than Sir *Walter Ralegh's School of Athism*; compendiously insinuating, as if truly he were not satisfied with being a Disciple, but set up for Doctor in his Faculty, and won young Gentlemen into his said School; wherein the Old and New Testament were jested at, and Scholars taught to spell God backwards. Then he complains, *what a misera!* Thing it is, that her Majesty should make Laws and Proclamations according to these Mens Senses and Opinions. But there may need little Pains to blunt the Point of this Dart, when we shall further consider that it came out of a Jesuitical Quiver; for by who should it be levelled against him but *Robert Parsons*, the notorious Traitor and Incendiary! However deeply he disgruis'd himself into a Lover of his Country. Nevertheless, some ten Years after, when *Ralegh* was trampled down by the Court, at there was a Turn of State to serve, this might be a good serviceable Obloquy enough to upbraid him with, and deprecate him in the Eye of the populace. But these prejudiced Representations will probably be thought of so little Authority, that the Reasons and Matter of Fact which have been produc'd in a poetical Performance, may be sufficient to make those Stains even befriend his Reputation and brighten it in clearing them away.*

Indeed

* The late Dr. *George Sewell* in his Tragedy of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. 1719, Act. I. Scene I. makes the following Reflections

Indeed there is a traditional Author who accounts for the Grounds of this Aspersion, in the following Words: *Sir Walter Ralegh was the first as I have heard), who ventured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten Tract of the Schools; and who, upon the discovery of so apparent an Error as Torrid Zone, intended to proceed in an Inquisition*

on the Attorney General's starting from the Question in debate at Ralegh's Trial, to upbraid him with this imputation of Atheism.

Sir Julius Cæsar. When Prejudice and strong Aversion work,

All whose Opinions we dislike are *Atheists*:
Now 'tis a Term of Art, a bugbear Word,
The Villain's Engine, and the Vulgar's Terror.
The Man who thinks and judges for himself;
Unsway'd by aged Follies, rev'rend Errors;
Grown holy by traditionary Dullness
Of School-Authority; he is an *Atheist*!
The Man, who hating idle Noise, preserves
A pure Religion seated in his Soul;
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling *Atheist*!

Lord Howard. I had forgot it——yes, the base-tongu'd Gownsman

Did call him *Atheist*—so Men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a Providence at Sea;
And saw his Wonders in the mighty Deep.
The *Atheist-Sailor* were a monstrous Thing,
More wonderful than all old Ocean breeds!
But I will witness for my *Ralegh's* Faith;
Yes, I have seen him when the Tempest rag'd,
When from the Precipice of Mountain-Waves,
All Hearts have trembled at the Gulph below;
He with a steddy, supplicating Look,
Display'd his Trust in that tremendous Pow'r,
Who curbs the Billows, and cuts short the Wings
Of the rude Whirlwind in its midway Course,
And bids the Madness of the Waves to cease.
O Fellow-Soldier! were that Folly thine;
Tho' thou wert dearer than the Love of Honour
To this old Bosom; I would pluck thee hence
Tho' my Heart crack'd

tion after more solid Truths : till the Mediation of some, whose Livelihood lay in hammering Shrines for this superannuated Study, possessed Queen Elizabeth that such Doctrine was against God, no less than her Father's Honour ; whose Faith (if he owned any) was grounded upon School-Divinity whereupon she chid him ; who was (by his own Confession) ever after branded with the Title of an Atheist, though a known Assertor of God and Providence. That he was such Assertor, seems to be affirmed by an Author of his Acquaintance, who introduces the Apparition of Sir Walter, speaking to him in this Manner. *Thou well knowest that the World hath, at sundry Times, cast a foul and most unjust Aspersion upon me for my presumed denial of a Deity ; from which abominable and horribil Crime I was ever most free ; and not any Man nor living better knows the same than thyself ; in whose Presence I was often accustomed highly to praise and esteem the Book of Lessius, written in Proof of the Being of a Deity.* So requests, that he would translate the same into English, which I myself, says the Ghost, had done, if cruel Fate had not untimely cut off the Thread of my Mortality ; and let the Title bear my Name ; that so the Readers may acknowledge it was done by my Sollicitation. Then the said Translator of that Book says in his own Person to the Reader, *It is well known that Sir Walter was a Man of great natural Parts ; and yet was suspected of the most foul and execrable Crime of Atheism ; how truly God and himself only knows ; yet I have reason to think it a false Aspersion.* If thus much is said of Raleigh by an Author who knew him ; what Credit shall we pay to another who wrote many Years later ? Never knew him, produces no Authority for the Principles he charges upon him ; yet pretends to give us the Tutor's Name, from whom he imbibed

mbibed them ; and that, a Man of no less Learning and Merit than the famous Mr. Thomas Hariot ? This was that English Philosopher, from whose illustrious Discoveries, he, who was the Glory of the French Philosophers, is not denied to have borrowed much of the Light wherewith he shone * : This was that excellent Mathematician, who, says our Author *Wood* aforesaid, coming to the Knowledge of this heroick Knight Sir Walter Ralegh, was entertained by him in his Family, who allowed him a yearly Pension, and was instructed by him at leisure Hours in that Science. This was that virtuous and religious Man, who, being sent over by Sir Walter Ralegh with his first Colony to Virginia, but did not bear him Company, as the said Author mistakes, to survey the Bounds of the English Discoveries, with the Commodities and Customs of the Country, did first communicate the Gospel to those heathen Inhabitants ; and, in every Town where he came, explained to them the Contents of the Bible ; declaring, that therein was set forth the true and only God, and his mighty Works ; that therein was contained the true Doctrine of Salvation through Christ ; with many Particulars of Miracles and chief Points of Religion, as I was able then to utter (continues he) and thought fit for the Time. And though I told them the Book, mate-

* This Assertion will further appear to any who shall have the Curiosity to consult the late learned Dr. John Wallis, in his Treatise of Algebra, where he compares the Improvements which Hariot made, with what Descartes has advanced, as his own, without mentioning the Name of this Englishman in his Geometry ; and gives it clearly on Hariot's Side. Nay, this Plagiarism was so well known, as to have been objected against Monsieur Descartes in his own Country ; and the Frenchman, who has paid the singular Honours to his Memory of writing his Life, having confessed it was the Opinion of some, that he stole his Method of Algebra from one Hariot, an Englishman, does not go about to contradict it.

rially and of itself, was not of such Virtue as I thought they did conceive, but only the Doctrine therein contained; yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kiss it, to hold it to their Breasts and Heads, and stroke over all their Bodies with it, to shew their hungry desire of that Knowledge which was spoken of. Yet this is the Man whom the above-cited *Anthony Wood* charges with having had strange Thoughts of the Scripture; with undervaluing the old Story of the Creation; with never believing that trite Position *Ex nihilo nihil fit*; with making a philosophical Theology, wherein he cast off the Old Testament; so that consequently the New would have no Foundation. Further, with being a Deist, and imparting his Doctrine to the Earl of Northumberland, into whose Service *Ralegh* had recommended him, and of whom he also received a yearly Pension of 120*l.* Lastly, with infusing those Principles likewise into Sir *Walter Ralegh* himself, when he was compiling his *History of the World*. This last Insinuation, and probably all the rest, is surely a manifest Slander, as *Wood* himself must have owned, if he had sufficiently read that *History of the World*; where Sir *Walter Ralegh* has, in many Places, given stronger Evidences of his Christian Faith, than any of his Detractors ever did of theirs.

As for *Ralegh*, what might not a little sharpen these Detractions against him, was perhaps a Grant about this Time made him from the Crown of some Church Lands; a Course of Reward usual with Queen *Elizabeth* towards such as had performed any considerable Services for the State. The Story, as we are forced to gather it from those Authors, by whom it has not been over-favourably told, is, That about the Year 1594, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *John Coldwell*, who had been bred

a Physician, gave his See a strong Purge, by alienating the Mannor of *Sherborne* to Sir *Walter Ralegh*. Sir *John Harrington*, speaks of an ominous Presage, to make his Tale as affecting as he can to Prince *Henry*, and insinuate the Displeasure even of Heaven against Sir *Walter Ralegh*; where he observes, *That Sir Walter, using often to ride Post in these 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 Ahab did upon Naboth's Vineyard; and once above he 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 Bishoprick; suddenly, ver 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, make no question, (says he) as the like was observed in the Lord Hastings, &c. but his Brother *Adrian* would needs have him interpret that, not as Courtier, but as a Conqueror, it presaged the quiet Possession thereof. And this, through the Queen's Favour, came to pass: For after Dr. *John Piers* was translated to *York*, this Dr. *Coldwell* was elected to succeed him in the See of *Salisbury*; but it lay vacant three Years: in which dangerous Juncure for denial, all the Doctor's Church-Preferrants being disposed of, yet before his Election was confirmed, Sir *Walter Ralegh* importuned him to pass *Sherborne* to the Crown, and effected it; shot the good old Man (as one of them phrases it) between *Wind and Water*; though indeed (confessed) a good round Rent was reserved to the Bishoprick. Then Sir *Walter* begged the same of the Queen, and obtained it; much after the same Method that Sir *William Killigrew* got the Mannor of *Crediton* from the Church of *Exeter*, by the Consent

Consent of Bishop Babington. Ralegh embellished his Sovereign's Bounty with great Magnificence and Commendation ; not that he was in danger thereby of falling under the Remark he has made on common Builders of sumptuous Seats, *That Men are rather known by their Houses, than their Houses by them.* Yet his elegant Taste in Building is sufficiently attested by an Author who surveyed the Improvements he made upon this Estate when they were fresh and in their Splendour, and who tells us, *That the Queen having granted the Fee-farm of Sherborne to Sir Walter Ralegh, he began to build the Castle very fairly ; but altering his Purpose, he built in the Park adjoining a most fine House, which he beautified with Orchards, Gardens, and Groves of much Variety and great Delight ; so that, whether you consider the Pleasantness of the Seat, the Goodness of the Soil, or other Delicacies belonging to it, it rests (says he) unparalleled by any in these Parts.* How he came afterwards to be juggled out of it, may also sufficiently appear when we arrive at the latter Part of his Life. But here 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 ; where, 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 Court, 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, who was allied thereto, if not otherwise, by the last of that Surname's adopting his near Kinsman, a *Throgmorton*, to be his Heir, on Condition that he would assume the Name and Arms of *Carew*; and how *Ralegh* became related to the *Throgmortons*, will in a little Space appear. But that we might not here want such further Confirmation, of the first Planter of that famous Drangery, I have been obliged with the Gentleman's *Answer to the Enquiry*, who now dwells at

* Addition to *Camden's Britannia*, translated by the present Bishop of London, fol. 1695. pag. 166. upon which we may observe, tho' the *English* have not been so grateful as the *Romans* were in celebrating those worthy Persons who have made the like beneficial Importations to the lasting Ornament and Fertility of their Country; yet that we have had some Authors not altogether silent in these vegetable Antiquities, from whom we learn, that Dr. *Linacre* first brought into this Land that Prince of Flowers the *Damask Rose*; that the *Perdigwen Plum*, with two Kinds more, were first made Natives of this Soil by *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, when he returned from his Travels; and the *Apricock*, by a Priest named *Wolfe*, Gardener to King *Henry VIII.* In his Reign were also first propagated among us *Hops* and *Aribokes*; and then were *Cherry Orchards* first planted here, about *ittingborne* in *Kent*, with a more improved Kind of that Fruit, brought from *Flanders* by one *Harris*, another of that King's Gardeners: But what effect *Cardan's* Recommendation of *Oliverees* had with King *Edward VI.* I find not. In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when *Edmund Grindal*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, returned from Exile, he first transported the *americk*, so useful in Medicine against Diseases of the Spleen. Then also after our opening a Trade with *Zant*, the Shrub which bears the *Currans* was first transplanted hither. In 1578 the *Tulip* first shewed her gaudy Garment in *English* Ground; and, lastly, not to extend further on this Subject now, as for the profitable Plant *Tobacco*, and that princely one the *Orange-tree*, enough is said above, in the Body of this Work, to the Honour of Sir *Walter Ralegh*.

the Seat ; and his Words are, 'Tis the common Opinion of this Family, that Sir Walter Ralegh, who was related to it, brought over and planted the old Orange Trees here. But in the House they preserved a fine Cabbin Bed which was his, having Furniture of green Silk, and Legs carved like Dolphins, gilt with Gold. In short, the Seat was now so frequented, that not only *Raleigh* and other Courtiers, but the Queen received here many agreeable Entertainments* ; for some of which she could not escape the Censure of her jesuited Enemies.

As to the Seat at *West Horsley* in *Surrey*, there is good Authority that it was in the Possession of his Son, if not his own ; and in the Hall of that House, there are in several Places of the Walls and Cieling the Arms of *Ralegh* still visible. But there is a House no farther from *London* than *Islington*, about a Bow's Shot on this Side the Church, which, though I think it has no such Evidences remaining upon its Walls, Cielings, or Windows, that will prove him to have been its Owner, the Arms that are seen there, above a hundred Years old, being of a succeeding Inhabitant ; is yet popularly reported to have been a *villa* of his. For the present Tenant affirms, *His Landlord was pos-*

* Sir Hugh Plat informs us, 'That delicate Knight Sir Francis Carew, once making a splendid Entertainment for Queen Elizabeth at Beddington, led her Majesty, after Dinner, to a Cherry-Tree in his Garden, which had on it Fruit in their Prime, then above a Month after all Cherries had taken their farewell of England. This Retardation he performed by straining a Tent or Canvas Cover over the whole Tree, and wetting it as the Weather required with a Scoop ; so by obstructing the Sun-Beams, they grew both great, and were very long before they gained their perfect Cherry-colour ; and when he was assured of the Time her Majesty would come, he removed the Tent, and a few sunny Days brought them to their full Maturity. See his *Garden of Eden*, 12mo, 1655. pag. 165.

seffed of some old Account Books, by which it appears beyond all doubt this House and fourteen Acres of Land, now let at about seventy Pounds per Annum, did belong to Sir Walter Raleigh ; and that the oldest Man in the Parish would often declare his Father had told him, Sir Walter purposed to wall in that Ground, with intention to keep some of his Horses therein ; further, that some Husbandmen ploughing up the same a few Years since, found several Pieces of Queen Elizabeth's Money, whereof they brought, whatever they might reserve to themselves, about fourscore Shillings to their Master, the said Tenant, in whose Hands I have seen of the said Coin. As for the House, it is, and has been for many Years, an Inn ; so that what it was, is not clearly to be judged from its present outward Appearance, it being much impaired, or very coarsely repaired, and diminished perhaps from what it might be when Persons of Distinction lived in it. However, there are within fide some spacious Rooms ; the Parlour was painted round the uppermost Part of the Wainscot in about a dozen Pannels with Scripture Histories ; but now so old and decayed, as to be scarcely distinguishable. There is also a noble Dining-Room, the Cieling whereof is all over wrought in *plastick* or fret Work, with Representations of the *Five Senses* ; and the Chimney-piece, with the *Three principal Christian Virtues*. But the Arms in the Window, as well as in that of the Hall, are by the present Inhabitants erroneously called Sir *Walter Raleigh's* ; there being a Date under one of the Coats, which shews it was *aneal'd* six Years after his Death. So that we are not sure the Decorations aforesaid were done by his Direction, or that others more rich and elegant were not in their stead before them. As for his Dwellings in *London*, we have read before that he had Apartments in the

Court at Somerset House, and shall read hereaft
of some Acquaintance resorting to him at Durban
House in the Strand ; that he had a House by th
Thames Side, which might be the same ; and an
other at St. James's, or Apartments also in the Cour
there.

The Truth is, Sir Walter Ralegh did not live so long
at Court, and so much about the dazzling Beauties in
it, without having the Wings of his Glory, at last
somewhat sing'd in the Flames thereof ; yet Love
which in some great Courtiers of those Times, wa
the grand Busines of their Life, seemed only an
Interlude in his. There was among the Queen's
Maids of Honour a beautiful young Lady (as he
Picture represents her) named Elizabeth, Daughte
of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, an able Statesman and
Ambassador, whose Negociations and Character
are recorded both by the French and Scotch, as wel
as English Historians of those Times. With thi
Lady, Ralegh had, it seems, an Amour ; and, as
he was a Man of nervous Address, won her Hear
even to the last Favour inclusive. This Intimacy
came at last to the Queen's Knowledge ; whether
enviouly betrayed by any female Confident, a
some might apprehend, from a Character Ralegh
would bestow upon the Ladies of the Privy-Cham
ber and Bed-Chamber ; being wont to say, *They
were like Witches who could do hurt, but could do no
good* ; or whether the Intrigue could not be long
concealed for the Fruits of it, as some, who mani
festly slander Ralegh in other Particulars, have not
scrupled to suggest, the Reader has it in his Choice
to believe. But in such Colours this Matter of de
virginating a Maid of Honour was heightened, that
Ralegh was out of Favour again ; also in Confine
ment for several Months ; and when enlarged, for
bidden the Court ; whence the Lady also was dis
missed

rived from her Attendance. Yet, as heinous as his Misdemeanour was in *Ralegh*, her Majesty did not punish it in *Leicester*, *Essex*, and other Couriers, noted in their Days for such Intrigues; especially the former, who turned off *Douglas Sheffield*, whom he had a Son, to marry the Earl of *Essex's* Mother. But *Ralegh* very readily made the most honourable Reparation he could, by marrying the Object of his Affection. It appears they lived together ever after in the most exemplary Degree of conjugal Harmony; and when he was in his greatest Troubles, there are Testimonies from one, who was otherwise none of his greatest Friends,

her extraordinary Diligence and Fidelity in making Interest and Applications to assuage them. That his Thoughts were of a married Life, in comparison with a single one, may somewhat appear in that Observation he made upon a certain Gentleman's growing plump after Matrimony, who was meagre before; for another Person in Company remarking thereupon, that it fared with him contrary to what it did with other married Men, who usually at first became lean after it; *Ralegh* very pleasantly obviated the Rarity, by saying, "By, there is no Beast, that, if you take him from the Common, and put him into the Several, but he will grow fat." Many Years afterwards, when *Ralegh* wrote his *Instructions to his Son*, he sufficiently explained this Sentiment in the grave and paternal Manner he is then writing, for his Conduct in the choice of a Wife; which Topick he concludes, with advising him to bestow his Youth so, that he may have comfort to remember it when it has forsaken him. And, That his Son would evermore care to be beloved by his Wife, than be besotted on her. That if he cannot forbear to Love, yet forbear to think. However, approves of a mature and settled

Choice at last, even while he is upon the Stage of his Virility. For, believe it, the young Wife betrayeth the old Husband ; and she that had thee not in thy Flower, will despise thee in thy Fall. But not to marry for Beauty only ; lest thou bind thyself for Life, to that which perchance will never last or please one Year. Nor yet an uncomely Woman : as much regard being due at least to our own Issue a to any other Race of Creatures ; and Comeliness in Children is, Riches, if nothing else be left them He remains pretty safe in this Opinion from many Censures by the hard-favoured Part of the Sex because he knew that few Ladies would be positiv upon this Head in their Right to reprove him nor will Widows believe he has treated them wit Rigour, while they remain in that State, since h has said, *Leave not thy Wife to be a Shame unto the after thou art dead ; but that she may live accordin to thy Estate ; especially if thou hast few Children and those provided for.* Though he does also fur ther say, *Leave her no more than of Necessity thi must, but only during her Widowhood ; for if s Love again, let not her enjoy her second Love in the same Bed wherein she loved thee ; nor fly to futur Pleasures with those Feathers which Death hath pul led from thy Wings.* Not that he was averse to se cond Marriages, for he advised his own Wife to marry again, when he was in Expectation of bein suddenly divided from her for ever. Many othe weighty Admonitions may be found relating to tha Sex among his Writings, some of which we mee with, quoted by our most accomplished Humanis and Criticks in the Manners and Passions of Life as from an Author who had read their Hearts thro all their Veils and Disguises : But one of those Wrters, tho' he allows him all the advantageous View of Life through such a Variety of Scenes ; as har

ng lived in Courts and Camps ; travelled through many Countries ; seen many Men under several Climates, and of as various Complexions ; yet thinks in which every Body will not agree) he speaks of our Impotence to resist the Wiles of Women, in very severe Terms ; where Ralegh has upon the solid Ground of the greatest Examples admonished us, to what fatal Inconveniences Mankind is allured by their restless Curiosity of knowing what is unfit for their Knowledge, and the prevailing Expedients to gratify it of dissimulate Sorrow and Unquietness.

While Ralegh was under the Displeasure aforesaid, and in Retirement, he projected a further Removal from the Court ; the better by that Distance, and some memorable Exploit, to allay the Malice of his Enemies, and recover his Sovereign's Love. Some thought this an impolitick Course ; as if his foreign Actions could not work so effectually to his Advantage, as the Applications of his Adversaries to his Disparagement. And hereupon Sir Robert Naunton says, That 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 Court (says he) 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 : Howsoever, he had it always in Mind never to forget himself ; and his Device took so well, that at his return he came in, as Rams do by going backwards, with the greater Strength ; and so continued to the last great in her Grace. Thus also says another Author, His Enemies of greater Rank kept him under ; sometimes in, sometimes out ; and then he would wisely decline

decline himself out of the Court-road : And then you found him not but by Fame ; in Voyages to the West-Indies, Guiana, New Plantations, Virginia, or in some Expeditions against the Spaniards. And thus writes a third to the same Purpose : 'Tis 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. Certainly he deserved such good Fortune, beyond all others, of a Restitution to royal Favour, who could so much more hazardously and heroically than any of them aspire to earn it ; as now he abundantly manifested, in that grand and gallant Undertaking to discover and conquer the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana ; an Enterprize which had baffled the repeated Efforts of some of the ablest and most renowned Captains and Cavaliers in Spain for near 100 Years past : for, in one of their own Authors, we may read the Names of many brave Commanders, and their Commendations for the Miseries they endured, who within that Space had trod this Maze, and lost themselves, with some, 500, some 1000 Men apiece, in finding out this Country. And yet none of all their own Authors have more nobly and liberally celebrated these, and other such like Adventurers of the Spanish Nation, than Ralegh himself has done.

For Ralegh, industrious in diving into the Causes of so many Failures, having informed himself what ambient Courses the preceding Adventurers had taken

taken to arrive at the Heart of the Country they sought, and which was the shortest Way to make a successful Discovery, found that most of the Spanish Attempts in these Parts had failed, through the Mutinies and Discords which they had fomented among themselves ; as most of their Conquests in others, were much owing to the like Factions among the Americans : And if there was not an expert Soldier or Seaman but he consulted (as one Author observes upon his Character in general) nor a printed or manuscript Discourse but he perused ; whereby it came to pass, there were not exacter Rules or Principles for both services then he drew : Much more may we believe he now particularly made Use of these Helps and Lights to draw those Rules and Directions by which his Year (last mentioned, 1594) he gave to an old Officer, Capt. Whiddon, whose Experience he had before tried, for a Voyage to the Country aforesaid : And this same Year that Captain also returned from thence, with several inducing Confirmations of the Grandeur and Opulence of Guiana, having learnt the same from some of the grand Casiques, or principal Rulers, upon the Borders thereof ; but notwithstanding Complaints of some barbarous Treachery from the Spanish Governor, who had then got some footing there ; and, after promises of suffering the Englishmen to furnish themselves with what Supplies they wanted, decoyed several of them to their Destruction. Raleigh had thus more Spurs than one, inciting him to visit these Regions in Person. And now this golden Country made such Invitations, he heartily determined, in Quest thereof, though through an Ocean of Difficulties, to wash away the Malice of his Adversaries at Court, and render his Character more impenetrable against the little Cen-
to

to sting and fester superiour Merit : With such Views *Ralegh* very speedily fitted * out a Fleet ; great Expence ; though the Lord Admiral *How* and Sir *Robert Cecyl* were at the further Charge augmenting it.

We may distinguish five Ships under him, sides Barges, Wherries, and other necessary Ters, in his own excellent *Narrative* of this Voya Whence we understand, the Ship himself went was his own, which he does not name ; but *Lion's Whelp*, which was the Lord Admiral's, commanded by Captain *George Gifford* ; Cap *Keymis* had the Command of a *Galego*, besid Bark, which was committed to Captain *Cross*, another to Captain *Calfield*. The whole Num of Men in this Fleet is not mention'd ; but the lect Company of Officers, Gentlemen and Sold he us'd in his Discoveries, exceeded not 100. T prepar'd, he departed from *Plymouth* on the S of February following, and made to the *Grand*

* The Empire of *Guiana* is directly East from *Peru* tow the Sea, and lies under the equinoctial Line, was then gove by the same Laws, and under the same Religion. There many Attestations of the wonderful Riches in these Parts, cially the Imperial City, which they called *Manoa*, w *Francisco Lopez*, speaking of the Magnificence of the Empe Court, says, ‘ That all the Vessels of his House, Table ‘ Kitchen, were of Gold and Silver ; that in his Wardrobe ‘ hollow Statues of Gold, which seemed Giants ; and the Fig ‘ in Proportion and Bigness, of all the Beasts, Birds, Trees ‘ Herbs that the Earth brings forth, and of all the Fishes ‘ the Sea or Waters of his Kingdom breeds. Finally, t ‘ was nothing in his Country whereof he had not the Cou feit in Gold. Further, that City of *Manoa* was by *Juan tinez*, the first Christian who saw it, called *El Dorado*, or *Golden City*, upon seeing the *Guianians* there, and all about Borders, in their drunken Revels, anoint themselves with a tinous Balsom, and powder their naked Bodies over with Dust 'till they all glittered from Head to Foot.

aries, and so to Tenerif, where he waited a while
or the *Lion's Whelp*, and for Captain *Amais Preston*. But this Captain disappointed him, and
went upon another Adventure; which proved some
Disadvantage in the Prosecution of his Discoveries.
After seven or eight Days, not seeing them, he
proceeded for *Trinidad* with his own Ship and Cap-
tain *Cross*'s only (for the *Galego* which set out
with them linger'd behind on the Coast of Spain)
they reach'd that Isle on the 22d of March, and
laid Anchor at *Point Curiapan*, which the *Spaniards* call'd *Punta de Gallo*, situate in eight De-
rees or thereabouts. In the four or five Days he
continued here, he came not to the Speech of any
Indian or *Spaniard*. On the Coast he saw a Fire,
but for fear of the *Spaniards* none of the *Indians*
dared to approach him. Then *Ralegh*, in his
arge, coasted close along the Shore, and landed
in every Cove, the better to know the Island,
while his Ships kept the Channel. From hence he
remov'd in a few Days up North-East, to recover
that Place the *Spaniards* call *Puerto de los Espan-
oles*, but the Inhabitants *Conquerabia*; and as be-
fore (revictualling his Barge) he left the Ships, and
kept by the Shore, that he might better speak with
the Inhabitants, and observe the Rivers, Watering-
places, and Ports in the Island; of all which he
took Draughts as he passed along, which he redu-
ced at last to one general Map. At *Parico* he found
Fresh-water River, and at *Terra de Brea*, another
ort, call'd by the Natives *Piche*, great Quantities
of very good Oysters growing upon the Branches
of certain Trees, here so numerous, that he tra-
vell'd for a dozen Miles together under them;
which enabled him afterwards to rectify the antient
accounts of this Tree, and the fond Conceits of

some Moderns, that it was the *Tree of Knowledge*.^{*} In short, he coasted three Parts of the Isle of *Trinidad*, in the Month he staid there for Captair *Preston*, the more exactly to make his Draught thereof aforesaid. At *Puerto de los Espannoles* he met with his Ships, and found a Company of *Spaniards* keeping Guard at the Descent, who, ir doubt of their own Strength, offer'd Signs of Peace He sent Captain *Whiddon* to parley with them, whom he afterwards left buried in the Island to hi great Grief, being a Man, says *Ralegh*, most ho nest and valiant. From some of the *Spanish* Sol diers, whom he found Means to make free of their Tongue by the Help of Wine ; and from one of th *Indian* Rulers, named *Cantyman*, he gather'd wha Strength the *Spaniards* were of, and how far it wa to the City they had built under their Governo *Don Antonio de Berreo*. Here he found Occasio of staying a-while ; both to have some Reckoning with *Berreo* for his treacherous Dealings with thi *English* under *Whiddon* ; and to learn also the Strength, Riches, and Passages to several other Parts of the Country. But when *Ralegh* was credibly inform'd that the *Spanish* Governor had sen for a Recruit of Soldiers, and how lamentably the Natives suffer'd under his Cruelties ; that the very Lords of the Country were made his Slaves ; that he had put one of them, named *Morequito*, to Death : that several others were then lying in Chains, and languishing under the most exquisite Tortures, he found sufficient Occasion not only to revenge the Loss of his Countrymen, but a good Opportu nity to gain the Hearts of the *Indians*, by attempt

* 'Tis the *Indian* Fig, which he curiously describ'd ; and how it bears *Oysters*, by planting itself into the Sea ; so that one Stem soon becomes a Grove. See *Hist. of the World*, lib. 1. cap. 4. sect. 2,

ng to rescue them from this Yoke of Tyranny : Therefore he boldly set upon the *Corps du Garde* in the Dusk of the Evening ; and having put them to the Sword, advanced with a hundred Men, and by Break of Day took their new City call'd *San Joseph*, which, at the Entreaty of the *Indians*, he set on Fire. Then were the Natives in Confinement, yet at Liberty. Among them were five *Casiques*, or petty Kings in those Parts. These, all bound together in one Chain, almost dead with Famine, and wasted with Torments ; having had their naked bodies basted or dropp'd over with burning Bacon ; Raleigh also, to his great Reputation, deliver'd from their Captivity ; and several Years after, when this, with Raleigh's other noble Acts among these *Indians*, was mention'd by some of our English Adventurers to *Guiana*, it was freshly retain'd and gratefully acknowledg'd by them to his Honour ; when also one of their bravest Princes, who had been in *England*, and christen'd *Ragapo*, came above a hundred Miles to visit them, for the great love he bore to Raleigh ; manifestly shewing, how durably he had engag'd their Affection and Desires for his Return to be their Ruler and Protector. But for the Governor, who had imprison'd so many of them, he was now become a Prisoner himself ; and Raleigh, by his courteous Treatment of him, reaped the Fruit of that Knowledge and Experience he had gather'd in the many Years he had command'd, with great Sums of Money, upon the Discovery of *Guiana*. The same Day that Raleigh made his Conquest, arrived Captain *Gifford* and Captain *Leymis*, and in their Ships divers Gentlemen and others, which to his little Army was a great Succour and Solace. Then proceeding upon his Discovery, Raleigh first call'd all the Chiefs of the Island together, who were Enemies to the Spaniards

niards; for some of them Berreo had brought out of other Countries, and planted there, to eat out and waste the Natives; then by his Indian Interpreter, whom he carried out of England, he made them understand, he was the Servant of a Queen, who was the greatest Casique of the North, and a Virgin, who had more Casiqui under her than there were Trees in that Island: That she was an Enemy to the Castellani, in Regard of their Tyranny and Oppression; and having freed all the Coasts of the Northern World from their Servitude, had sent him to free them also; and withal to defend the Country of Guiana from their Invasion and Conquest. Then he shew'd them her Majesty's Pictur, which they so admir'd and honour'd, that it had been easy for him to have made them idolatrous thereof. The like and larger Speeches he made in solemn Manner to the rest of the Nations, both in his Passage to Guiana and to those of the Borders: So as in that Part of the World the Queen of England's Fame was diffus'd with great Admiration. This done, Ralegh return'd to Curiapan, and tho' he had learn'd of Berreo, that Guiana was some hundred Miles further than the Accounts he receiv'd of Captain Whiddon had represented it, he kept the Knowledge thereof from his Company, whom he fear'd would have been discourag'd thereby from prosecuting the Discovery. When Ralegh had further gather'd from Berreo the Proceedings of the past Adventurers and his own, of all which he gives us a succinct and curious History, he told him he was come upon the same Design, and was resolved to see Guiana. Berreo used many Arguments to dissuade him; as that he must venture in very light and small Boats to pass so many dangerous Shallows, and could not carry Victuals enough above half the Way; that none of the Country would speak

peak with him ; and, if he followed them, would burn their Towns ; besides, the Way was long, the Winter at hand, and the Rivers beginning to well ; but above all, that the Kings and Lords, who bordered upon *Guiana*, had decreed, that none of them should trade with any Christians for Gold, because the same would be their own Overthrow. *Ralegh*, resolving however to make Trial, directed his Vice-Admiral, Captain *Gifford*, and Captain *Calfield*, to turn Eastward against the Mouth of the River *Capuri*, and gave them Instructions to anchor at the Edge of the Shoal, and pon the best of the Flood to thrust over ; but they abour'd in vain : Nor did the Flood continue so long, but the Water fell before they could have pass'd the Sands. Then *Ralegh* sent one *King*, Master of the *Lion's Whelp*, to try another Branch, call'd the *Amana*, if either of the small Ships wou'd enter ; but when he came to the Mouth, he bound it as the rest. After him went *John Dowlass*, who discover'd four goodly Entrances ; but all shoal'd and shallow in the Bays leading to them. In the mean Time *Ralegh*, fearing the worst, caused his Carpenters to cut down an old *Galego* Boat, to fit her with Banks for Oars, and so as she might draw but five Foot ; in this went *Ralegh*, with Gentlemen and Officers to the Number of threescore. In the *Lion's Whelp* Boat and Wherry they carried twenty ; Captain *Calfield*, in his Wherry, carried ten ; and a Barge of *Ralegh*'s ten more. This was all the Means they had, having left their Ships at *Curiapan*, to carry a hundred Men, with Weapons and Provisions for a Month, exposed to all the Extremes of the Weather, all the Hazards of the Water ; to lie open to the Air, and upon hard Boards by Night ; in Storms of Rain, or under the burning Sun by Day ; to swell

the wet Cloaths of so many crowded together; the Dressing of their Food, and that mostly stale Fish in the same Place; to be in such a Labyrinth o Rivers, in such a remote and unknown Region what Prison could be more loathsome and un healthy? what Prospect more fearful and desolate At first setting out, they had twenty Miles of high Sea to cross in these scanty Boats; so that they were driven before the Wind into the Bottom o the Bay of *Guanipa*, inhabited by inhuman Can nibals, who shot poison'd Arrows: And from thence to enter one of the Rivers of which *Dowglas* had brought Tidings. After four Days, they were past ebbing and flowing, and might have wan der'd a whole Year about, and never been able to extricate themselves, in such a general Conflu ence or Rendezvous of Streams were they now be wilder'd; and so resembling one another, as not to be distinguish'd; but imperceptibly circulating and driving them about into the same Places where they had been before; passing between many Islands and Streights, whose Borders were so thickly arched and over shadowed with Trees, as bounded their Sight to the Breadth of the River and Length of the Avenue, while the Gloominess of the Prospect added Horror to the Lonesomeness of the Place. At length, on the 22d of *May 1595*, they fell into a River; which, because it had no Name, they call'd the *Red-cross River*, these being the first Christians who ever enter'd the same. When they drew into the Creek, which led to a Town upon this River, their *Indian Pilot*, named *Ferdinando*, landing, was set upon by his Countrymen, who hunted him with Dogs; whereupon *Ralegh* seiz'd an old Man passing that Way, and threat en'd to cut off his Head if he would not procure his Pilot's Liberty: But he, by his Agility, soon escaped

scaped them, and swam to Raleigh's Barge : However, they kept the old Man, and used him kindly, turing themselves of useful Information from a Native so long conversant in those Parts. And indeed, but for this Accident, they had never found their Way forward to the Country they sought, nor back to that where their Ships lay ; the old Man himself being often in the utmost Perplexity which ever to take, so numerous and intricate they were. Those People who dwell in the flooded Lands of this insular and broken World, or in all the Tracts towards Guiana, which the eight Branches of the Orenoque fashion into Islands, are generally called *vitivas*, but distinguished into two Tribes, a ready and valiant Generation ; who, though they habited Houses on the Ground in Summer, yet in winter were forced to reside in the Trees, where they built themselves artificial Towns, and whose families were to be seen lodg'd in an Arm or branch of those aerial or vegetable Tenements ; for between May and September those Islands are overw'd in some Places twenty Foot high by the said River of Orenoque.

Departing from this Quarter of the *Tivitivas*, which was under the Division or Tribe call'd *awana*, he kept passing up the River with the flood, and anchoring in the Ebb ; yet the third day of his entering the River aforesaid his Galley ran a-ground, and stuck so fast, they all thought their Discovery was at an End, and that the great Number of them must live like Rooks, and build their Nests in the Boughs ; but, after emptying her Ballast, and much Labour, they got her float at the End of the fourth Day, and struck to another River call'd the *Great Amana*, spacious and without winding, being one of the fairest branches of the grand Orenoque : But here the

Flood of the Sea left them, and every Man, from the highest to the lowest, was forced to tug by turns at the Oar for several Days, against a rapid Current, and in a most sultry Clime; for they were now in five Degrees of the *Line*. Many goodly Rivulets they pass'd on either Side, which *Ralegh* nam'd in his Map, and shewed their Rise and Descent. When three Days more were passed over, his Company began as well to despair at the Length of the Way, as to languish through exceeding Heat; and well might their Courage, now their Provision also began to fail; yet now had they the most need of Strength and Vigour, when the Current of the River grew most boisterous and violent against them. Here *Ralegh* had a great Task to keep up the Spirits of his disconsolate Companions which could not be done without being ever foremost to endure Labour, and the last who gratify'd himself with Refreshment. He also strictly commanded his Pilots to promise an End every next Day which honest Deceit he used so often, they were forced to assure it would be at every Reach.

Thus while he was giving them Hopes of attaining the Land where their Patience should be rewarded with Plenty. Providence seems to have rewarded his Trust in her, by happily shifting the Scene, and presenting the most beautiful Landskip they had ever beheld. For here Mountains crowned with Garlands of fruitful Trees, invited one Sense; and verdant Plains of many Miles extent, enamelled with Groups of odorous Flowers regaled another. Birds of such Sorts and Colour as they had never seen, tempted them to supply themselves by their Fowling Pieces; and Fishes of various Kinds, by their Nets; without which, having little or no Bread, and less Drink, only the thick and troubled Water of the River, they had been

een in the greatest Extremity. Now the old Giawanian they had taken (as before-mention'd) persuading them he would lead them to a Town up the Branch of a River on the right Hand, where they might be supplied with all Conveniences, and return before Night; *Ralegh* leaving his Galley, took eight Musketiers in his Barge, and with *Gifford* and *Calfield* in their Wherries, having eight Musketiers more, enter'd the Mouth of that River; it rowed till Sun-set, and saw no Sign of the Town even till they were forty Miles distant from the Galley, and the Rowers were ready to give up the host. They had certainly hang'd this Pilot, but at their Necessities were his Security; for it was late dark, and they knew not their Way back again; but as they proceeded, the River grew so narrow, and was so over-spread with Trees from Side to Side, that they were all forc'd with their oars to cut a Way for their Oars. About One Clock after Midnight they discern'd a Light, and heard the Barking of Dogs; soon after they found a Village, and there they were stored with Provisions, according to the Promises of the old Pilot. In the mean Time, the Company in the Galley sent out a Boat in Search of them; but next day they return'd, and continu'd their Course, after they had made this hungry and hazardous Voyage for fourscore Miles in that River; which, besides her strange Fishes of marvellous Bigness, abounds with those ugly Serpents call'd *Crocodiles*; hence the People nam'd it the River of *Lagartos*. *Ralegh* had a young Negro attending upon him in his Galley, who, leaping out to swim in the Mouth of this River, was, in the Sight of them all, instantly devour'd by one of these amphibious Animals. Not long after, being again in Want of victuals, they took two Canoes laden with excellent

lent Bread, being run ashore by the *Indians* in then call'd *Arwacas*, who fled to hide themselves in th Woods; fearing, through the Prepossession of th Spaniards, that *Ralegh* and his Company wer *Canibals*. *Ralegh* pursuing them, in Hopes c some Intelligence, found, as he was creeping thre the Bushes, a Refiner's Basket, there being in Quicksilver, Saltpetre, and divers other Material for the Trial of Metals; and also the Dust of som Ore that had been refin'd: but in two other C noes which escaped them, they heard of a god Quantity of Ore and Gold. *Ralegh* then lande more Men, and offered 500*l.* to any of his So diers who should take one of the *Spaniards*, who they thought to have also landed in these last C noes; but they escaped while he was pursuing tl former: However, while he was in Search of tl *Spaniards*, he found the *Arwacas* hidden in tl Woods, who had been Pilots for the *Spaniard*, of which *Ralegh* kept the chief for his Pilot, ar carried him to *Guiana*; by whom he understood what Parts the *Spaniards* labour'd for Gold, whic he divulged to few of his Company, knowing bo the Season of the Year and other Convenienci would be wanting to work any Mine himsel Therefore he hasted away from this Place, h Purpose being at that Time rather to discover wh he could of the Country, and win over the Peop to Subjection. Besides this Restraint from a Greediness after their Gold, there was another Vi tue he no less strictly observ'd, which highly ac vanced him in the Esteem of all those *Indians*. Fo whereas the *Spaniards* were wont to satisfy the Lusts without Controul upon their Wives an Daughters, *Ralegh* suffer'd not a Man of his i much as to touch any of their Women. *I prote* (*says he*) *before the Majesty of the living God, tha*

I neither knew, nor believe that any of our Company, one or other, by Violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their Women ; and yet we saw many Hundreds, and had many in our Power, and of those very young and excellently favour'd, which came among us without Deceit, stark naked. And because he found it a very troublesome Work to keep the meaner Sort from pilfering and Spoil, when they went to any of the Indians Hous-es, Ralegh caused his Interpreter at every Place, when they departed, to enquire after the Losses or Wrongs that had been done ; and if he found any Thing had been stolen or taken by Violence, either the same was restored, and the Party punish'd in their Sight, or else it was paid for to their utmost Demand.

After he was recruited with Bread and other Provisions, which greatly encouraged his Men, who now cry'd out, *Let us go on, we care not how far* ; Ralegh sent back in one of the Canoes the old Ciawan, and Ferdinando, his first Pilot ; giving them such Things as they desir'd for their Voyage, and wrote a Letter to his Ships, which they deliver'd, and then he went on under the Pilotage of one of those *Arwacas* he had taken, whom the Spaniards had christen'd *Martin*. But the next or second Day after, they run a-ground again with their Galley, and she was very near being cast away with their new Store of Victuals ; they lay on the Sand one whole Night, and were in far greater Despair of disengaging her than before, because they had no Tide of Flood to help them. In the Midst of their Fears, they bethought them of fastening an Anchor upon the Land, and with main Strength drew her off. So the fifteenth Day (of their Absence from their Ships) they discover'd at a Distance, to their great Joy, the Mountains of *Guiana*; and towards the Evening were brought by a northerly

Gale in Sight of the great Orenoque, which they soon after enter'd ; a River of vast Extent and Magnitude, lying mostly East and West even from the Sea to Quito in Peru, thought to be 300 Miles wide at the Mouth, 1000 Miles navigable for Ships 2000 for lesser Vessels, and discharging it self by sixteen Arms into the Sea, whereby many Parts of the Spanish Indies might most easily be invaded. From other Observations, it appears in many Places of the Channel to be twenty Fathom deep ; and indeed few that are shoally, less than two and a half. It was called by the succeeding Voyagers to this Place in Honour of Sir Walter, after his Name. One of them gives his Reason for it in these Words : *C*oncerning the Worthiness of this River because I cannot say enough, I will speak nothing ; we have presumed to call it by the Name of RALEANA, because your self was the first of our Nation who ever enter'd the same. Now when Ralegh had procur'd one of the bordering Princes, named Toparimaca, a skilful old Pilot who was his Brother, and who perfectly knew the River, he sailed up a Branch thereof, having on the left Hand a great Island which they call Assapania ; and thence along the Banks of several other Islands, which they chose rather to anchor at than by the main Land, because of the Tortoises Eggs found there in Abundance, to their great Relief and for the Convenience of casting their Nets from the Rocks, of a blue metalline Colour, which look'd like Steel-ore. So keeping always westward up the River, there open'd after a while a Land on the right Side, which appear'd a spacious Champaign, and the Banks perfectly red. Ralegh sent Captain Giffard, Thynn, Calfield, his Cousins Greenvil and Butshead Gorges ; also his Nephew John Gilbert and some others, with a Guard of Soldiers, to march over the Banks, and discover what Prospect it afforded.

fording ; and finding it a Level of an unbounded Space, it proved, as their Pilot inform'd them, the Plains of *Saima*, reaching to *Cumena* and *Caracas* in the *West-Indies*, which are a hundred and twenty Leagues to the North, and inhabited by four principal Nations, whereof one were the *Aroras*, as black as Negroes, but of smooth Hair ; a desperate People, using the strongest and most deadly Poison of all others on their Arrows. *Ralegh* was most anxious to know the Composition of this Poison, and what Remedies could be had against the dreadful Effects of it. For, besides the Mortality of the Wound, the Patient is afflicted with most insufferable Torment, and accompanied with such irksome symptoms, that the Physician cannot abide the Cure. None of the *Spaniards* could ever extort this Secret either by Kindness or Cruelty ; and indeed but few of the *Indians*, besides their Priests and Soothsayers, knew it. * *Ralegh* was therefore more beholden to the *Guianians* than any Body ; for *Intonio de Berrio* told him, that he could never attain to the Knowledge thereof. *And yet they taught me* (says *Ralegh*) *the best Way of healing this, as well as all other Poisons.* Then he tells us those Medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinary Poison, are made of the Juice of a Root call'd *Tupara*, which also marvellously quenches the Heat of burning Fevers, and heals inward

* Whether the Poison they used in *Guiana* was the same with that in some other Parts of the *West-Indies*, *Ralegh* has not told ; but Sir *John Hawkins* informs us, that about *Cumana*, where they are very expert Archers, ‘ their Poison is of such Force, that a Man being struck therewith, dies in twenty-four Hours ; and, that in his Judgment, there can be no stronger ; using thereunto Apples, which are fair and red of Colour ; but are a strong Poison (perhaps the *Manchineil*) of which with venomous Bats, Vipers, Adders, and other Serpents, they make a Medley, and anoint their Arrows.

Wounds ; and that those of common poison'd Arrows were wont to be heal'd by some of the Spaniards with the Juice of Garlic. But this he communicates as a general Rule for all Men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poison'd Arrow are used, that they abstain from Drink ; for if they take any Liquor into their Body, whereunto the will be exceedingly provoked by Drought, and drink before the Wound is dress'd, or immediatly upon it, there is no Relief but present Death.

After having passed the Mountain *Aio*, and great Island, which he mentions, he reached on the fifth Day of his entering the great River aforesaid, as high as the Province of *Aromaia*, and anchoring at the Port of *Morequito*, which is 30 Miles within the Land, upon the said great River *Orenoque*, he sent a Messenger to the old King of *Aromaia*, named *Topiowary*, who came the next Day before Noon on Foot from his House, and returned the same Evening, being 28 Miles backwards and forwards, though himself was 110 Years of Age. He had many Attendants of both Sexe who came also to wonder at the English, and brought them great Plenty of Flesh, Fowl and Fish, with divers Sorts of Fruits, and among the abundance of *Pinas*, the most excellent of all Kinds*, especially those of *Guiana*; besides Bread

* Whether Ralegh, at his Return, brought of this Fruit into England, which is otherwise called the *Ananas*, and vulgarly the *Pine Apple*, from some Resemblance it bears in Shape to the Cones of the Pine-tree; or any of that most delicious Wine made thereof, which he there also tasted, has rather been suggested than confirmed; but afterwards, when, by a speedy Voyage some of the Fruit was brought over and presented to King James in greater Perfection than we can conceive from tasting what forced out of hot Beds here, he discovered one of the nobler Maxims in his King craft, by declaring, *It was a Fruit too delicious, for a Subject to taste of.*

Vine, and a Sort of Parroquites no bigger than Vrens. And one of them presented *Ralegh* with little Beast, which the *Spaniards* call *Armadilla*, having his Body scaled or plated over like the *Rhinoceros*, with a white Horn growing in his hinder parts as big as a hunting Horn. This Horn is recommended in Medicine, and the Flesh for Food, since *Ralegh* soon after made a Feast of it.

When the old King had rested himself a while in a Tent which *Ralegh* had caused to be pitched for him, they entered, by the Interpreter, into a discourse about the Murder of *Morequito*, his Predecessor, and the other Violations of the *Spaniards*. When *Ralegh* acquainted him with the Cause of his coming thither, whose Servant he was, and that it was his Queen's Pleasure he should undertake this voyage to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*; dilating at large on her Majesty's Power, Justice, and Clemency towards all oppressed Nations: all which, being with great Reverence and Attention received, he began to sound the old man touching *Guiana*; as what Sort of Commonwealth it was, how governed, of what Strength and Policy, of what Extent; with whom in Alliance or Enmity; lastly, the Distance and Way to enter the Heart of the Country? The King gave such ample and perfect Account of these Particulars, that *Ralegh* wondered to find a Man of such Gravity, Judgment, and good Discourse, without the help of Learning or Breeding. After his Departure, *Ralegh* sailed westward to view the famous river *Caroli*, both because it was so wonderful in itself, and led to the strongest Nations of all the frontiers, who were Enemies to the *Epuremei*, subjects to the *Inga*, or Emperor of *Guiana* and *Anoa*. Even when he was short of it, or lower down than the Port of *Morequito*, he heard the roaring

roaring Falls of this River ; but when he entered it with his Barge and Wherries, thinking to have gone up some 40 Miles to the *Cassipagotos*, he was not able with a Barge of eight Oars to row one Stone's Throw in an Hour ; and yet the River is as broad as the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. Therefore encamping on the Banks, he sent off an Indian to acquaint the Nations upon the River of his Arrival and his Purpose ; and that he desired to see the Lords of *Canuria*, who dwelt in that Province. Then one of the Princes came down, named *Wanuretona*, with many of his People, and brought great Store of Provisions, as the rest had done. By him *Ralegh* found, the *Carolians* were not only Enemies to the *Spaniards*, but most of all to the *Epuremei*, who abounded in Gold ; and that there were three mighty Nations at the Head of that River, which would join him against them. He was further informed by one Capt. *George*, whom he had taken with *Berreo*, that near the Banks of this River there was a great Silver Mine ; but the Rivers were all now so risen, that it was not possible for the Strength of Man with any Boat to row against the Stream. Therefore he dispatched Party between 30 and 40 to coast the River by Land, while himself, with two or three Officers and half a dozen Shot, marched over-land to view the strange and wonderful Overfalls of the said River *Caroli*, which roared at such a Distance, and the Plains adjoining, with the Rest of the Province of *Canuri*. When they had got to the Top of the first Hills over-looking the River, they beheld that prodigious Breach of Waters which poured down *Caroli*, and how it ran in three Streams for 20 Miles together. No less than 10 or 12 of these steep Cataracts appeared in Sight, each as high above the other as a Church-tower ; which rushed

down

down with such Violence, that the very Rebound of the Waters made the Place seem as if it had been all over covered with a great Shower of Rain. And here *Ralegh* says, he never saw a more beautiful Country, nor more lively Prospects; the Hills so raised up and down about the Valleys; the Waters winding into such various Branches; the Plains so clear of Bush and Stubble, and covered all with fair green Grass; the Ground of hard Sand, and easy for the March either of Horse or Foot; the Deer crossing in every Path; the Birds, towards the Evening, singing on every Tree a thousand several Tunes, with Cranes and Herons of white, crimson and Carnation, perched along the River banks; the Air refreshed with gentle easterly breezes; and every Stone they stooped to take up, promising either Gold or Silver by its Complexion. His Company, at their return, brought several of these Stones home; which they rather found coloured outwardly like Gold, than any of that Metal fixed in them; for those who had least Judgment or Experience, kept only such as glittered, and would not be persuaded but they were rich, because they shone, thereby bred an Opinion, that all the Rest were no better. Yet some of these stones *Ralegh* shewed afterwards to a Spaniard of the *Caraccas*, who told him it was *El madre del oro*, that is, the *Mother of Gold*; and that the Mine was further in the Ground.

Among the goodly Rivers beyond the *Caroli*, here is one name *Caora*. Upon this Branch, it was attested to *Ralegh* by the most intelligent and credible Chiefs of the adjacent Parts, there dwelt a Nation of People whose Heads appear not above their Shoulders; which, because every Body in the Provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* also affirmed, he was inclined to believe. They are called *Ewaipanoma*,

noma, and reported to have their Eyes in their Shoulders, and Mouths in their Breasts (or in a level with them). It was further avouched to him, they used Bows, Arrows, and Clubs thrice as big as any of the *Guianians*; and that one being taken Prisoner the Year before was brought into *Aromaia*. When *Ralegh* doubted of such a Race to the Prince, hereafter-mentioned, who came with him into *England*, he answered, it was no wonder among them; for they had lately slain many Hundreds of his Father's People. *Ralegh* observes, That Man devill had before written of such a Nation; and that since the East-Indian Discoveries, we find his Relations true, which were before held incredible. Further, that when he afterwards arrived at *Cumana* he spoke with a *Spaniard* eminent for his Travels and withal for his Credit and Veracity; who, hearing that *Ralegh* had been as far in *Guiana* as *Caroli* immediately asked him if he had seen those People and declared he had seen many of them. Then *Ralegh* names some *French* Merchants of *London* who were there present, and heard what this *Spaniard* had thus asserted. Whether it is true or n (says he) the Matter is not great, neither can ther 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 fore-think to make the Report. After all, whether the Observation of any Garment loosely rising above the Shoulders of these People, or the crouching Posture in which they were so much seen, by their constant Exercise o Archery, might not first give some Rise to thi Report, I leave for others more largely to explain*

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* Mr. *Theobald* thinks, we may be able to account, in a few Lines, for the Mystery of these supposed headless People: Fo *Olearius* speaking (says he) of the Manner of Cloathing of the *Samoed*:

and how far the same Person shall here be condemn'd for an implicit Faith, who was, as we have read, censur'd for the Want of it. This Consideration may be further offer'd for what Raleigh also repeats, not only from the Writers of all Nations, concerning the modern *Amazons* in these Parts, but from their very Neighbours. For having told us, that *Orellana* first discover'd *Maranon*, which is call'd the River of *Amazons*, and also after the said Discoverers own Name, Raleigh was inquisitive to know whether there were any of those warlike Women, from whom this River should be so call'd, in these *American* Parts, who are so fam'd in antient Histories to have been in *Asia* and *Africa*; and was assur'd by an antient *Casique*, that there was such a Nation of Women on the South of the said River, in the Provinces of *Topago*, whose Manners and Customs, as they describ'd to him, did somewhat conform with what is recorded of the antient *Amazons*: As, they cohabited with Men but one Month in the Year; sent them the male Children, and kept only the Females; *but that they cut off their Right Breast* (says he) *I do not find to be true.* He was further told, they scrupled not to accompany with the Prisoners they took in War at any Time; but in the End constantly put them to Death: And that, as others of the bordering Nations, these Women wore certain Plates of Gold, which they had sometimes ex-

nojed. a People of North *Muscovy*, says, ' Their Garments are made like those called *Cosiques*, open only at the Necks, When the Cold is extraordinary, they put their *Cosiques* over their Heads, and let the Sleeves hang down, their Faces being not to be seen, but at the Cleft, which is at the Neck; whence some have taken occasion to write, that in these northern Countries, there are People without Heads, having their Faces in their Breasts. *Theobald's Shakespear*, 8vo. 1733. vol. VII. p. 393.

chang'd with other Countries for *Spleen-stones*, which are of a green Colour ; and whereof (says Ralegh) I saw divers in *Guiana* ; for every King or *Casque* commonly has one, which their Wives chiefly wear, and esteem as great Jewels.

When Ralegh, with his Company, lay at Anchor on the Coast of *Canuri*, and had taken Knowledge of all the Nations upon the Head and Branches of the *Caroli* ; and found out many Tribes who were Enemies to the *Epuremei* and the new Conquerors, having now wander'd for near a Month, distant from his Ships above 400 Miles ; besides the long Digressions up many Arms and Branches on every Side by the Way, they found the Winter Season advance apace, * and the *Ore-noque* threaten them with greater Fury every Day than other ; the Time they spent at *Trinidad*, and the Company they there in vain waited for, being both wanted here to compleat their Enterprise. For the most violent Storms of Thunder and Lightning which now so frequently broke out, pour'd down such Floods of Rain, as made all the Rivers rise and rage most fearfully ; so that if they waded them over Shoes in the Morning outward, homeward they could not come, even the same Day, without wading to their Necks, or swimming before they could reach their Boats. Besides they all grew very uneasy to themselves and one another for want of Shifting, no Man having Room to bestow any

* " The Winter and Summer here, as touching Cold and Heat (says Ralegh) differ not ; neither do the Trees ever sensibly lose their Leaves, but have always Fruit either ripe or green ; and most of them, both Blossoms, Leaves, ripe Fruit, and green at one Time : But their Winter consists of terrible Rains and overflowing of the Rivers, with many great Storms and Gusts, Thunder and Lightnings ; of which we had our Fill ere we return'd.

ther Apparel than what he wore on his Back ;
and that was wash'd through to his Skin often ten
times a Day. These Inconveniences, with thoſe
having no Instruments to try any Mines, or
ſen ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the guarded
Inhabitants nearer the Imperial City of *Manoa*, Cap-
tain *Preston* having fail'd them, made *Ralegh* con-
clude there was now no advancing thither, or stay-
ing longer here ; but that he might well content
imſelf for this Voyage with the various Discove-
ries of the Situation, Products and Riches of the
country, which he had thus far made ; with the
Interest and Friendship he had thus ſpaciously pro-
v'd ; and which no Adventurer to those Regions
ever had in a much larger Space of Time, with
much greater Aids and Provisions, the Diligence
and Dexterity to equal.

As he return'd to the East, he spent ſome Time
in discovering the River towards the Sea which he
had not ſurvey'd. In a Day's Time he arriv'd
again at the Port of *Morequito* ; for, gliding down
the Stream, he went without Labour, tho' againſt
the Wind, little leſs than a hundred Miles a Day.
When he came to Anchor, he was very desirous of
some further Conference with old *Topiowari*, who
soon, upon Notice, came, with a Multitude of his
People, flocking down to *Ralegh*'s Tent upon the
Shore, every one loaded with Presents. When the
old King was refresh'd, and the Crown retir'd,
Ralegh, by his Interpreter, enter'd into a long
Conference with him ; telling him that as both the
Epuremei and the *Spaniards* were his Enemies ; the
one having conquer'd *Guiana* already, and the
other endeavour'd to get it from both, he desir'd
to be instructed both in the best Ways to the golden
Parts of *Guiana*, and the civiliz'd Towns, or
apparell'd People of *Inga*. The King answer'd,

he

he could not perceive *Ralegh* meant to proceed to the great City of *Manoa*, because neither the Season of the Year nor the Strength of his Company would enable him; for he remember'd that in the Plains of *Maqureguarai*, the first civil Town of *Guiana*, where all the Gold Plates were made which were scatter'd over the neighbouring Nation and about four Days Journey from his own, 30 *Spaniards* were destroy'd, who had no Friends among the Borderers; therefore advised *Ralegh* never to invade the strong Parts of *Guiana*, without the Help of all those Nations which were the Enemies. *Ralegh* ask'd, if he thought the Company he had with him were sufficient to take the Town: The King thought they were, and proffer'd to assist him with all his Borderers, if he would leave him a Guard of fifty Men upon his Departure; but *Ralegh* knowing if they should escape the *Guanians*, the *Spaniards* expecting Supplies, would repay upon them this Treatment: *Trinidad*, very plausibly excus'd himself. Hereupon the King desir'd he would forbear him and his Country at this Time; for if the *Epuremei* shoul know he had given *Ralegh* any Aid or Intelligence he should soon be over-run by them; nor coul he avoid the *Spaniards*, if they should return, who had before led him 17 Days in a Chain like a Dog till he paid 100 Plates of Gold and several Chain of Spleen-stones for his Ransom; but if *Ralegh* would return in due Season next Year, he woul engage all the Borderers in the Enterprise; for that he could not more desire to make himself Master of *Guiana*, than they to assist him; having been plunder'd by the *Epuremei* of their Women, whom to recover they would willingly renew the War without Hopes of further Profit; for the old King complain'd of it as a Matter of grievous Restraint

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iat now they were confin'd to three or four Wives piece, who were wont to enjoy ten or a dozen ; while the Lords of their Enemies had no less than 0 or 100. But they seem to have had a political Reason for this Recovery, to strengthen their Alliance and encrease their Forces, these Frontiers having been much depopulated between the Subjects of *Inga* and the *Spaniards*. *Ralegh*, finding it bsolutely improper either to leave any of his Company, or attempt War upon the *Epuremei* till the ext Year, apply'd himself now only to learn how these People wrought those Plates of Gold which were dispers'd about, and how they divided it from he Stone. The King tolā him, that most of their Plates and Images were not sever'd from the Stone ; but that on the Lake of *Manoa*, and many other Rivers thereabouts, they gather'd the perfect Grains f Gold, and mingling a Proportion of Copper, he better to work it, put it in a great earthen Pot, under which they enreas'd the Fire by the Breath of Men, through long Canes fasten'd to the Holes round the said Pot, till the Metal dissolv'd, which hen they cast into Moulds of Stone and Clay, and o made those Plates and Images ; whereof *Ralegh* brought two Sorts into *England*, more to shew the Manner of them than their Value : For he gave more Pieces of Gold of the twenty Shilling Coin, with the Queen's Effigie's upon them, among these People, to wear in Honour of her Majesty, and to engage them in her Service, than he receiv'd ; so little did he make his Desire of Gold known to them. He also brought over some Gold Ore of their Mines, whereof I know some is as rich (says he) as any the Earth yields, and of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to be hop'd for ; but they wanted Time, Hands and Instruments to break the Ground, without which there could be

no working of Mines. *We saw* (adds he) *all th Hills with Stones of the Colour of Gold and Silver and we try'd them to be no Marquesite; and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del orcr, the Mother of Gold, which is an undoubted Assurance of the general Abundance thereof; and myself saw the outside of many Mines of the Sparre, whic I know to be the same that all covet in this World and of those, more than I will speak of.* Now Ralegh besides having learn'd the Riches of the Country having also won the Affections of the People, an receiv'd a faithful Promise of the Chiefs in tho Provinces of *Aromaia* and *Canuri* to become Servants to her Majesty, took his Leave of old *Topewari*, and receiv'd his Son Prince *Cayworaco* as Pledge betwixt them, whom he brought into *England*, where he was christen'd *Gualtero* with grea Solemnity, leaving with the old King two of hi own People in Exchange; the one named *Franci Sparrow*, who being a good Draughtsman, and could describe a Country with his Pen, desir'd to be left for that Purpose, whom *Ralegh* instructed to travel as far as he could to *Manoa* with such Merchandise as he committed to his Care; the other was a Boy, who waited upon him, named *Hugh Goodwin*, for whom he left Orders to be taught the Language of the Country. This done he weigh'd Anchor, and coasted the River or *Guiana*-side, because he came towards it on the North-side by the Lawns of *Saima*.

There was a powerful Casique named *Putijma*, who accompanied *Ralegh* and his Men from *Aromaia*, with Promises to lead them to a Mountain call'd *Iconuri*, which contain'd a Mine of Gold; and which (says *Ralegh*) he perform'd. *Ralegh* travell'd a great Way towards it himself along the River *Mana*, till, through Weariness, he was forced

orced with some of his Attendants to rest on the Banks of a Lake in the delightful Valley of *Oiana*; where one of his Guides kindling a Fire with two ticks, * they stay'd a while to dry their Shirts; sending Captain *Keymis* the while with a Party uner that *Casque* to take Cognizance of the said Mine, and promis'd to meet him at the River *Cunaca*, in his Way to *Emeria*, the Province of *Capara*, one of the greatest Lords of the *Orenoqueni*, with whom he sought to establish a League. And as *Ralegh* return'd by the River *Mana* towards the said Province, he saw himself many Rocks like Gold Ore, and on the Left Hand a round Mountain of Mineral Stone. From hence returning down the Stream, he coasted the Province of *Paino*; but the Branches of the Rivers he here pass'd, with *Aio* and other Mountains, he reserv'd to the Representation in his Map; which, for the numerous and distant Rivers and Countries therein occasionally refer'd to, appears to have been a very accurate and comprehensive Performance.

In the River of *Winciapora* he saw what they call the Mountain of Crystal, which look'd at a Distance like a white Church-tower of exceeding Height, over the Top of which a mighty River rush'd down with prodigious Noise. *Berreo* told him, there were Diamonds and other Stones of great Value thereon, which blaz'd at a great Distance. Upon this River *Ralegh* rested a while, and marched to a Town of the same Name, where he

* Succeeding Voyagers have observ'd of the *Karaguata Guacu*, a *Brasilian* Tree about 14 or 15 Foot high, with yellow Flowers on the Top, and large long thick Leaves, which yield an unctuous Liquor serving for Soap, and Strings for Fishing-Nets; that with the Wood thereof, and of another call'd *Imbaiba*, the Inhabitants kindle their Fires by striking them together, as we by a Flint and Steel.

found the Natives all as drunk as Beggars, it bein
the Time of their Festivak. Here Ralegh refresh'
himself with the Provisions of the Place, and th
delicate Wine of *Pinas*. But understanding th
Carapana was retir'd from *Emeria*; and imagining
because he was an old subtil Prince, it was to wa
till he should return next Year, then join him,
the *English* were strong enough to tempt his A
lliance; if not, that he might excuse his Retireme
to the *Spaniards*, as tho' it were in Fear of the
new Visitors; Ralegh spent no more Time in feel
ing after him; but making to the River *Cumac*
he met with *Keymis*, and took his Leave of *Putijm*
who, of all others, most lamented his Departure
for the *Orenoque* was now swoln most dreadfully,
that it was impossible to return by the Way he e
tered, for the River of *Amana* could not be sail
back by any Means, the Breeze and Current of t
Sea were so outragious; therefore he follow'd t
Branch of *Capuri*, which enter'd into the Sea Eat
ward of his Ships, that he might bear with the
before the Wind; and great Need there was so
do, having by that Way as much to cross of t
main Sea, in their little Boats, after they came
the River's Mouth, as between *Gravelin* and *Dove*
But when they arrived at the Sea-side, and anchor'd
in the Mouth of *Capuri*, there arose a mighty
Storm, and the River's Mouth was at least a League
broad, so that they run before Night close under t
Land with their Boats, and brought the Galley
near as they could, which had much ado to liv
and was often near sinking with all her Men. *Ralegh*
was in the utmost Doubt what Course to take
either to venture in the Galley through six Foo
Water on the Sands for two Leagues together, an
that in the Channel, when she drew five; or tru
in such a raging Wind and Sea to cross over in h

Barge. At last, seeing the Tempest increase the longer he tarried, he took Gifford, Calfield, and Greenvil, in his Barge ; and about Midnight thrust nto the Sea, leaving the Galley to come by Day-ight. *Thus faintly chearing one another in Shew of Courage (says Ralegh) it pleased God by Nine i-Clock the next Morning we discover'd the Isle of Trinidad.* So they kept along the Shore to Curia-pan, where they found their Ships at Anchor ; than which (says he) there never was to us a more joyful light ; especially when they found, upon meeting together, they had lost but one Man (before men-
tion'd) through so many Extremes of Wet, Heat, Hunger, Want of Rest, Sleep, Lodging, and such like violent Hardships in this toilsome and dan-
gerous Adventure, as drove them to many unusual and unhealthy Shifts, especially in their Diet ; such as feeding upon many strange and corrupted Fruits ; upon fresh Fish without seasoning ; Crocodiles, ea-cows, * Antas, and armed Hogs ; upon all Sorts, of the Land or Water ; good and bad ; without Order or Measure : and yet no Calenture befel them, or other pestilent Diseases which are wont to infect all Regions so near the Line ; so wholesome was the Country, or so happily suited to their Con-
stitutions.

In his Return homewards he touch'd at Cumana, to store and refresh himself with such Provisions as he wanted ; but the Spaniards refused to supply him, at which he threatned the Town ; and upon their refusing also to save it by such reasonable

* Of these Sea-monsters, otherwise call'd *Manati* by the Spa-
niards, Ralegh says he had seen as big as a Wine-pipe ; others
escribe its Flesh to be like Beef, and to yield an excellent Oil,
the Hide being dress'd, makes good Buff, and dried, good Tar-
gets or Armour ; wherefore, we are told, Sir Walter Ralegh
brought several of these Hides into England.

Ransom as they had just before offer'd Capta Preston, he set it on Fire; the like he did at S Mary, and at *Rio de la Hach*, as we are inform by *Camden* and others; some of whom affirm, I got not only great Glory hereby, but Riches; the latter of which will be thought doubtful to tho who have read the Spaniards had removed the Effects to the Mountains, before they entered in a Capitulation with *Preston*. On the 13th of Ju when the said Captain *Preston*, with the rest of his Company, were under *Cape St. Anthony*, the west most Part of the Isle of *Cuba*, we met (*says the Writer of his Voyage*) with the honourable Knig Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his painful and happy Discovery of *Guiana*, and his Surprise of the Isle of *Trinidad*; so with glad Hearts we kept him and his Fleet of three Ships Company (for he mention no more) till the twentieth Day at Night, at whi Time we left them.

When *Ralegh* was arrived in *England*, he so applied himself to digest the Observations he had made in his Discoveries, and they were, not many Months after, committed to the Pres. Several Authors have bestowed Characters in Praise of the Discourse, which manifests such a wonderful Genius in compassing the Knowledge of so many Places, Productions, and People, with so small Power, and in so short a Time.

But *Ralegh* with all his Zeal and Assiduity for the Honour and Advantage of his Country, could never induce the State to proceed in the Plantation of *Guiana*; not so much through any real Incr dility of the Emoluments that would accrue from it; as through that malignant Jealousy which eternally bias'd the domestic Competitors for Royal Favour, to curb the foreign Services of enterprising Men, lest the Atchievements of the one shoul

ould outshine the Administrations of the other ; whence we may here observe, that he, whose engaging Qualities had gain'd him such Influence, such an Ascendency over the most savage and unciviliz'd Nations, found no Dispositions so barbarous and intractable among those Strangers, as he did in his own Country ; like Hercules himself, who having, by his glorious Labours, shewed his power of subduing and taming all other Monsters, found Envy and Detraction invincible at last.

That Ralegh's Labours were attended with the same Fate, himself has sufficiently discover'd in that Dedication, which, with so much Eloquence, Modesty, and Generosity, he made of his Discourse upon Guiana aforesaid, to the Lord-admiral Howard and Sir Robert Cecyl. For notwithstanding the Difficulties and Dangers of the Voyage, it appears (says Ralegh therein) 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, that fore-judged I would rather become a Servant to the Spanish King than return ; and the rest were much mistaken, who would have persuaded that I was too easeful and sensual to undertake a Journey of so great Travel ; but (as he generously continues) if what I have done receive the gracious Construction of a painful Pilgrimage, and purchase the least Remission, I shall think all too little, and that there were wanting to the rest many Miseries.

But Ralegh was in Hopes it would appear there was now a Way found out to answer every Man's longing ; a richer Indies than any the King of Spain enjoyed, which if the Queen would patronize, he was willing to end the Remainder of his Days in reducing it to a total Subjection. Whatever he further advanced of this Kind, Diffidence and Detraction

traction were so predominant, that because some o
Ralegh's Company brought over *Marcasite* fo
Gold, as he informs us a little further, there wer
some who would not believe the real Gold-or
which he brought, and which he had helped to dig
out of the Rocks with his own Dagger, . was o
greater Value. Nay, when many Trials had been
made of this Ore, wherein some Quantities wer
proved by one *Westwood*, a Refiner in *Wood-street*
to hold after the Rate of twelve or thirteen thou
sand Pounds a Ton. Other Parcels, by Mr. *Bul
man* and *Dimock*, Assay-master, found also to hold
after the Rate of twenty-three thousand Pounds th
Ton ; and a third Sort tried by Mr. *Palmer*, Comp
troller of the *Mint*, and Mr. *Dimock* in *Goldsmith'*
Hall, holding after the Rate of twenty-six thousand
nine hundred Pounds the Ton ; who tried also som
Gold-dust of the same Mine, which held eigh
Pound six Ounces weight of Gold in the Hundred
and an Image of Copper made in *Guiana*, which
held a third Part of Gold ; when all this was prov'd
there were those who would not yet believe it Gold
of *Guiana*; but that *Ralegh* purchas'd it upon the
African Coast, and caried it over thither. Surely
the Singularity of that Device (says *Ralegh*) I do
not well comprehend : For my own Part, I am not
so much in love with these long Voyages, as to devise
thereby to cousen myself ; to lie hard, to fare worse,
to be subiect to Perils, to Diseases, to ill Savours,
to be parch'd and wither'd, and withal, to sustain
the Care and Labour of such an Enterprise ; except
the same had more Comfort than the fetching of Mar
casite in *Guiana*, or buying of Gold-ore in *Barbary*.
But I hope the better Sort will judge me by themselves,
and that the Way of Deceit is not the Way of Honour
or good Opinion. I have herein consumed much Time
and many Crowns, and I had no other Respect or De
sire

ire than to serve her Majesty and my Country thereby. If the Spanish Nation had been of the like Belief with these Detractors, we should little have fear'd or doubted their Attempts wherewith we now are daily threaten'd.

But if we now consider of the Actions both of Charles V. who had the Maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant Treasures of Atabalipa, together with the Affairs of the Spanish King now living; what he has added to the Acts of his Predecessors; how many Kingdoms he has endangered; how many Armies, Garrisons and Navies he maintains; the great Losses he has repaired, as in Eighty-Eight, above 100 sail of great Ships, with their Artillery; and that no Year is less unfortunate, but that many Vessels, Treasures and People are devoured; and yet that begins again, like a Storm, to threaten Shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these Abilities arise not from the Trades of Sack and Seville-oranges, nor from ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other Provinces produce; it is his Indian Gold that endangers and disturbs all the Nations of Europe; it reeps into Councils, purchases Intelligence, and sets round Loyalty at Liberty in the greatest Monarchies hereof; if the Spanish King can keep us from foreign Interprizes, and from the Impeachment of his Trades, either by Offer of Invasion, or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he has then brought the Work of our Peril in great Forwardness; for those Princes, who abound in Treasure, have great Advantages over the rest, if they once constrain them to a defensive War, where they are driven, once a Year or oftener, to cast Lots for their own Garments. For these and other substantial Reasons which Ralegh produces, he declares, he has laboured all his Life in the Promotion of those Attempts which promis'd either an Enlargement of our own national Interest,

or an Abatement of the encroaching Greatness of the Spaniard, who, in his Judgment, is not to be more easily reduc'd than by such a War ; from so many weak Nations are his Treasures gather'd, and so far separated from mutual Succour. But because he thought such Resolution and Preparations were not to be hoped for in Haste, he doubted not, i her Majesty would embrace the Offer of those Provinces, and that Empire now by him discovered before they were engross'd by the Enemy ; but i would yield greater Quantities of Treasure than al the King of Spain possesses from the Indies, both *East and West* ; and he would be contented to los her good Opinion for ever, and his Life withal, i the Country should not be found to exceed what ever had been promis'd in his Discourse of it. Tho he has therein written, he doubts not after the fir or second Year that the same should be coloniz'd but to see in *London* a Contractation-house of mor Receipt for *Guiana*, than that in *Seville* for th *West-Indies*. And is positive, That if there was bi a small Army a-foot in *Guiana*, marching towarda *Manoa*, the chief City of *Inga*, he would yield to he Majesty, by Composition, so many hundred thousand Pounds yearly, as should both defend us from all Ene mies abroad, and defray all Expences at home ; an that he would besides pay a Garrison of 3- or 400 Soldiers very royally to defend him against other Na tions ; for he cannot but know how his Predecessor were beaten out by the Spaniards, and that they hav ever since, with the greatest Cruelties, sought th Entry of his Country, wherfore he would doubtless b brought to Tribute ; if not, having neither Shot no Iron weapon in his Empire, he might easily be con quer'd. And in another Part of the said Discourse he has these Words, If it be my Lot to prosecute th same, I will willingly spend my Life therein ; and i an

ry else shall be enabled thereto, and conquer the same, assure him thus much, he shall perform more than ever was done in Mexico by Cortez; or in Peru by Isarro, whereof one conquer'd the Empire of Mu-zuma, the other of Guascar and Atabalipa; and hatsoever Prince shall possess it, that Prince shall Lord of more Gold, and of more beautiful Empire, d of more Cities and People, than either the King Spain, or the Grand Turk. Concluding his whole treatise of Guiana, with his Trust in him who is e King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, to put it into r Heart, who is the Lady of Ladies, to possess it; not, I will judge those Men worthy to be Kings ereof, says he, who by her Grace and Leave will undertake it of themselves.

All this would not do to raise the saternine Ge-us of the State to pursue this Action; and upon is Occasion we might observe, as Ralegh did af-wards upon another from a Poet of his own imme, That some great Men cloathing their private nvy in the fair Colours of the publick Good, curbed e most needful and noble Undertakings with Di-ust, through a specious Care for the Service of the ate. Among these sage and sceptical Politicians, e may discern Sir Robert Cecyl to be one, who, his Conferences with some of the speculative eographers of his Time, would shew how careful e was not to be overtaken with any partial Af-fection to the planting of Guiana, as we are told y one of them, whom he would consult about the latter: Nevertheless, Ralegh's Advice was not holly disregarded. For that part of it, proposing to drive the Spaniards to a defensive War, but upon heir own proper Coasts and Harbours, was app-rov'd of; and Ralegh himself chosen, with other commanders, to put it in Execution. In the lat-er End of January following, he fitted out Capt.

Keymis with a Couple of Ships, the *Darling* and *Discoverer*; but provided, rather to continue the Correspondence and peaceful Traffick with the Indians, than to strengthen them in a warlike manner with Forces and Accoutrements, which was what they most desired and expected. When Keymis arriv'd at *Guiana*, he found his Friends much dispersed, but yet enquiring what was become of Sir Walter Ralegh, whom they had been prepar'd some Months to join; were mighty joyful to hear he was not slain at *Cumana*, as the Spaniards, now much increas'd among them, had a tested; but sadly disappointed that he had not sent a larger Fleet to expel them, and conquer the neighbouring Enemies up to the Imperial City. Keymis further learnt, that Berreo, being left *Cumana*, and lodged in the House of one Fashard, the Governors of the *Carraccas* and *Margarita* conspiring together, had sent into Spain to inform King Philip, that Berreo, being retired to spend the Remainder of his declining Days in Privacy at Ease, was utterly unable to pursue the Enterprize yet of what Importance his Majesty's Regard thereto was, since so eminent an English Cavalier, as Sir Walter Ralegh, had, by a vigorous Progress almost artful Address, made such Conquests and Discoveries in some Parts, and render'd himself extensively engaging in all wherever he came, that unless they had Power given them to undertake the Charge, all their past Endeavours and future Hopes in those Parts would come to nothing. But Berreo's Camp-Master having been long before sent into Spain, with Gold enough gotten out of *Guiana*, to levy and furnish 500 Men, so effectually solicited Berreo's Cause, that present Orders were given for the victualling and manning of ten Ships to be sent to him; so well worth his Captain.

lid the King of *Spain* think this Undertaking. And further, this Gold bore such Weight, that the King commanded eighteen Ships more to stop at *Trinidad*, and not follow their other Directions, before they saw that Place secur'd from Enemies. But *Berreo* himself suspecting that speedy Dispatch, return'd to *Carapana's* Port with fifteen Men, the latter'd Remant that *Ralegh* had left him. Those Governors follow'd him, and anticipating the Authority they promis'd themselves from *Spain*, enter'd *Guiana* with their Men, and determin'd to murder *Berreo*, who fled towards *Caroli*, expecting his Son *Antonio de Ximenes* with Succours from the new Kingdom of *Granada*. And now *Topiowary*, who had fled to the Mountains, being dead, where the English Boy, *Ralegh* left, was devour'd by a tyger, *Sanjago*, a Spaniard, in the Faction of the Governors aforesaid, took *Francis Sparrow* Prisoner, he was also left by *Ralegh*; but having gather'd great Plenty of Gold, he ransom'd his Life therewith, yet was kept in Captivity by the Spaniards some Years, as we may hereafter learn. After this, the Faction return'd to *Trinidad*, and begun to rebuild their Town, where, unhappily to these new lawless Rulers, the twenty-eight Sail of Ships arriv'd from *Spain* in *February* following, and took *Sanjago* Prisoner, whom *Keymis* found in Chains, expecting to be put to Death. The other Actors in his Interlude vanishing in Canoes, recover'd *Margarita* and *Cumana* again. When eighteen of those ships had left all things in good Order, they departed according to their Instructions, leaving the other ten to fortify at *Conquerabia*, for the Reception of Sir Walter *Ralegh's* Fleet. Nor was it above four Months after the Arrival of those Ships from *Spain*, that the King had prepared several others, it being in *June* 1596, to transport a new

Supply of whole Families, to the Number of 60 Persons, for Guiana.

When Keymis was advanced to Topiowary's Port he found the Spaniards under Berreo had planted a Village there, and that a rocky Island against the Mouth of Caroli was their Fort or Refuge ; but now leaving both Town and Island, they gathered at the Mouth of that River, and had sent for Cannons to defend the Passage to those Mines, says Keymis. Ralegh, from whence your Ore and white Stones were taken the last Year : adding, *We all, not without Grief, to see ourselves thus defeated, and our hung Hopes made void, were witnesses of this their R move.* Then Keymis resolved to seek out Putijm who, with some Friends, was retired to the high Lands, not far from the Mountain Aio, intending if the Indians should think themselves too weak with his Help to displant the Spaniards, to set son of them to work, for Hatchets and Knives, to return him Grains of Gold and white Stones from such Places as they should be directed to. But when he came to the Place of their Abode, they were fled, apprehending him and his Company perhaps to have been a Party of Spaniards. Here, as Keymis goes on, Gilbert my Pilot offered to bring us either to the Mine of white Stones near Winicapor or else to a gold Mine which Putiima had shewed him being but one Day's Journey over-land from the Place where we now staid at Anchor. I saw far off the Mountains adjoining to this gold Mine ; and, having measured their Paths near the same Place this last Year, could not judge it to be 15 Miles from us. do well remember, how coming that Way with Putiima the Year before, he pointed to this same Mountain making Signs to have me go with him thither. I understood his Signs, and marked the Place, but misinterpreted his Meaning, imagining that he would have shew me

ne the Over-fall of the River Curwari from the Mountains. My Indian shewed me in what Sort, without digging, they gather the Gold in the Sand of small River named Macawini, which springs and falls from the Rocks where this Mine is. And further told me, that he was with Putiima when Morequito was to be executed by the Spaniards, and that then the chief of Morequito's Friends were in Consultation to shew this Mine unto them, if it might redeem their Captain's Life; but upon better Advice, supposing them in this Case to be implacable, and that this might prove a Means to lose not only their King, ut their Country, they have to this Day concealed it from them, being of all others the richest and most lentiful. And a little further, among the Reasons he gives for his not bringing Proofs away from this Mountain of his having known the Contents of it, this is one, Forethinking withal that there being no means but ourselves to make known our Discovery, if we returned not; in our Misfortune, the Hope of following this Voyage would be buried. And further till, he says, I could promise Hope of gold Mines, and certain Assurances of Pieces of made Gold; of Spleen stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better Estimate: But because our Belief seems to be matted in these greater Matters, and a Certainty of smaller Profits is the readiest Inducement to quicken our weak Hopes, I go not so far, says he, as my own Eyes night warrant me. These Testimonies, and others which may be produced *, will both shew, that

Ralegh

* Francis Sparrow, above mentioned in the Body of the Work, confirms this Account of the Mines in these Words: ' Within six Weeks after I departed out of the River Orenoque, I came to the rich Country of Curaa in Guiana, where are the Mines of white Stone, in which is much natural and fine Gold, which the Indians call Callicurii. The Gold in this Place runs between the Stones like Veins, of which Gold I had some Store; but

Ralegh was not more Sanguine in his golden Hope and Promises, than the Experience of other Men as well as his own, would justify.

When Keymis was arrived at the Port of *Carapana*, this Casique sent some of his People in *Canoe*. to assure him he would come down next Day and have a Conference with him; but not coming in five or six Days, he at last sent one of his aged Attendants to excuse the Fatigue of such a Journey so unfavourable were the Ways, and himself so disabled with Years and Infirmities. This old Envoy then enlarged upon the Inconveniences they felt in using the *Spaniards* Assistance against their Enemies, especially when he compared their Conduct with that of the Queen of *England*'s Subjects under her great Commander: *For, said he, the last Year we doubted not but that he, being able, would have persecuted us as the Supporters of your Adversaries would have taken our Towns, and have made us ransom our Wives and Children: But we found it far otherwise; and that none of your well-governed Company durst offer us any Wrong; no, not when undiscovered they might have done it.* We then believed to be true, what your grand Captain reported of his Princess; took this for a good Proof of her royal Authority and Wisdom, that had framed her Subjects to such Obedience; and of your Happiness, who enjoyed the Benefit thereof: *Wherfore Carapana, weighing the friendly Course of these Proceedings, doth humbly crave of her Majesty, for himself and his People that with the Rest of the Indians, who wholly depend on her princely Regard, he also may enjoy her fa-*

** but now the Spaniard is the better for it. In Curaa is all Gold in small Grains, which lie in the Sands in the little Rivers or Brooks: I always took those Grains for the finest Gold * In these Rivers where Gold lieth are many Aligators or Crocodiles.'*

ourable Protection; not as a Man forsaken by the Spaniards, but one that, knowing their Injustice, rates their Cruelties, and takes it for the best Course utterly to disclaim their Friendship. Here Keymis breaks off, to consider it as a Matter worthy of Observation, how this Precedent of Raleigh's Moderation and good Order, which, among them, is Countrymen, who knew him, was but his customary Comportment, or ordinary Practice, therefore of small Regard with them, had yet both alienated the Indians Hearts altogether from the Sp*aniard*, and stirred up in them true Love and Admiration thereof. After this, he discloses his further Knowledge of the Indian Wealth aforesaid in these Words: *This old Man shewed whence most of their Gold cometh, which is formed in so many Fashions; whence their Spleen-stones, and others of all sorts, are to be had in Plenty; where Gold is to be gathered in the Sands of their Rivers; from what part the Spaniards, both by Trade and otherwise, ave returned much Gold; and doubts not but all this was divulged with the Consent of Carapana, an Invitation to the further Aid and Protection expected from the English.*

Accordingly Keymis, finding it was in vain to hope for a Conference with that well-wishing, but wary Casique, and, having sent him a Present of iron, gave Assurance to all the Indians who repaired to him of his speedy Return with Succours; promising to make them all rich in Hatchets, Knives *, and Beads, if they would only reserve

* These Instruments were such preferable Commodities among some of those Indians, that Francis Sparrow, in his Description of Guiana before-mentioned, tells us he bought at Camalaha, to the South of the Orenoque, eight young Women, the eldest hereof was not 18 Years of Age, for one red-hasted Knife, which in England cost him one Halfpenny.

good Store of their *Cassavi* (which they used for Bread) and some Plates of Gold, for Exchange. And having further spent some Time in the Discovery of above 50 several Rivers, Tribes or Nations of People, Towns and Casiques in this Voyage, he directed his Course homewards, and arrived at *Portland* in the latter End of June aforesaid; having spent five Months in going, staying, and returning. As soon as he got Home, he found Ralegh had been gone upon a grand Expedition out of the Nation near a Month. Therefore he had Time to draw up his Account of this Voyage (whence the Passages which more immediately relate to our Subject are extracted) ready to present him with his Return into *England*; which he did, and dedicated it *To the approved, right valorous, and worthy Knight Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord-warden, &c.*

When Keymis return'd into *England*, Ralegh was gone upon that Enterprize which proved the most renowned of any the English undertook in those Days against the *Spaniards*. For the Queen having heard they had received Encouragement from *Tir-Oen*, the *Irish* Rebel, to threate her with a new Invasion; that because she had strengthened their Enemies, they would take the shortest Course, and begin with *England*. Therefore had made great Naval Preparations, to which they might not be a little embolden'd both by the Death of her two brave old Commanders, *Drake* and *Hawkins*; and again by their late Success, nearer from her own Coasts than *Calais*; which taking by Storm, under Cardinal *Albert*, Arch Duke of *Austria* and Governor of the *Netherlands*; the Thunder of the *Spanish* Artillery alarmed her Majesty's Ears in her Palace at *Greenwich*. This Posture of Affairs made the Queen determine, to use the most effectual Means for preventing the

Mischiefs

lischiefs of an Assault, by taking the Start of em, and sending a Force sufficient to destroy the *Spaniſh* Shipping in their own Harbours. Accord-
gly a powerful Fleet was fitted out to the Num-
ber of 150 Sail, according to *Camden* from *Stow*,
d Speed from both. But in the old Manuscript
ſt of this Fleet, which *Camden* followed as to
e Number of Men, it appears there were no more
in 96 Ships of the *English* Navy, which were
erwards join'd by 24 Sail of *Hollanders*, as I ga-
er out of *Grotius* and their other Historians.
is *English* Fleet contain'd about 14000 Men, were-
100 were Voluntiers. Now if to this Number of
en, we add also that in the *Dutch* Ships, which
ording to their own Computation was near 2600
en, there might be enough to leave the whole
et furnish'd with sufficient Hands to guard and
rk it, and allow of 10360 Men to land upon
Spanish Coast.

The Lord Admiral *Howard* and the Earl of
ex were joined in Commission Generals of this
terprise; but the Queen considering what there
ght be wanting to keep an old Head and a young
, a cool and a warm one in due Temper and
rmony, allotted them a Council of War in these
ords. For the better and more orderly Execution
his your Commission, and of those former Articles
prised in these our Instructions, we do ordain,
there shall be two Persons serving for the Seas,
two that are appointed to serve for Land Service,
e as Counsellors to you in our Name, that is, the
d Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Ralegh;
Francis Vere and Sir Coniers Clifford; and to
e four, we do add Sir George Carew, Lieutenant
ur Ordnance, to make the Number of five; whom
we charge by these Presents, that they will, as
will answer before God, give their Councils to

you both, without any private Respect to either of you, for Love or Fear, in all Actions to be put in Question or taken in hand; and the same deliberate to debate, as the Weight of the Matter shall require before any Resolution be made, and before the putting of the Matter in Action. There is further to be understood by those two Persons serving for the Sea that the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Ralegh were also constituted Admirals in this Expedition. Hence was the whole English Fleet divided into four Squadrons, and so it appears in the Letter aforesaid, wherein we find that which was commanded by Ralegh consisted of 22 Ships, 1300 Mariners, and 1875 Soldiers. The Dutch Squadron was commanded by the Admiral of Holland named John Duvenvord, Lord of Warmondt. His Excellency relish'd the Division of Authority, may somewhat guess'd at by the Queen's Answer to one of his Letters it seems, which she thought very strange. You mention, says she, first a Danger to commit Authority to any other, because you are referred to your Commission and Instructions formerly given to you, which hath no Power of Deputation; as we should say, that if you did follow the Directions of your Hand, our great Seal in this Matter should be brought to dispute the Validity of your Warrant. A little further it appears, that he had been impatient to be gone for fear he should be detain'd, for the Queen had persuad'd him to stay behind; but not perceiving, she at length told him, Though we mean to drive it to the last Considerations and utmost Delays as much as could be, yet we compared Times sufficiently, as a Prince who knows what belongs to such a Matter, that nothing should be done to restrain you (being ready) one Hour: For as we know Ralegh not to be arriv'd, so we know after it, some Time to embark such an Army must be required.

Ralegh

Ralegh joined the Fleet, and the whole Army was embark'd within ten Days after the Writing of this Letter, for on the 1st of June before mentioned the Fleet set Sail from *Plymouth*. When they came to the North Cape of *Spain*, they called a select Council, by hanging out the Flag of Arms; and then had the Master and Captain of every Ship his sealed Instructions given him, or Letters of Rendezvous, which were not to be open'd till they were past *Cape St. Vincent*, unless separated by bad Weather; but to be thrown overboard in Case of Danger from the Enemy; and by which it appear'd the Voyage was determin'd for *Cadiz*. They had fortunate Progrefs, both as to the Wind, and the taking of every Ship, which could give the Enemy Intelligence of their Approach. On the 20th of June the Fleet came to Anchor in the Bay of *St. Sebastians*, short of *Cadiz* half a League. The Lord-Admiral, being careful of her Majesty Ships, had resolved, with the Earl of *Essex*, that the Town should be first attempted, to the End that both the *Spanish* Galleons and Galleys, together with the Forts of *Cadiz*, might not all at once beat upon the *English* Navy. *Ralegh* was not present at this Resolution, as himself has declar'd in that Account of this Action, which he dispatched soon after it was over to a Minister of State in *England*; which being the clearest I have met with, and easiest to be confirmed, not only by the more indifferent Pens of Foreigners, but the most partial ones of our own Country, those of his Competitors themselves for Honour in this Engagement, will here be our best Guide. Hence therefore we learn the Reason of *Ralegh's* Absence at that Resolution of first landing the Army to have been, because he was engaged the Day before outward on the Seas in stopping such *Spanish* Ships as might pass out from

St. Lucar or Cadiz along the Coast. When he return'd, two Hours after the rest, he found the Earl of *Essex* disembarking his Soldiers, having put many Companies into Boats, with Intention to make his Descent on the west Side of *Cadiz* but the Bilbous were so raging, that the Boats were ready to sink at the Stern of the Earl, and divers were lost with some armed Soldiers in them; but because this Course had been resolved on, and the doubting, now in the Danger, might look like dreading of it, the Earl continued his Purpose of landing; when *Ralegh* came aboard his Ship, and in the Presence of all the Colonels, protested against the Resolution; giving him many Reasons and apparent Demonstrations, that, to the utter Overthrow of their Armies, themselves, and his Majesty's future Safety, he was running the Way of a general Ruin. The Earl excused himself, and laid it upon the Lord-Admiral, who would not consent, he said, to enter with the Fleet till the Town was first possessed. All the Commander and Gentlemen present besought *Ralegh* to dissuade the Attempt, for they all perceived the Danger and were convinced that the greatest Part must perish ere they could set Foot on Ground; and if an reached the Shore, yet would they surely have their Boats cast on their Heads; and 20 Men, in such desperate Descent, might defeat them all. The Earl hereupon prayed *Ralegh* to go and perswade the Lord Admiral, who being also by him made sensible, that certain Destruction would be the Consequence of pursuing the former Resolution consented to enter the Port. When *Ralegh* brought *Essex* the News of this Agreement, and call'd out of his Boat *Entramos*, *Entramos*, as he return'd towards him, the Earl threw his Hat into the Sea for Joy, and prepared to weigh Anchor. The Day

was

was now far spent, and it required much Time to return the Boats of Soldiers to their own Ships. So is that Night they could not attempt the Fleet, Altho' many, seeming desperately valiant, thought a Fault of mine, says Ralegh, to delay it till Morning, though we had neither agreed in what Manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who second; whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our Fleet possibly recover all their Men in efore Sun-set. But both the Generals being pleased to bear me, and many Times to be advised by so mean n Understanding, came again to Anchor, and in the ery Mouth of the Harbour. So that Night, about o o'Clock, I wrote a Letter to the Lord Admiral, eclaring therein my Opinion, how the Fight should e order'd; persuading him to appoint to each of the reat Galleons of Spain, two great Fly-boats to board hem, after the Queen's Ships had batter'd them; for knew that both St. Philip and the Rest would burn, nd not yield; and then to lose so many of the Queen's hips for Company, I thought too dear a Purchase, nd what would be termed but a lamentable Victory.

This Method -being agreed on, and both the generals persuaded to lead the Body of the Fleet, he Charge of the Van, for putting it in Execution, was, upon Ralegh's Request, granted and as gned to him. The Ship himself was in, called the *Warspite*, was one of the Queen's, and carried bout 290 Mariners. The Rest, appointed out of er Navy to second him, were, the *Mary-Rose*, ommanded by Sir George Carew, the *Lion* by Sir Robert Southwell, the *Rainbow* by Sir Francis Vere, the *Swiftsure* by Capt. Cross, the *Dreadnought* by Sir Coniers and Alex. Clifford, the *Nonpareil* by Mr. Robert Dudley; besides 12 Londoners and cer ain Fly-Boats. Thus the Lord Thomas Howard, because the *Mer Honeur*, which he commanded,

was one of the greatest Ships, was also left behir with the Generals; but being impatient thered he pressed them to have the Service committed him, and to that End exchanged his Ship wi Mr. Dudley. Hereupon Ralegh observes, *For my own Part, as I was willing to give Honour to Lord Thomas, having both Precedency in the Arm'd and being a Nobleman whom I much honoured; so I was yet resolved to give, and not to take Exam' for this Service, holding my own Reputation deare.* Therefore with the first Peep of Day he weigh Anchor, taking the Start of all others a good I stance, and bear with the Enemy, who was in t following Disposition to receive him.

Under the Walls of Cadiz were ranged 17 Gleys, which lay with their Prows to flank his E trance. There was also a Fort called Philip, whi beat into and commanded the Harbour, besides 1 Ordnance, which lay all along the Curtain up the Wall towards the Sea, and divers other Pie's of Culverin which scoured the Channel. Notwit standing, as soon as the Enemy perceived an English Admiral under Sail approaching, several their Galleons and other Ships of War, with great Vessels besides bound for Mexico and otl Parts, also set sail. Of all which, the St. Phil Matthew, Andrew and Thomas, being four of 1 capital Galleons of Spain, came again to anch under the Fort of Puntal, in a Streight of the H:bour which leads over to Puerto Real. On t starboard Side of them, they placed three Frig: of War; at their Back, two great Galleons Lisbon, besides two well furnished Argosies; a the 17 Gallies by three and three, were to intt lace them as Occasion should be offered. The A miral, Vice-admiral, and Rear-Admiral of N Spain, with the Body of the Fleet, were rang behi

ehind them towards *Puerto Real*, hoping with this
reat Strength to defend the Entrance, the Place
eing no broader from point to point, than that
heir Line did in Effect stretch over the Streight as
Bridge, and had besides the Fort of *Puntal* for
heir Guard.

Ralegh, as aforesaid, advancing in the Van, was
rst saluted by Fort *Philip* *, next by the Cannon
n the Curtain, and lastly in good Order by the
7 Gallies which lay near the Town with all their
rows bent against him as he entered. *Ralegh* an-
wered the firing of their Ordnance with a Flourish
f his Trumpets, and still kept driving forwards,
hat he might draw up a Sufficiency of the *English*
fleet into Play, and to engage those he passed by,
hile he was in Action upon the Body of the E-
emy. Accordingly the Ships that followed beat
pon the Galleys so thick, that they soon betook
hem to their Oars, and got up to join with the
Galleons in the Streight, as aforesaid; then as they
vere driven to pass near him, he bestow'd his Bene-
diction from several Broadsides among them; but
oly'd St. *Philip*, the great and famous Admiral of
Spain, most constantly, as being most worthy of
is Fire; and being now resolved to repay the E-
emy's former Treatment of the *Revenge*, or to
econd her Loss with his own Life, he came to An-

* Sir Walter *Ralegh* afterwards, exemplifying how little a
resolute and experienced Man of War will fear to pass by the
best appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the Help of a good Tide
and a leading Gale of Wind; and how hard a Matter it is to
stop a good Ship without another as good to encounter it, says,
The Fort *St. Philip* terrified not us in the Year 1596, when we
entered the Port of *Cadiz*; neither did the Fort at *Puntal*,
when we were entered, beat us from our anchoring by it; tho'
it played upon us with four Demi-Cannons within Point blank
from six in the Morning 'till 12 at Noon. *Hist. of the World*,
lib. 5. cap. 1. Sect. 10.

chor by the great Galleons, whereof the *Philip* and the *Andrew* were the two which boarded that brave English Ship. Here he fell to battering of them very briskly, expecting after awhile the Fly-Boat to come up, that he might board and take them. And now began the Engagement to be very desperate. The Lord *Thomas* came to anchor on one side of him, though pretty much behind, with Sir *Robert Southwell*; Sir *George Carew* and the *Cliffords* on the other, and Sir *Francis Vere* was towards the side of *Puntal*. At last the Thunder of the Ordnance grew so great about Ten a-Clock in the Morning, that *Essex*, impatient to abide far off, thrust up through the Fleet, heading all those on the left Hand, and on that side anchor'd next to *Ralegh*; afterwards came in Captain *Cross* as near as he could; but *Ralegh*, to his great Honour, held always single in the head of all. Now after they had beat, as at two Buts, one upon another almost three Hours; so that the Volleys of Cannon and Culverin came as thick as if it had been a Skirmish of Musketeers, till *Ralegh's* Ship was in Danger of sinking in the Place, he made away to *Essex* in his Skiff, to desire that he would inforce the promised Fly-Boats to come up, that he might board; for as he rid, he could not long endure so great a Battery.

Essex was then coming up himself; to whom *Ralegh* declared, That if the Flyboats came not, he would board in the Queen's Ship; for it was the same Loss to burn or sink, and one he must endure. Then the Earl promised him, That whatever he attempted, he would second him in Person upon Honour. In the mean while, the Lord Admiral *Howard*, being also at first disposed to advance, but the River was so choaked that he could not pass in the *Ark*, came with the Lord *Thomas* in the *Nonpareil*; and

while *Ralegh* was speaking to *Essex*, the Marshal *Vere*) who thought it some Touch, says *Ralegh*, to his great esteemed Valour, to ride bekind me so many Hours, got up a-head of my Ship; which Lord Thomas perceiving, headed him again, myself being but a Quarter of an Hour absent. At my return, finding myself from being the first to be but the third, I presently let slip Anchor, and thrusting in between the Lord Thomas and the Marshal, went further a-head han all of them before, and thrust myself athwart he Channel, so as I was sure none should outstart me gain for that Day. *Essex* thinking his Ship stronger han the rest, thrust *Clifford's* aside, and still got next to *Ralegh*, on the left Hand, a-head of all hat Rank, but Lord *Thomas*; while *Vere* secretly astned a Rope on *Ralegh's* Ship-side towards him, and drew himself up equal with him; but some of his Company advertising him thereof, he caused it o be cut asunder, so *Vere* fell back into his Place, whom *Ralegh* guarded all but his Prow from the Sight of the Enemy.

But now *Ralegh* having no Hopes of his Fly-boats, and *Essex* with the Lord *Thomas* having promised to second him, he laid out a Warp by the Side of the *Philip* to close, the Wind hindering him otherwise to board her; and when the Admiral thereof, with the Commanders of the other three wooden Apostles, found that *Essex* and the Lord *Thomas* began to do the like, they all slipped Anchor, and ran aground; Heaps of Soldiers and Mariners tumbling into the Sea like Coals out of a Sack, says *Ralegh*, into many Ports at once; some drowning, some sticking in the Mud. He also tells us, the *Philip* thereupon burnt herself; and another Author more particularly in these Words: As *Ralegh* thought to have boarded the great Galleon St. Philip, a Negro gave fire to the Powder; and

escaped by swimming ; it gave so great a Crack, t
the Mast was blown up into the Air, as if it
been an Arrow. A Pinnace that lay near it
burnt, but the Men escaped in Boats. The other C
leon, called St. Thomas, was likewise blown up,
did no Harm to the Englsh. He also menti
two Easterlings which ran ashore, and were bur
but, says he, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew,
10 or 1200 Ton a-piece, were saved from runn
aground, and carried away. However, he d
not inform us particularly by whom ; and otl
seem to have done Ralegh more wrong, in no
nating other Persons, and omitting him in the F
formance ; since it appears under his own Ha
writing, that he took them both himself. A
this agrees with the Manner his Letter of
Action in Print has expressed it, where he sa
*those Galleons were recovered with our Boats e'er i
could get out to fire them.* Here he observes u
the Enemies running to the Shores, and thus fir
their Ships, that the Spectacle was very lamenta
on their Side ; for many drowned themselv
many half burnt, leaped into the Water ; v
many, hanging at the Ropes-ends by the Ship's S
under the Water, even to the Lips ; many swi
ming with grievous Wounds, 'till struck und
Water, and put out of their Pain ; and withal si
huge Fires, and such tearing of the Ordnance,
the Great Philip and the rest, when the Flans
came to them, that Ralegh thought there was h
to be seen the most lively Figure of Hell itself.

Thus the Victory was obtained by Sea, and t
Bay resigned by two, some say, by four o'Clock
the Afternoon ; though no more of the Eng
were constantly and closely engaged, than the Sh
and Commanders before-mentioned, against the
great Galleons, 17 Gallies, with the Fleet of N

pain, Argosies, and Frigats, to the Number of 5, or 57, as *Ralegh* himself reckons them, besides the Fort of *Puntal* playing upon them all the while. After the Victory, *Ourselves spared the Lives of all*, says *Ralegh*; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the Fight, used merciless Slaughter; 'till they were by myself, and afterwards by my Lord-admiral beaten off.

Then did they hasten to land the Army, and attempt the Town*; in which there were of all sorts above 5150 Soldiers in pay, and about 800 Horse of the Gentry and Caviliers of *Xeres* gathered together upon the Discovery of the *English* Fleet two Days before, as they lay becalmed off *Cape St. Mary*. The Horsemen sallied out to resist their landing, but were so vigorously assailed and over-powered by the *English*, that the greatest Part made way to the Bridge which leads to the Main, called *Puente de Suaço*; the rest retreated to the Town, and were so eagerly pursued, that they were driven to forsake their Horses at the Gate, which the Inhabitants durst not open to admit them; so that they were forced to leap down an old Wall into the Suburbs, which the *English* Vanguard, close at their Heels, perceiving, with *Essex* at their Head, followed them; and so the Town was carried with

* *Cadiz* was a large and beautiful City, and being the chief see of the Bishop, had a good Cathedral Church, Abbey, Nunnery, and fine College of Jesuits; was strongly situated both by Nature and Art; the Buildings of hard Stone, all flat roof'd, after the *Turkish* Manner; so that having lodged Heaps of great Stones on the Tops of their Houses, every Woman could endanger the Passengers in the Streets, which were very narrow, perhaps to avoid the great Heat. All the Houses had fair Window-frames, and large folding Shutters; but were barr'd with Iron, and none glazed, except the Churches. They had few Chimnies, but in some lower Out-rooms for necessary Uses; seeming to be more careful of keeping themselves from roasting, than to have much of any Thing roasted.

a sudden Fury, in a short Space of Time, and with very little Loss. *Ralegh*, though he had received a grievous Wound in his Leg, being much tormented and deformed with a Splinter-shot in the Fight yet, willing to encourage the Army with his Presence, and desirous of seeing the Actions and Dispositions of the Enemy, he was carried ashore on the Shoulders of his Men, where the Lord-admiral, out of his Care and Regard, sent him one of his Horses; but his own being recovered in due Time, was made ready for him.

The Torment he endur'd, and the Fear he was continually in of being shoulder'd by the tumultuous Soldiers, abandon'd to Spoil and Rapine without any Respect of Persons, made him unable to abide above an Hour in the Town.* The same Night therefore he return'd, chiefly because there was no Admiral on board to order the Fleet, & indeed few Mariners left in the Navy; all, to use his own Words, *running headlong to the Sack*; and also because he was fit for nothing but Rest and Retirement at that Time: Otherwise he might like the rest of the Commanders, have rewarded himself for his Services. But leaving them in safe Possession at his Departure, they promised to preserve for him his Share of the Booty, and to give him a good Quarter of the Town; of which, a

* After the Surrender was over, Order was given to transport the religious Men and Women, Merchants Wives, &c. to Port St. Mary, that no Violence might be offer'd them. They had also Liberty to take as many of their Cloaths or Goods as they could carry with them; which produced a remarkable Example in a beautiful young Spanish Lady, who, leaving all that was precious and valuable, bore away her old and decrepid Husband upon her Back, whom before she had hidden from the Danger of the Enemy; herein imitating the Piety of the Bavarian Women, after the Conquest of their Country by the Emperor Conrade III.

e have it under his own Hand, they defrauded
im. He had desired the Consent of the Generals,
at he might go and secure or destroy the *Indian*
leet, which was said to be worth twelve Millions,
nd lay in *Puerto-Real* Road; but they desired to
nsider on it till next Morning. At Break of Day,
alegh sent his Brother, Sir *John Gilbert*, and Sir
Wm Throgmorton, as also Sir *Henry Leonard*, to
now their Resolution; but the Generals sent back
desire he would come ashore into the Town.
alegh very favourable imputes these Evasions to
e great Confusion, in which it was almost impos-
ible for them to order many Things at once. In
e Afternoon of the same Day, the Merchants of
adiz and *Seville* offer'd the Generals, by the
ommittee of the Contractation-House, with the
urveyor, Corrigidor, and other Officers, two
illions of *Ducats* to spare that Fleet; neither
ould this bring them to any Resolution, so that
dvantage was lost. *Ralegh* might possibly insist
pon a larger Composition, by saying, *They ought*
rst to be Masters of the Fleet, and ransom it after-
wards; for if they offer'd two Millions already, they
would give four when it was taken. But it appears
lain enough, that *Essex* was not for having the
leet seiz'd upon, unless by Sir *Christopher Blunt*,
ir *Edward Conway*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and
ther Land Officers, which *Ralegh* would not con-
ent to for the Honour of the Sailors; as it does
appear from *Cambden*, that the Lord-Admiral
ould not consent to any Composition. *For we*
ame, said he, to consume them, and not compound
with them. But they saved him the Trouble; for
he next Morning, being the 23d of June, the
Duke of *Medina* caused all that Fleet of Merchant-
men to be set on Fire, because he was convinced,
rom their being beset so vigilantly by *Ralegh*,
who

who had the Charge of them, that they must need fall into his Hands. Thus both Galleons, Frigats Argosies, with the Fleet of *Nueva Espana*, and all except the Gallies, which it seems escaped, were consumed to Ashes. Good Store of the Enemy's Ordnance was recover'd out of their Ships, and great Quantities of Merchandize, Plate, Jewels and Money, out of the Town : Their whole Loss being computed at twenty Millions of Ducats. Many rich Prisoners were given to the Land Commanders, so as that Sort were very rich, says Raleigh ; some had for their Prisoners sixteen or twenty Thousand, some ten thousand Ducats, besides great Houses of Merchandize. What the Generals have gotten I know least (concludes he;) they protest it little : For my own Part, I have gotten a lame Leg and a deformed ; for the rest, either I spoke too late or it was otherwise resolved. I have not been wanting in good Words, or exceeding kind and regardful Usage ; but have Possession of nought but Poverty and Pain.

It was long disputed, whether the Town should be held or no, say Sir Francis Vere ; who adds, that my Lord of Essex seemed to affect to remain there in Person ; as, we may add, Vere did too ;

* The Earl of Essex, in a brief Narrative of the Advantages accruing to England, and Losses to the Spaniard, by this Expedition, says, ‘ The English took two Galleons, routed 15 Gallies, with an unequal Number of Ships ; freed many of their Countrymen condemn'd to the Gallies, and releas'd several Spaniards from Imprisonment ; took the best fortify'd City in all Spain, and stayed thirteen Days in their Country ; brought home, besides the Galleons aforesaid, 100 Brass Guns, with a rich Booty ; and the Sailors, but especially the Soldiers, great Plunder ; the Enemy lost 13 of his most serviceable Ships, 40 Indian Merchantmen, and 4 others, besides vast Quantities of Ammunition, Provisions, &c. rendering it almost impossible he should in some Time appear again at Sea in a formidable Manner.

because, he says, he offer'd to defend it with 4000 Men, till her Majesty's Pleasure should be known; when, in Truth, the Queen's Pleasure, in this Particular, was known before they left *England*: For *Essex* himself informs us, he sent Letters from *Plymouth*, before they set sail, by his Secretary *Edward Reignold*, to the Council at *Greenwich*; wherein he purposed, *to dwell in a Port of the Enemy's, and to make a continual Diversion of the Vars*; but, says he, *My Letters were neither answer'd, nor liked of.* And much less was the same proposal now relish'd in *Cadiz*, when so many wanted to guard and secure the Treasures they had got; and it was computed, they would all soon row in Want of Provisions; nay, one of his own Knights advis'd him to master and destroy Ships ather than Towns, as what would make the Enemy more unable to molest them, and procure im Wealth and solid Honour, without Riot and Ruin of the Innocent; besides, the Riches in Ships ould not be so easily conceal'd and convey'd away, s in Towns; also they might be brought into *Eng-*land, and would be visible Monuments to his Glory; but Towns, tho' soon won, could not be long enjoy'd.

For these and other Reasons *Essex* was prevail'd pon to leave *Cadiz*; but they first of all caused he City to be raz'd, and, with the Castles and Fortifications, fired, all but the Churches and Religious Houses; together with all the naval Tackle and Provision they could meet with, which they either needed not, or could not conveniently carry way. Their Courtesy however to the People, specially of Distinction, and all who had made no Opposition, was such, that, at their Departure, the Spaniards did the English the Justice to say, *Tho' they were Hereticks as to Religion, yet as to the rest,*

rest, they had behaved themselves with general Bravery.

On the 5th of July the Army embarked ; and Council, it was insisted on to lie out at Sea intercepting the *West-Indian Fleet* ; but the Scar ness of our *Vitals*, says Vere, overthrew that Purpose. So Resolution was taken to make for *England*, and visit the *Spanish Coasts* in the Way, destroy their Shipping. The first Place they made to was *Faro*, a good large populous Town, but enclos'd, and a Bishop's See of *Portugal*. Here the English landing, and marching up to the Town, the Inhabitants deserted it, and left them in Possession ; who, after having rested and refresh'd themselves five or six Days, brought good Store Provisions to the Ships ; also some Pieces of Artillery, and the valuable Library of the late famous Bishop *Oforius*.* There is another Author who

mentions

* This was *Hieronymus Oforius*, a Native of *Lisbon*, and Bishop of *Silves* and *Algarva* ; characteriz'd by Foreigners to have been a Man of strict Virtue in his Morals, and Master of a florid Style in his Writings ; which were publish'd at *Rome* in four Volumes, by his Nephew, who also wrote his Life. See more in *Thua* Anno 1580, when he died, aged 74 Years, and in *Anthony à Fier's Additions to that Historian's Eloges des Hommes Savans &c* Svo. vol. i. Utrecht 1694. p. 502. This Bishop was, for neither of his Writings, more noted with us, than his *Epistolary Admision to Queen Elizabeth*, and his *Controversy with that learned Orator and Civilian Dr. Walter Haddon* ; who dying in the Year 1571, before he had compleated his last Book against *Oforius*, was finish'd and publish'd by *John Fox the Martyrologist* in 1579, and four Years after translated into *English* ; wherein Fox characteriz'd the Bishop's Book against the Doctor with being full of Lies, Calumnies, and Errors : And the Lord *Bacon*, where he not among the Distempers of Learning, that Luxuriancy of Studies which began to prevail in *Luther's Time*, with the Cause thereof ; which introduced an affected Study of Eloquence, and grew to such Excess, that Authors regarded a Roundness of Period more than Richness of Invention, Soundness of Argument,

mentions the taking of this Town, and consequently that Library, among *Ralegh's* Victories; describing the Buildings to have been left so demolished, as to yield no Covering for their Idols. But since that Library is observed by *Camden* to have been bought by right *Essex's* Prize, as if this Earl had somehow contended to engross it to himself; it may somewhat direct us, to whose greater Value were the Labours of the Learned, and more publick spirit in this particular, 'tis owing, that it was more commendably bestowed; being brought into England, says *Morson*, and made (it seems an exemplary Foundation of the publick Library which was begun by Sir *Thomas Bodley* the ensuing Year at Oxford. What Share *Ralegh* had in this Disposal, towards the said renowned Undertaking of that learned Knight, his Countryman and Acquaintance, Authorities are wanting, further than by Surmise from these Premises, to certify. But this we have presly enough transmitted to us of him by *Bodley* himself, even in the next Reign, about nine Years after this Time, when *Ralegh* was under great Misfortunes; and therefore, when an Act of Muniificence must shine with the greatest Splendor, that generously contributed towards the Improvement of that Library the Sum of 50*l.* for which, as Sir *Thomas Bodley*, I will intreat the Vice-Chancellor to move the University for their Letters to me (and the other Benefactors mentioned with him) of publick Thanks.

When the Forces were got again on Board, they ed to the Groyne, and looked into the Bay; but

it, or Depth of Judgment; and were charmed rather withness than Strength, Sweetness than Solidity, and Fulness of ris than Weight of Matter; he instances, among others then wing into Esteem, the flowing and watery Vein of *Oforius*. Augment. *Scientiarum*, lib. 1.

the Wind being unfavourable, they thought it dangerous to enter; therefore, and because the Victuals daily grew more scarce, so that in some Ship there was already extreme Want, says Sir Francis Vere, it was resolved to make Homewards: However, Sir William Monson, in Favour of Essex's Impatience to go upon fresh Exploits, computes they had enough Provision to supply them seven Weeks. Monson also imputes the general Declension of the Officers from any further Invasion of the Spaniard at this Time, to the Covetousness of those who wanted to secure the Treasures they had amassed. And indeed Vere discovers not any Concurrence now with Essex's new Schemes of Adventure, as might have been expected towards a Patron who had shewn him so much Favour and Countenance; but visibly hastens Home upon the Complaint of the Scarcity aforesaid. And yet that which might have thought Vere's true Motive for returning, was never imputed to the Lord-admiral nor Sir Walter Ralegh, tho' both by Speech and Writing, they argued for it as much as any; for they had engrossed no Booty that might be endangered by entering upon further Engagements abroad. Yet had they other Objections to these inconsiderate Projects, than the Want of Victuals or Sickness of Men; for after both these Inconveniences in Ralegh's Ship we proposed to be redress'd by Essex, as Monson tells us, Ralegh was as resolute against hazarding the Honour, as others the Riches that was got at Cadiz; and in this entirely agreed with the Lord-admiral, who persuaded them to consider how subject they might be to great Losses in little Enterprize which would not add much to their Praise, if they succeeded; but surely would to their Discredit if they failed. This being the Sense of the greater

the wiser Part, most of the Fleet returned with the Lord-admiral to *Plymouth* on the 8th of *August* following; and the Rest, with the Earl of *Essex*, two Days after; who thence took his Journey to Court, *Ralegh* probably did at the same Time. On the 3d of the same Month, we find by a Letter from the Council of State to the Lord-admiral, then advanced with the Fleet to the *Downs*, that *Ralegh* as well as *Essex* had been with them, and probably with the Queen; from whom we hear of no Objections made to *Ralegh's* Conduct in the whole Action: Therefore probably he was among those principal Actors therein, whom she distinguished with liberal Praises and Rewards. Yet that Letter does discover her Majesty's Dissatisfaction towards the Lord-admiral, that he did not lie in wait for the Carracks, or the *West-Indian* Fleet, as *Essex* had treated him to do. And whereas Sir *Francis Vere* says, that when *Essex* landed in the West, and left Orders with him for dissolving not only the Land-forces, but the Shipping, there arose much Strife between the said Mariners and his *Low-Country* Troops at their Parting, the Sailors being determined to share in the Chests and Packs where-with the Soldiers had most unproportionably enriched themselves in the late Spoil; at which *Vere* complained to the Lord-admiral for Redress, adding, that *some other principal Officers of the Fleet* took the Sailors Part; and, as if they thought them unreasonably dealt with, who had made Way by the Sea-fight, for the Soldiers to get those Riches by Land, asked him, whether the Mariners should have nothing? To which he answered, *their Hopes in the Indian Fleet were more to be desired than that Trash (as he calls it) which the Land men had got in the Town; so as they had none to blame but their Officers,*

ficers, and their bad Fortune: Which Answer, say he, was taken to Heart, and is not forgotten to thi Hour, of which I feel the Smart: If Ralegh was one of those principal Officers here pointed at, who thus stood the Sailors Advocate, as he might be notwithstanding his expeditious Progress to Court the indifferent Manner wherewith Vere has treated him is very accountable to me. But Vere has further betrayed his Partiality, in not telling us the Consequence of his said Application to the Lord Admiral, which appears in that Letter and others from the Council aforesaid, to have procured the Disposal of the Spanish Plunder towards the Payment of the English Navy; and that Vere's Low-Country Regiments should not return before they were searched both in Ships and Person. As for Essex, he wrote a *Censure of the Omissions* in this Voyage, which he imputes to the Dissensions of his Council and Colleague. Whence the common Historians have been led indiscriminately to arraign the setting forth such Expeditions under Commanders of equal Authority, and have so much neglected giving these their distinct Commendations for what they did, as to cavil at them for what they left undone; while others more gratefully observe, *That never was so much Riches and Renown acquired with the like naval Success*; well justifying the Honours which were paid to Sir Walter Ralegh, both by the Authors who dedicated Books to him this Year, the Painters and Sculptors, who have appropriated this Sea-fight to his Portraits; and those other Advancers of the like honorary Arts, who, in their Discourses of *Medals* and *Intaglias*, have thought him worthy, for this, among his many other Actions and Excellencies, of that metallic Commemoration, which is more usually

ually among us confined to Princes and crowned Heads. *

About two Months after *Ralegh's* Return from the Conquest of *Cadiz*, we find him making a new Attempt to continue the Interest and Correspondence he had so hopefully begun in *Guiana*. To this end, he mann'd out and stor'd, with all proper Conveniences and Merchandize for Trade and Discovery in those Parts, a handsome Pinnace which had been with him in the late Engagement, called under his own Name the *Watt*. therefore probably one of his own Ships. The Command of her he committed to Captain *Leonard Berrie*; but, thro' Contrariety of Winds, and other Accidents, they made it the latter End of *December* following be-

* Mr. Evelyn in his Book of *Medals*, gives us the Sculpture of a large one that was struck this Year, having the Arms of *England*, *France* and *Holland*, in a three-fold knot on one Side, respecting a triple League against *Spain* with this Inscription, *mpitnr haud facile*; and on the reverse, a Navy of great Ships at Sea, under the Name of *Jehovah*, with this Epigraph, *id me persequeris, 1596.* Hence thought by some to have been in Memory of the Victory at *Cadiz*; but as he tells us, was struck upon the Alarm menacing those three Nations on

Surprise of *Calais* this Year. Therefore where he is speaking of those adventurous *Argonauts* in these Times, who deserved the Honour of *Medals* for their Exploits at Sea, among whom, he reckons chiefly those who found out *new Worlds*, planted *Colonies*, and enlarged the *British Empire*, he adds, I know not whether there was any Medals of the Earl of *Essex's* expedition to *Cadiz*, and of the Heroes who accompanied him. recommends Sir *W. Ralegh* to that Distinction, as being Person of extraordinary Merit for his *Learning* and *Experience*: and who is he, continues my Author, that deplores not his being so happily cut off, (and our since Want of such as *Ralegh* was) to gratify the crafty and Malicious? Further, where he is subsiding from *Arms* to *Arts*, he mentions *Ralegh* again among the foremost of those illustrious Persons, of whom he says, ‘ How should one rejoice to find in more lasting Matter than painted Cloth, the true *Effigies* of such as were famous or both.’ *Numismata*, fol. 1697. p. 99, 160, 161.

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fore they got out of *Weymouth*. In the Beginnir of *March* they discover'd the Coast, and fell in the River *Wiapouco*, a River almost in four D grees North of the Line, and about sixteen Leagu in Length ; but not being able to find the Hea of its Falls, nor meeting with any of the Inhabitants to supply them with Provisions, they return' and made towards the great Town called *Aramatt* where they stored themselves to their Desire, After this, several of those Natives came in Canoe and traded with the *English* in their Ships. The Captain *Berrie* hired some of them, with a Prese of Knives, to go back unto the River *Cawo*, and invite the Ruler of that Place, named *Ritimo*, aboard, who accordingly came to them in the Riv *Chiana*, where he and his Train were feasted, and traffick'd with the *English* much to their Satisfaction : And thither also flock'd, from their several Towns, great Numbers of a civiliz'd Race *Carribes*, who brought great Plenty of Viftuals a Tobacco, which they exchanged for such Comm dities as the *English* were well instructed to car thither. After they had declar'd their unanimous Desire to have the *English* come and rout the *Spi niards*, take Command of the *Orenoque*, and dw in the bordering Nations, they departed ; and the *English* made away to the *Careres*, or Triangul Islands, and kept trading on with the People the neighbouring Towns, who familiarly resort to them. Then they passed along through the River *Marawin*, to *Quiparia* and *Macirra*, about 40 or 50 Leagues upward to the Falls of the River, and to the Sight of a rich Country above where the People were of an extraordinary Statur and carried Bows hafted with Gold ; but we forced to return without compleating that Disc very, for Want of Provision ; though my Autho . o

ne of the Adventurers, thought the Palmito's, and other Trees in the Woods, would have supported them till they could have rewarded themselves with what *might have done us good*, says he, *long as we had lived.* On the 15th of April 597, they returned from that River, and wandered through several others; till, about four Days later, they fell into the *Coritine*. In this River they met a Bark, called, the *John of London*, commanded by Captain *Leigh* (the same, I suppose, who afterwards made other Voyages to *Guiana*; and took further Possession of the Country, not by force, the *Spaniards* Title, but Consent of the people; tho' for a Prince indeed, who deserved no right there which he had not the Spirit to maintain.) And falling down some five Leagues from the Mouth thereof, upon Intelligence that the *Deskebe*, with which that River meets, would lead them within a Day's Journey of the Lake *Perima*, whereon *Manoa* was supposed to stand, they meant to discover a Passage to this rich City. But, having rowed in their Boats about fifty Leagues from the Mouth of the *Coritine* to the Falls of the said River, where, having been credibly inform'd that five Days Journey further there was a Fall impassable; and, finding withal some of the Towns bordering thereon so importunate to engage them in Wars against their Enemies the *Waccawaes*, which would turn greatly to the Disadvantage of the *English*, when Sir *Walter Raleigh* should again return thither, because he would have Occasion to pass that River, which was reported to have Gold in it; they therefore were constrained to return. So, clearing themselves of this Coast, they took their Course to the Islands of the *West-Indies*. Here my Author, who was a Gentleman of the Company, after having spoke in Praise of the Climate, how temperate

temperate and wholesome it is; tho' within the Tropic, and so near the Equinoctial; as also how double the Natives, and humane (especially to Englishmen) tho' a savage and uncultivated People; proceeds to speak of their Riches in these Words.

*In the upper Countries they go apparel'd, being, as seems, of most civil Dispositions; having great Sto of Gold, as we are certainly inform'd by the low Indians, of whom we had some Gold, which th brought and bought in the high Country of Wian; being able to buy no more, because they wanted t. Things which now we have left among them.**

The having taken a little further Notice of their Manners, with the Plenty and Variety of their Provisions, he shews what Course his Company too

* That there are many rich Mines and Minerals in Guian as well as Mountains and Rivers impregnate with Gold, is n only thus constantly intimated by the English Travellers thith of these Times, but attested by the Spaniards themselves, in the further Discoveries many Years after; as may be seen in Fath D'Acuna's Relation of the River of Amazons, and other Spanish Authors. But as for the rich City of Manoa, just before spoke of, which they had called *El Dorado*, it seems now to have bee invented by these Indians, as a gilded Bait to draw the Spaniards into League with them against their Enemies; and propagated by the Spaniards themselves, to inhance the Merit of their Travels, and sharpen the Appetite of their Successors to pursue the Enterprize; for no such City having been found, i has been reputed a Kind of *Philosopher's Stone* in *Cosmography*. Yet, like that in *Chymistry*, tho' undiscover'd itself, it was and may further be the Means of many profitable Discoveries. If such a Metropolis had been distinctly ascertain'd by Antoni de Herera, and John de Laet's excellent Accounts and Maps of these Parts, and had not appear'd doubtful even to Father D'Acuna himself; I see not how Monsieur Sanson, who, in 1680, graved a little Map to explain the French Translation of the said Jesuit's Discourse, could have omitted it; and for the new Edition, published in 1715, another Map was graved by Mr. De Lisle; which, tho' more copious and compleat, is not, as I can hear, more particular in this Respect.

omewards, and how they arriv'd safe at *Plymouth* on the 28th of *June* following.

Thus have we abstracted all the Voyages Sir *Walter Ralegh* set forth for Discoveries, as well as the warlike Expeditions in which he was engag'd, far as they have been preserv'd in *Hakluyt's Collections*. Nor was it without just Reason, that his said naval Enterprizes were thus carefully gather'd herein; since *Ralegh's Encouragement* was such, this extraordinary Undertaking, to raise a Grove

Laurels, in a Manner out of the Sea, that could overspread the Island with Glory, and might be still made to shoot more spacially afresh, ere the Author and his Work reviv'd in a Manneritable to their Deserts, that when even the first edition of these *English Voyages* was published, and before they could receive any Lustre from the *arianian Discoveries*, the said Author, in his Prece, acknowledges Sir *Walter Ralegh* to have been one of those Benefactors, from whom he had received s chief Light into the Western Navigations. Nor d he only oblige *Hakluyt* with communicating vers maritime Adventures in which he himself and Countrymen were concern'd; but procured for m, at no small Expence, some very scarce oyages and Discoveries of Foreigners which were imprinted; and was moreover at the Charge of warding some Persons of Learning and Leisure to translate them into *English*, for the further Enchment of the said Collections. One Instance of his Kind he slightly mentions himself. For in his arned Enquiries into the Name of the *Red Sea*, e speaks of a Voyage made thither by the *Portugal* Viceroy of the *East-Indies*, named *Stephen Jama*, the Narrative whereof was written by *Castro*, one of his principal Commanders; which Discourse, says he, I gave Mr. *Richard Hakluyt* to publish.

Further, we might expatiate upon this Care he had for the Preservation of other Mens Fame ; but her a gallant Exploit sollicits our Regard, by which he much encreased his own.

For the Earl of *Essex*, grown discontented to see his Party of such little Power at Court, and the *Cecilians* carry all before them ; that he could not advance several of his Friends and Followers to certain Posts in the Army, not even Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the Office of Secretary, whom he had perhaps prejudic'd with his prodigal Praifes to the Queen, she having prefer'd Sir *Robert Cecil* to the Place, in his Absence at *Cadiz*, whom he had intemperately traduc'd, * resolved to seek, by further Services abroad, to strengthen that Interest home, which he now found so weak and unse-

* Sir *Thomas Bodley* informs us, that before he returned from the united Provinces in 1597, and after, the Earl of *Essex* used him so kindly, that though he meant to settle his Depender only on the Lord *Burghley*, as best able, and most willing work his Advancement with the Queen ; yet the Earl, who sought, by all Devices, to divert her Liking both from the Father and the Son especially ; did often to withdraw his Affect also from both, entertain the Queen with prodigal Speeches his Sufficiency for a Secretary ; which were accompanied with such Words of Disgrace against the latter, ‘ That neither I myself took any great Pleasure to prefer me the soon,’ says *Bodley* ; for she hated his Ambition, and would give little Countenance to any of his Followers ; and both the Lord *Burghley* and his Son waxed jealous of my Courses.’ And little further, ‘ when I had thoroughly bethought me, first the Earl ; of the slender Hold-fast he had in the Queen ; an endless Opposition of the chiefeſt of our ſtatesmen, likelily ſtill to waſt upon him ; of his perillous, feeble, and uncertain Advice, as well in his own, as in all the Causes his Friends ; and when I had fully conſidered how untowarily these two Counſellors were affted to me ; how ill it became my natural Diſpoſition to become a Stickler in publick Fation ; and how well I was able to live of my ſelf, & I was reſolved to take my Farewell of State Employment and ſo retire from Courts.’

iceable; for the King of Spain, enrag'd at the late Overthrow and Destruction of Cadiz, had immediately thereupon muster'd up the naval Powers from all his Ports at Lisbon, for a new Expedition upon England and Ireland; but his old Enemies the Winds and the Waves so speedily disabled and dispersed them, that the Queen heard of their late before she had any Advertisément of their Design: and as she then took Care to fortify such Castles as lay most obvious to any such Invasion; so now that she heard the Storm was gathering again, by the Repair of the said shattered Fleet, and Recruits added to it, threatening a new Descent upon Ireland, she resolved also to recollect her Forces by Sea. At first indeed, before she was well informed of the Enemy's Strength, she had only armed and victuall'd ten of her best ships, and caused the Low Countries to provide the like Number under Admiral Duvenvard. But when the Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh, who were pitched upon for the Command of his Fleet, declared their Hopes of doing any great Service with it to be weak and uncertain, and the News of the Adelantado's stronger Preparations at Feroll and the Groyne were daily confirm'd, a new Council was call'd; in which it was resolved, that his naval Force, which the Queen had appointed, was too great for a Discovery, and too little for an Attempt; as in the Earl of Essex's Apology is rightly observed. Therefore, passing over the Addition, so unaccountably deficient in the said Apology, there were added to the first prepared Fleet about ten Ships more of the royal Navy; which, with the other Men of War, Victuallers, Transports, and many stout Vessels belonging to the Nobles, Knights and Gentlemen, who were Adventurers in this Voyage, amounted to about

120 Sail, as we are informed by Sir *Arthur Gorges*, an Officer in this Enterprize. These Ships being all sufficiently manned with Sailors, receive an Army of 5000 Soldiers, with ten Pieces of Artillery for the Field, and 500 Volunteers magnificently equipped. The Proportion of Victuals was for four Months at large Allowance, and double Apparel both for the Soldiers and Mariner. The Lord-Admiral *Howard* being indisposed, declined the Command; which therefore was granted in Chief to the Earl of *Essex*; but the Lord *Thomas Howard* was made Vice-Admiral, and Sir *Walter Ralegh* Rear-Admiral in the Expedition: these three, with four others, made up the Council of War. The Purpose of this grand Preparation was to defeat and destroy the *Spanish* Fleet aforesaid at *Ferroll*, as well as in other Ports of the Enemy; also to seize upon such *Indian* Fleets and Treasure as they should meet with belonging to the King of *Spain*; but especially to conquer, retain, and engarrison most of the Isles of the *Azores*;

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* These Islands are situate in the *Atlantick*, or western Ocean between 37 and 40 Degrees; and distant from *England* above 400 Leagues. They were so named by the *Portuguese*, from Kind of Hawks, call'd by them *Asores*, by the *Romans Accipitræ*, and by us *Goshawks*; these Islands breeding Abundance of the Birds: Though *Ortelius* derives the Name from a *French* Word signifying to dry or wither, without giving Reason for his Etymology. They are nine in Number, and named St. *Mary*, which is near the Coast of *Spain*; St. *Michael's*, which is the largest of them, being about 20 Miles long; the *Tercera*, called, because lying the third from *Spain*, is the strongest; *Graciosa*, from the Fertility of the Soil, and pleasant Temper of the Air; St. *George's*, like the two first, from the Saint's Name whose Day it was discovered; the *Pike*, from the wonderful sharp Mountain thereon, which rises Steeple-wise three Miles high, is six or seven Miles in Circuit at the Base, and reported to have *Vulcano's* in its Bowels, cingorging Flakes and Stones of Fire; *Fayall* was so called from *Faya*, the Beech tree, which

and above all the *Tercera*: wherefore this Enter-
tize was called the *Island Voyage*.

About the 9th of July following, the whole
leet set sail from *Plymouth*, and, for two Days,
ad a fair leading Wind; in which Time all the
hips received their Directions from the Council
War, with the Meeting-places from Time to
ime in Case of Separation by Tempest, Fight,
hase, or any other Accident. But being now
lvanced about sixty Leagues, there arose such an
ceeding high Storm full in their Teeth, and con-
nued for four Days together, that all the Ships
ere driven, with great Detriment to several, back
to *Plymouth*; and many died of the Sickness it
ad brought upon them. While they lay here
Wind-bound for a Month, and their Provisions
uch damaged and consumed, *Essex*, in company,
ith Sir *Walter Ralegh*, rode post to Court. The
arl was very forward in his Proposals to set out
gain with the Fleet as soon as it shoule be re-
quired, or at least one Half of it, being sure the
nemy should have felt the Weight and Charge of
e Journey. But her Majesty not accepting his
ffer, it was more advisedly resolved, to propor-
on their Expedition to the Opportunities which
ained; the Season being so far elapsed, and
eir Provisions so much exhausted: therefore *Es-*
x had Orders from her Majesty to discharge the
and Forces, all but the thousand *Low-Country*
oldiers, then thought the best and most experienc'd
f this army; whereby, though they were dis-
aled of disembarking at *Ferroll*, and attacking the
nemy there by Land; yet *Essex* offered to send

rew in Plenty there; *Flores*, from the Abundance of Flowers
which overspread the Island; and *Cuervo*, from the vast Flocks
f Crows or Ravens which were observed to breed therein.

certain

certain Fire-ships into the Bay, and second the
with the two *Spanish* Galleons last Year take
with some great Flyboats and Merchant men,
destroy their Shipping; and leave the Queen's or
English built Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour
with a principal Commander, to secure their R-
treat; and this was allowed of, but with some I-
mitations, as *Essex* confesses in one Place, which
another, we find to be an absolute Bar to hazar-
any other of the Ships, and as absolute a Restraint
of the Earl himself from going into the Harbo-
to put this Project in practise; but that it shou-
be done by that Principal Commander he wou-
have left behind; whether through Care of
Person as a Nobleman, or to have it attempted
one of the greatest Abilities and Experience
such a naval Exploit, I cannot say; but Sir *Wal-*
Ralegh was prefer'd to the Execution of this Se-
vice, and, as Sir *Francis Vere* observes, the Charge
of firing the Fleet was undertaken by him.

During this Absence of *Essex* and *Ralegh*
Court, which was not above seven Days, there fell
out such exceeding tempestuous Weather as ver-
much distressed the Fleet, both at *Plymouth* Ro-
and *Caiwater*, insomuch that one of *Ralegh*'s own
Ships, the *Roebuck* of 300 Tons Burthen, ran
ground, and bulg'd herself, so became unservic-
able for that Voyage; though much Pains and
Care were taken by all Hands, and especially by
Lord *Thomas Howard* himself in Person, to have
preserved her. On the 17th of *August* followin-
they weighed Anchor, and, with much Labour
set sail again, being becalm'd; but the weather
growing afterwards somewhat favourable, they he-
re their Course for the *North-Cape*. Six Days afte-
wards they fell across the Bay of *Alchäfer*, or *B-*
ay; and at last bore full into it, much to the

like of *Ralegh's Pilot*, a skilful Mariner; named *roadb nt*, who thought it very perillous for so great Fleet to wilfully to imbay there, and upon an Enemy's Coasts; yet as it was the General's Course, they comply'd. The next Day they were here for several hours beaten and scattered about by a prodigious storm, wherein one of the late taken Prizes; named *Matthew*, falling into a Head-sea, and having her *sprit* sail out, broke her *Bolt-sprit* and *Fore-mast* overboard, close to the *Partners*. The Fall of lasts also broke two Anchors, and carried the third away; and her *Main-mast*, with her rolling and tumbling, had so loosed itself, that it was

Danger of breaking in the Step, whereby she could soon have been sunk, had not her Captain, *George Carew*, with great Resolution and Hard, carried her into *England*, and exchanged her for another. In the same Storm the other Spanish prize, the *St. Andrew*, spent her *Main-top-mast*, and lost Company for some Days; but all the rest of the Fleet kept labouring in the Bay, till first *Ralegh*; and some Ships of his Squadron which happened to carry the *Low-Country* Soldiers, clear'd at, and made the best of their Way to the next rendezvous: and afterwards several of the Earl's losing him, sailed thither also in search of him. This gave Rise to a Misrepresentation by *Ralegh's* Adversaries, that he had designedly withdrawn himself and that Part of the Fleet; while *Essex* himself incurred a most just Censure throughout the whole Fleet, by making the high Land of *Portugal*, and bearing in so close to the Shore, that alarmed all the Country to make Defence against him. Afterwards as the Fleet, being joined again, was passing towards the South, almost as far as the Isles of *Bayon*, *Ralegh's* Ship, the *Waspire*, being then in the Center of them, on the 27th

of *August* broke her Main-yard asunder in the ve
midst by the *Parrel*. *Essex* discovered in his Sh
a desperate Leak, by which he had much-ado
escape drowning. Here it was agreed, that
Ralegh's Ship should be repaired, he might ke
cruising about the Height of the *Rock*, where th
were to unite, and pass the *South Cape*; yet t
next Morning, before that Reparation could
made, *Ralegh* had a Message to attend *Essex* w
all Speed, that they might put in with the Lan
which was impossible for *Ralegh* to do, being i
able to work upon a Wind, as having but a *Fo*
sail and *Mizen*, and the Wind almost off the Lan
besides, if he could have made the Land with t
Sail, it was thought Madness to put upon the Enem
Coast in that Condition; when, if the Wind shou
change to the West, he must, in Want of
Main-sail, have yielded or perished: so found hi
self necessitated to ply up and down for two Da
till the said Fraction was mended. In this Distre
there was no Direction given for any other of i
Fleet to attend upon *Ralegh*; yet Sir *William Br*
in the *Dreadnought*, tarried with him; also Le
Thomas Howard very affectionately offered all i
Assistance he could give; and several other of i
Sea Captains voluntarily did the like; but *Rale*
would admit of no more than three or four sm
Men of War to accompany him, and ordered t
rest, even of his own Squadron, to repair to t
Admiral: So far was he from projecting a Divisi
of the Fleet, by entreating any to forsake *E*
and abide with him, as it was afterwards very fal
ly represented, to incense *Essex* against *Ralegh*,
contriving the Frustration of their first resolv
Attempt; and as *Ralegh* himself, when they rr
at the *Azores*, so satisfactorily made evident, t
the said Imputation turned only to the Shame of
Contrivers.

When *Ralegh* had repaired the Damages of the storm, he bore in with the Coast, making all the Inquiry he could after *Essex* and the Fleet, but could hear no Tidings of them; he sent into the Isles of *Bayon*, and towards the *South-Cape*, well knowing the Earl could not then put into *Feroll* or the *Groyne*, as was afterwards colourably pretended he would have done had they united, the Wind being flat against him; and the whole Fleet having over-shot that Coast near 20 Leagues before the Main-yard of *Ralegh's* Ship was broken; and besides, that they could not recover it again, both those Spanish Prizes were wanting which only were to have been ventured in the Service. Hereupon *Ralegh* shaped his Course to the *Rock*, which was appointed for the general Rendezvous; expecting, not only with good Reason, to meet *Essex* there, it with great Desire; his own Force being so small, and the Enemy, as he heard, out at Sea with a powerful Fleet. Yet those who could suspect *Ralegh* would prefer a Separation, dangerous and disadvantageous as it was now, would needs have had it thought there was much more Reason for that Suspicion, when there came to *Ralegh* at the Rock near 30 Sail more, most of them his own Victuallers and Transports; but the Truth is, that having lost *Essex* during the Storm in the Bay, and missed him also at the *North-Cape*, they came hither according to their Instructions; where, casually meeting with *Ralegh*, he held them together, and conducted them to *Essex* at the Islands: Otherwise they had all return'd home, after they had failed at the *South-Cape*, which was the third and last Meeting-Place, of some Admiral to command them, and of whom they would have fail'd, since one of the Fleet went so far southward.

Soon after he had determin'd, in Search of the
G g Fleet,

Fleet, to pass on towards the South-Cape, he was travers'd by an English Bark, which assur'd him they had learn'd from an English Man of War which had lately taken an India-man, that the Adlantado was gone for the Islands to convoy the Indian Fleet safe home. This seeming very probable and no one suspecting that any of their Countrymen would traiterously delude her Majesty's Fleet with any false Informations in a Pursuit of this Consequence, Ralegh earnestly besought the Captain of the said Bark to hunt after Essex, and apprise him of this Intelligence: But he answer'd, in the hearing of the whole Company, that the Captain, who had taken that India-man, had already sent a Letter to Essex thereof. Ralegh, doubting it might have miscarried, or that none was sent, commanded one of the small Men of War attending upon himself with all Diligence to seek out the Fleet, and make Report of what they had heard. This Ship, by good Chance, met with the Fleet next Day, and deliver'd the News. Two Days after, Ralegh received two Letters from Essex, which somewhat taxing his Absence, and not writing requir'd that he would presently follow him to the Islands: Whereunto (the Earl said) he was hasting to find the Adelantado; not doubting but to give his Mistress a better Account of that Service, than should yield his Master.

In passing to the Islands, Ralegh was so much in Danger of losing his Main-mast, that he was forced to send the Ships in his Company before, because he thought Essex might be in Want of them, if he should meet the Enemy; and, if they had joined the Fleet without Ralegh, who was principally depended on, in Case of any Engagement, it would have strengthened the Misconstructions that had been nourished against him; but Ralegh so speedily

nd effectually repaired his crazy Mast, and so riskly ply'd his Sails, that he overtook his Comorts next Day, and on the 8th of September they ll made the Island of *Tercera*; yet here could they meet with no News of the Fleet, though they enquired of an *English* Merchant who had traded bout these Islands above six Weeks, and though it ad passed that Way but two Days before. By this Merchant *Ralegh* wrote into *England*, to acquaint the State in what Situation they were; then passed n to *St. George's* Island, where they found the Veather exceedingly hot, and were vexatiously bealm'd for a Day or two, before they could get orward to *Gratiosa*. Here, as they coasted along, n the 10th of September about Midnight, they saw large and perfect Rainbow by Moon-light, in the hape and Bigness of those formed more commonly y the Sun, tho' in Colours not so various, but hiefly inclining to a pale or whitish Flame: This made the Generality of the Seamen expect some extraordinary tempestuous Weather; but it fell out, n the contrary, to be very calm and hot.* The same Night they also espied, by the Light of the Moon, then upon the Border of the Horison, some sail of Ships gliding towards the East of *Gratiosa*;

* This Rainbow, by the Light of the Moon, is the rather to be observed, because *Pliny*, in his Natural History, speak-
ing of Meteors, denies any Rainbow to be seen, but opposite to the Sun, and never in the Night-Season; yet tells us, *Aristotle* reports, for a Rarity, that, in his Time there was a Nocturnal Rainbow seen; but, withal, that it could only be at the Full of the Moon. Nevertheless, in these Parts, they are very ordinary, as well when the Moon is not at Full, as otherwise: for o longer than a Week after this Time, *Ralegh* and his Company observed another lunary Rainbow, as they rode at Anchor before *Flores*; and there could not be two full Moons in seven Days, which makes it probable these Islands were not known to the Greeks and Romans, or those Meteors not sufficiently observed by them.

at which *Ralegh* hung out two Lights for his Company to follow him in Chase of them ; but they no taking his Course, and the Moon being soon after quite shadow'd and intercepted by the Earth, he was left in Darkness and Solitude, having lost a Sight both of the new-discovered Ships, and those of his own Company, till, in the Space of four Days more, a leisurely Breeze of Wind brought him, after all these Impediments, to the rest of the Fleet then gathered at the Isle of *Flores*.

As soon as *Ralegh* had deserv'd the Fleet, he took his Barge, and, with Sir *Arthur Gorges*, as also some other of the Officers and Gentlemen in his Company, went aboard the Earl of *Essex*'s Ship, with whom they all din'd ; and " who seemed to say *Gorges*, to be the joyfulest Man living for our Arrival ;" protesting, that " he never believed we would leave him, altho' divers persuaded him to the contrary ;" and acknowledg'd that he was sorry for a Letter which he had written, by Mr. *Robert Knolles*, into England against us ; promising presently to make a Dispatch on Purpose, contrary to the Former. Further, when *Essex* had fully satisfied himself that all the Transports and Victuallers which returned with *Ralegh*, had not been inveigled away by him ; and how commendably he had thus drawn them to the Islands, against their Inclinations, being, most of them, in great Distress ; he open'd himself to him in a very amicable and communicative Manner. He told him, how he had spent the Time of their Separation wholly in ranging the Sea to meet with the *Adelantado* ; he acquainted him with the many Conjectures and Surmises that had been vented of his Absence, and, withal, named to him some of those Men who had taxed him secretly with strange Reports, yet pretended to love him ; which he proteste.

rotest'd he never believ'd, but thereby the better ob-
serv'd their scandalous and canker'd Dispositions. In
his Manner did the Earl of Essex receive and wel-
come Sir Walter Ralegh with the greatest Kindness
and Familiarity, as well as all the Gentlemen of his
Company; to the great Dislike and Heart-burning
of some, who much envied that Liking, which, of
his own Disposition, Essex bore to Ralegh: *For
so' the Earl had many Doubts and Jealousies buzz'd
into his Ears against him; yet I have often observ'd
says Gorges) that both in his greatest Actions of Ser-
vice, and in the Times of his chiefeſt Recreations, he
ould ever accept of his Counsel and Company, before
any others who thought themselves more in his Fa-
vour.* 'Tis true, the Earl, of his own unperverted
Nature, was a Man, prone to gracious and gene-
rous Principles; but no less easily blown up to Pre-
dice and Indignation against his real Friends, by
his pretended ones; whence we may conceive, as
Sir Arthur Gorges has well observ'd, upon giving
an Instance of his Moderation and Bounty to some
of the Islanders, *Tho' he was endowed with many
good Gifts, how it came to pass, that he at last
lild in the Use of them.*

Here, as they lay before the Isle of Flores, they
held a Council of War, to conquer and possess, or
to waste some of these Islands; they being the
chief Places of Retreat and Refreshment for the
King of Spain's Indian Fleets, by the Treasures
hereof his boundless Ambition so much disturbed
and so tyranniz'd over Europe. In this Council,
the Admirals and Commanders had their Charge
allotted, after the following Manner. Essex and
Ralegh were to undertake the Island of Fayall; the
Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Francis Vere were to
secure Gratiſa; the Lord Mountjoy and Sir Chri-
opher Blunt were to attempt St. Michael's; and
the

the *Netherland* Squadron was quartered to *Pik* where grew the greatest Store of Wines, therefo presumed no unwelcome Portion to them. All these Places were the first resolved upon, that th might afterwards attack the *Tercera* itself; for *Ralegh's* Arrival, gave their Resolution upon the stronger Island a second Life; but it was fi thought expedient to strengthen and supply ther selves with whatsoever those weaker ones would afford: And to this End the Fleet was divided into four Squadrons.

But *Ralegh's* Mariners having obtained Leave to go ashore at *Flores*, to water and furnish themselv with such other Necessaries as they wanted; wh he himself, attended by several other of the Comanders and Gentlemen, walked a Mile or two into the Island to stretch their Legs and refresh the selves, where they all dined in a little Village, the bare-legged Governor having caused such Fare to be brought them as the Country afforded, wh they very honourably paid for, without offering the least Injury; because the Earl had before given them an Indemnity, under his own Hand, from all Manner of Violence: When *Essex*, impatient to be in Action, all of a sudden, and before the Sailors could get their Casks of fresh Water aboard, sent, on the 16th of September, Capt. *Arthur Chaperon* to tell them, That the General was borne for *Fayall*, meaning presently to take it in; therefore required them to follow him instantly; and though they should not overtake him, yet to find him there soon as they could, and there they might supply their Wants. Hereupon they hastened away, with the Sail they could make, after him; but no General could they overtake. The next Morning they got Sight of *Fayall*, and miss'd of *Essex* also thereto their great Dissatisfaction, he being six Leagues neare

earer that Island when he sent for them, and set
till thither six or eight Hours before them.

Being entered the Road, they beheld before them very fine Town, pleasantly seated along the Shore ; from whence the People, upon Sight of their Ships, began to pack away both Bag and Baggage : Their Friars, Nuns, other Women and Children, they so sent away in Carts and Carriages : so continually transporting all up into the Country for two days together. There was besides a strong Fort at the End of the Town, and another on the Top of a very high Mountain near adjoining, by Nature very inaccessible, and artificially fenced with Flaniers, Rampier, and a Ditch ; also six Pieces of Artillery, and 200 *Spaniards* in Garrison ; not reckoning others quartered about the Island. They fired upon *Ralegh's* Ships as he anchored in the Road, though without much Damage, and set a great red Standard up in Defiance before his Eyes. They sent moreover six Companies with their Colours to trench upon the Shore, in Order to oppose his landing. However *Ralegh*, in his Barge, accompanied with Sir *Arthur Gorges* and Captain *William Morgan*, rowed close along the Shore-side, and by the high Fort towards the Town, to acquaint himself with the most proper Place for making a Descent when *Essex* should arrive ; from whence they were saluted with divers Musket-shot, which they very fortunately escaped, having with them neither Targets nor Armour for their Safeguard.

Upon these Provocations, and the Want they saw in of those Necessaries, wherewith they were both lately hurried from accommodating themselves, and promised they should be supplied here ; *Ralegh* called a Council of the Captains and Officers to consult about taking of the Town, if *Essex* arrived not ; thinking it a Shame to forbear so fair a Prize, so

near

near at Hand, 'till they had carried all off; especially since the Enemy had begun the War upon them, and so proudly dared them to their own Defence. Further, these Bravadoes, with the Hope of Wealth in this goodly Town, and the Ransom of Houses and Prisoners, made all the Mariners and Soldiers not only ready to mutiny that they were long restrained; but reflect on their Commanders as if this Forbearance was the Effect only of their Fear. And what made them the more eager was that they saw no Likelihood of other Benefit by th Voyage, than what was thus to be gotten ashore. Notwithstanding these Murmurs, and that the heard no News of *Essex* in two Days, the Counc was divided; and some of the Captains, who were by no means for landing without his Knowledge but *Ralegh*, with Sir *W. Brook*, Sir *A. Gorges*, Sir *W. Harvey*, and many other Commanders and Gentlemen of his own Squadron, were of a contrair Opinion; judging the General would repute the Idlers and Cowards to lie so long before so good Town with so many Ships and Men, and do nothing, but let them convey away their Effect. This was the general Voice both of the Land and Sea-Forces; yet the violent Persuasions of *Merrick* did so prevail, that they agreed to delay the Enterprize one Day longer; when, if the Earl did not come, they all agreed to land together.

Now, the Wind tacking about, somewhat unf for the Road they lay in, *Ralegh*, and divers of his Squadron, with many other of the Ships after him weighed, and coasted about the Point to the North-west Side of the Island, some four Miles further from the Town than they were before, and there let fall their Anchors, being a better Roa

tha

than the first, as the Wind sat. But *Merrick*, with some five or six Ships of his Consorts, would not advance with them. They were now in the fourth Day of their Arrival before *Fayall*, and no General appear'd; but the Prospect of a most inviting Country, full of little Villages and fruitful Fields, which sharpen'd the general Desire of landing, to supply their Want of Victuals, and especially of Water, wherewith they had not been re-supplied since their first setting out from *Plymouth*; therefore, by Agreement, they mann'd out a large, a Long-Boat and Pinnace, with 60 Muskets and 40 Pikes, rather to guard themselves in watering, than in Expectation of any Encounter from the Town or Forts on the other Side of the Island. but they were no sooner ready to put off from the ships, than they discover'd six Ensigns of Foot, and some dozen Horse-men, marching down speedily from the Town and Forts to meet them; and made such Haste, that they soon possess'd the trenches towards the Shore where the *English* lay, and where, with brandishing Swords, and waving Colours, they stood daring them to a Rencounter. Hereupon, *Ralegh* found it necessary to augment his Force, which *Brook*, *Harvey*, and other Sea-officers, readily supply'd, to the Number of 160 men more. Then said *Ralegh* to them, Seeing these Spaniards and Portuguese are so gallant to seek & follow, and keep us from watering, we will try our Fortunes with them, and either win our Landing, or gain a Beating. As *Ralegh* then rowed along by his Ships, he was greefed by *Bret*, *Sidney*, *White*, *Berry*, and other Captains of the Low-country Soldiers, who call'd out and advis'd him, take them and some of their Companies with him; or, if he ventured to make the Shore only with Mariners and his own Attendants, without their Land-

Soldiers, he might receive a discreditable Repulse. But Ralegh excus'd himself, saying, he did not know for what Service the Earl might design them; and therefore was resolv'd, with his own Company, to make the Descent, and then should send for their Recruits; by which he would undertake to lodge them that Night in the Town, and the next in the Forts: Besides, he was willing to make the Attempt with those of his own Squadron, that neither the General nor his Train should have Cause to be ashame'd of them for undertaking that in the Face of their Enemies, which they durst not of themselves follow and perform.

Then Ralegh, having thus a Party of 260 Men, not half the Number of the Enemy, made forward; and while some Ordnance, he had judiciously placed before him in Pinnaces, as close along the Shore as they could lie, were beating upon their Trenches, he rushed through or under them as fast as his Oars could ply to the Landing-place; which was guarded first with a mighty Ledge of Rocks 40 Paces long into the Sea, and afterwards trench'd and flank'd with Earth and Stone, having only narrow Lane between two Walls for their Entrance. But now, as they approached still nearer to the Shore, the Enemies Shot flew down so thick upon them, that not only several of the common Men but of those who would before have passed for very forward and valiant Leaders, were much dismay'd insomuch that Ralegh, who most gloriously approved himself no less their Chief in Courage, than he was in Command, did not spare openly to rebuke them aloud with many reproachful Words. At last, when he saw them still linger, through Consternation, as much to their Danger as their Disgrace, he commanded, with a loud Voice, his Watermen to row his own Barge full upon the Rocks, and bade as many as were not afraid, to fol-

low him. Hereat some Boats ran in with us (says my Author) and out of them were landed Mr. Garrett, then a Pensioner, afterwards Earl of Kildare, Sir W. Brook, Sir W. Harvey, Sir John Scott, Captain Henry Thynne, Captain White, Captain Arthur Radford, Captain W. Morgan, Mr. Duke Brook, Mr. Thomas Rudgeway, Mr. Walter Chute, Mr. Henry Allen, Mr. Charles Mackart, and divers other Gentlemen. So, clambering over the Rocks, and wading through the Water, he made his Way pell-mell, through all their Fire, with Shot, Pike and Sword, up to the narrow Entrance; where he so resolutely pursued his Assault, that the Enemy, after a short Resistance, gave Ground; and, when they saw his Forces press faster and thicker upon them, suddenly retiring, they cast away their Weapons, and betook themselves to the Hills and Woods. The like also did those who were intrench'd higher: And thus did he win this difficult and dangerous Landing, together with the Trenches of the Enemy. A few of his Men indeed were drowned and slain, more hurt, and a couple of Long-boats sunk; yet was not his Loss so considerable as to detract from the Justice of those Congratulations which were paid him by the Officers of the *Low-Country* Forces, when, with some of their Companies, they arrived upon the Island, and found the Footing he had won so strongly fortified and guarded.

Ralegh, thus recruited, being now near 500 strong, thought best to go through with the Matter, and prepare the Town in Readiness for Essex. Therefore he appointed Bret to the Office of Sergeant-Major, directed the other Captains to advance their Colours, marshal the Companies, and so, in order, marched to the Town, about four Miles distant from the Landing-Place. In their Passage

divers of the Enemy, who had before braved them with the greatest Insolence, came with white Napkins at the End of Staves, and voluntarily abased themselves to Offices of the greatest Servility. There was indeed a Way, two Miles about, by which they might have passed to the Town, and avoided the high Fort where the Spaniards lay in Garrison. But *Ralegh*, considering the Troubles of their March, the sultry Heat of the Weather, the Hazards of Delay, and, above all, the Necessity they were under of immediate Supplies, took the shortest Course; resolving to bring Fort and Town all into one Days Work. Thus, at the Head of about 40 Gentlemen of the best Rank *Ralegh* led on the Companies in a gentle regular Manner, full in the Face of the Fort, having only his Leading-Staff in his Hand, and no other Armour on but his Collar, for which he was somewhat censur'd by his Friends; for, when they cam within Reach of the Fort, they were shrewdly encounter'd with several fierce Storms of great and small Shot, which came thundering down upon them from all Parts of it, wounding several,* killing some, and putting most of his Men into Disorder: Insomuch that *Ralegh* himself, with hi

* Among the rest, there was one Captain *William Morgan* a brave old Soldier, in this March; who, being reproved by our Author, Sir *A. Gorges*, for coming to the Field only in his Doublet and Hose, without either Armour or Target, answer'd *That his Flesh was of Musket Proof*. Immediately after a Musket Ball struck him point-blank upon his Belly, and, with the Force of its own Blow, fell flat at his Feet, leaving only a black Spot or Bruise upon his Skin;—thanks to the Buckle that join'd his Girdle; deserving to be reposed among those Trophies in the Temple of Mars, which Witness he wants not one Brother Soldier's impenetrable Suit of Mail, nor the seven-fold Shield of another, who can encounter his Enemy behind the Curtains only of a Pair of Proverbs, attesting *How little Armour will suffice, that is well-plac'd*; and, *How much Fortune favour the bold.*

little Vanguard, was no sooner passed, and enter'd under the Covert of their Trenches and Barricadoes at the Declivity of a little Hill, but the rest, composing the main Body of his Forces; which, 'till now that they found themselves under the Mercy of the Enemies Fire, advanced in good Order, began to break their Ranks, and, from marching, fell to running on in a straggling and confused Manner 'till they were under the Walls and Trenches almost as soon as their Leader, who came some twelve-score Yards before them in a steady and deliberate March. *Ralegh* was somewhat moved to see this tumultuous and timorous Course; and more, to think that the Enemy saw themselves were the Occasion of it; therefore he cried out to *Bret*, *Berry*, and other Captains, demanding, *If these were the Men that should have done him such service in Landing, and saved him from Dishonour?* Or this the Manner of their Low-Country Troops, to shew such base Cowardice at the first Sight of an Enemy, and at the Musket-shot so far off from a Fort? The Captains, who were themselves brave enough, knowing the Truth would be the best Apology, answered, *That these Companies who had behaved themselves with such Irresolution, were indeed Men taken out of Flushing and Brill, the cautionary Towns; so were raw Soldiers, who had ever lived in a safe Garrison, and seldom or never seen an Enemy, or encountered with Shot in the Field.*

Being thus got under Covert of the Trenches and Walls which the Spaniards had abandoned, and retired to their Fortifications on the Top of the Hill, *Ralegh* commanded Capt. *Bret* to appoint a Serjeant or two, with a few Shot, to go view and discover the Way to the Town, which, in many Places, lay open, as well to the high Fort here in the Way towards it, as to the other Fort at the End thereof:

thereof: And where the Ways were fenced, they were still more dangerous; it being with low-pile Walls of loose-ragged Stones, which *Ralegh* justly suspected would increase, rather than obstruct the Mischiefs of their Enemies Artillery. *Bret* brought Word of a general Unwillingness in the Lieutenants and Serjeants to undertake this Discovery, much under the Command of the Fort and Hill and that the Troops were rather desirous of slipping by, in the most hasty, dispersed and unobserve Manner they could; which *Ralegh* would by no Means suffer, through Consideration of their Safety without urging the Regard he had to their Credit in this Enterprise; for being by this Time well informed, the Island could raise 1000 armed Men and, reasonably believing they would gather the greatest Strength for the Defence of their best Town, towards which he was now marching, he concluded they would have it more in their Power to defeat him, advancing in little disorderly and scattered Parties, than in a regular united Body. *Bret* did make some Offer himself to go and survey these Passages, if he should be expressly commanded; but indeed it was found he could not be wanted, or spared among his own raw and unexperienced Troops.

When *Ralegh*, therefore, saw all Men so scrupulous of this Undertaking, and especially those Garrison-Soldiers, he told them, That he would no 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, but what duly appertained to the inferior Officers and Soldiers; and, notwithstanding (said he) that I could therefore enforce others to do it, they shall well perceive that I myself will do that which they dare not attempt: wherein I am ashamed on their Behalf, that our General

ral and we are thus abused in our Opinion of these
ow-Country Soldiers. Then he called for his Cui-
ss and his Cask, and said, he would both go view
e Way for them, which they made so nice of, as also
e Passages and Ascents to the Hill-top; and, as
ell as he could, observe the Strength and Fortifica-
ns thereof, for their better Direction the next Morn-
g. Hereupon, Capt. Berry was very ready to go,
d earnestly desired me (says our Author) to divert
Rear-admiral from undertaking it; and I there-
on (continues he) did openly dissuade him, who com-
nded in chief, from putting his own Person to
ese inferior Offices of Hazard, fitter for a Lieute-
nt or Serjeant, than himself, to perform; knowing
it all the Direction, as well of those Troops, as also
a whole Squadron of the Navy, did, at that Time,
y rest upon him, in the Absence of the Admiral and
e-admiral. Notwithstanding he was obstinate
rein; as well in scorn of those who had refused,
also indeed, out of a Desire to be better informed
the Strength and Fortifications of the high Fort.
ben I saw him resolved, I told him that I would,
of the Love of a Kinsman in particular, and also
of an honest Regard, take such Part as he did,
m whom I had received many kind Favours, and
ompany him; but not out of any great Desire I had
go about a Piece of Work, which consisted of much
nger, and little Honour in the Performance. He
inked me for my offer, but yet wished me not to go,
it were against my Will: Notwithstanding I ac-
panied him, and so did some eight or ten more of
r Servants and Followers. But I say truly, and so
erwards it was much spoken of, that there was not
y one more of Quality that did accompany him in
it Business.

In this Manner, and with this Number, did
alegh in Person go; the only one, it seems, who
despaired

despaired not of Success, to discover the Ascents of the Hill; the Cannon shot of the Enemy, and thereby the Stones of the battered Walls, flying on every Side thick about him all the while. He still proceeded, with an undaunted Pace, to compass this Knowledge of the safest Way by which he was to lead the Rest, though he perceived Wounds and Death dealt on either Hand, and his own Danger at every Step, more unavoidable. Some of his Company, in the March, were hurt, and two had their Heads taken from their Shoulders; Sir Arthur Gorges had his left Leg shot through with Musket-ball, who, without remembering any Pain it gave him, observes the Bullet burnt both his silk Stocking and Buskin, as if they had been singed with a hot Iron. I was then hard by the Rear-admiral (continues he) 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 Scarf, which I then wore; being, as he said, very fair Mark for them. But I, not willing to give the Spaniards so much Honour at that Time, though he could have wished it had not been so, answered the Rear-admiral again, That his white Scarf was eminent as my red; and therefore I would now follow his Example.

Having, by this Time, made a sufficient Discovery, both of the Way for his Troops to pass, also of the Avenues to the high Fort on the Mountain, which he intended to attempt, after he had secured the Town; Capt. Berry, with Allen, and some others, advanced to him. Hereupon he sent some Guides to Capt. Bret, with Orders for him also to march up with the Companies, that they might unite before they came to the Town, because he there expected an Engagement; or, at least some

ome Salley out of the Fort at the End thereof, which they must needs pass before they could get the Town ; and which seemed to threaten Resistance, being a very fine Fortification, all of stone Work, with Curtain, Flankers, and Ditch, very artificially cast. But immediately, upon *Ralegh's* approach with the Body of his Men, the Spaniards, seems, abandoned it ; for when he entered it, found they were newly departed. In like manner, as he marched on, he found the Inhabitants had also forsaken the Town, and left him in Possession of it, with such Wares and Stores as could not suddenly be removed. Thus, though with much Danger indeed, and some Loss of about half score Men, with the Hurt of little above double that Number, *Ralegh* made himself Master, in effect, of the whole Island ; which supplied him, from his own Experience, with an Example to confirm the Assertion, he afterwards took Occasion to maintain, and which we have, in Part, touched on before ; alledging, *That a Country cannot prevent an Enemy's Fleet from landing its Army, without as good a Fleet to oppose it.* And this Example, his own summary Account, we have here subjoined, as what may give the Reader a double Satisfaction, both in confirming the Veracity of that which has been here extracted thereof from Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and adding to the many other Instances *Ralegh's* Modesty and Restriction, who could, in the Recital of this Action, be so much less particular in the brave Steps he took to this Victory, than the Dangers and Difficulties he surmounted by Land, than that honourable Historian has been, who was a Witness of them.

This Town, of which *Ralegh* was thus possess'd, is called *Villa Dorta*, as I find in *Linscthoen* ; who so informs us, the People were mostly of the

Dutch Offspring, yet using the Portuguese Language. Others, who likewise describe it, reckon that it contained, even some Years before this Time, at least 500 Houses, built all of Sone, with tiled Roofs, and disposed into fine Streets; beside a handsome Church, Nunnery, and Friery; interspersed with many pleasant Gardens of delicate Fruits, and Wells of fresh Water: insomuch that for Bigness, it has been compared to *Plymouth* or *Yarmouth*; but in Situation, to *Dover*; and might probably now have been of as good Advantage to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as it was eight Years before, to the Earl of *Cumberland*, had he not, in compliment to the Earl of *Essex*, obliged himself to so disadvantageous a Delay in the Conquest of it. However, because the Town was unwall'd, and he was to expect, if he lay there open and careless, refreshing himself, while his Soldiers were scatter'd about in quest of Provisions, he might easily be surpriz'd, without some good Orders and Directions given before they fell to Rest and Repast, his issued forth, at his Entrance, a Proclamation, that none should straggle twenty-score Yards from the Town, without leave of an Officer, and then go upon their Guard, with fit Weapon and Company. He then made some strong Barricadoes; planted a good Watch in proper Stations, and a strong *corps de garde* in the Market-place, that others might, in Safety, bring together such Booty as the Inhabitants had left behind.

Thus having refreshed and repos'd themselves all Night, the next Morning, being the 22d of September, even before break of Day, they discover'd, bearing with full Sail, towards the Road of *Fayal*, the Earl of *Essex* and his Fleet; he having been, all this while, making a kind of Wild-goose Chase after *Indian Fleets*, and the *Adelantado*, who, it

seems, never stirr'd out to Sea this Year, with other
like uncertain Adventures. Now, Sir *Guilly Mervick*, Sir *Christopher Blount*, Sir *Anthony Shirley*,
and some other fatal Friends and Cherishers of the
Earl's InfirmitieS, soon interrupted, by their ag-
gravating and distorted Representations, all *Ralegh*'s
urther Intentions to secure the Island. They pre-
ently possessed his Lordship's Head, that *Ralegh*
had taken this Opportunity to play over his Parts,
nd shew the World how well he could act the
Conqueror, only to steal Honour and Reputation
rom the General; they knew the Earl's Temper
was as ready as Tinder, to catch Fire at the least
suggestion: For, as no Man alive was a more pa-
sonate Courtier of Fame, or more desirous to be
eputed matchless for Magnanimity and Enterprize;
o none was more jealous of Rivals than *Essex*, or
ould less endure that any Man should obscure his
Glory, how highly soever he might otherwise be
n his Favour. But in divers other disagreeable
Colours, this gallant Action was further disfigur'd
o the Earl, as the Contempt and Violation of Au-
hority; from whence they infus'd, that the Pre-
umption of landing such Forces without his Lord-
hip's Leave, was not to be passed over without severe
Punishment; and that it was fit a Court Martial
hould be call'd, to censure the Offence and Breach
of Order and Discipline. In short, the unpardonable
Crime was, that *Ralegh* dared to render himself
more conspicuous than any Body else. And he had
been less culpable, had he been less successful; they
seeming rather willing to have endured Blame for
any ill Success which might have occur'd to him by
their Absence and Restraint of Aid, than allow of
any Praise for his being victorious without them.
Nay, there were not wanting some, among *Essex*'s
Commanders, who would needs shew the Volence

of their Zeal for his Lordship in such Extreamis as to throw out, that *Ralegh* was well worthy c losing his Head for his Labour. All which might well inspire those solid and durable Exposures whic he has, in several Places, made of such enviou and insolent Usage.

Essex, thus exasperated, spent all the Forenoon in reprehending, displacing and confining all th Land Captains and Officers who accompanied *Ralegh*; whilst he, expecting rather Thanks, tha such a perverse Interpretation of his Services, mad ready his Barge to go on board the General and guide him to Land. But being entered his Ship he found all Mens Countenances estranged as h passed through them; and when he came to hi Cabin, the Earl, after a faint Welcome, began to accuse him with the Breach of Orders and Articles. *Ralegh* answered, he knew not wherein he had bee guilty of such a Breach. *Essex* replied, there wa an Article that none should land any of the Troop without the General's Presence, or his Order. *Ralegh* desired leave to defend himself, by those Law which himself as well as others had made, and hi Lordship, with the Council of War had authoriz'd then he should find that no Misdemeanor had bee committed. For, said he, there is an Article indeed that no Captain of any Ship, or of any Company if he be separated from the Fleet, shall land any where without Direction from the General, or some other principal Commander, upon Pain of Death. Bu I take my self, said *Ralegh*, to be a principal Com mander under your Lordship, and therefore not subject to that Article, nor under the Power of the Martial Law; because a successive Commander of the whole Fleet, in her Majesty's Letters Patents, your Lord ship and my Lord Thomas Howard failing. Besides, you agreed I should land at this Island with you Lord ship,

ip, whom I have attended these four Days; and, nding that you came not, though your were half a dozen Leagues before me in your Way thither, I weighed Anchor, and could not but conclude, both that ou thought me strong enough to take this Island, and e're gone yourself to take in some others. Yet I re- ained so long from landing, at Sir Guilly Merrick's ntreaty, that I heard my own Company, even my Back, murmur, and say that I durst not at- mpt it. And, to tell you the plain Truth, my In- nt, at first, was only to water, till I saw them fol- w me in that braving Manner, which, with our reputations, we could not then shun and give over, ing already in our Boats for that Purpose: For, if had intended the taking of the Town, I would ne- r have removed so far from our first Road, which y right before it. As for those Officers and Gen- men who had been committed, Ralegh desired they might receive no hard Measure in his Cause; batsoever his Lordship conceived to be misdone, he must take it wholly on himself to answer, being, that Time, Commander in chief.

With these and other Arguments Essex was so ell pacified, that he went ashore into the Town, d rested himself in Ralegh's Lodging. There alegh invited him to supper, and offered, if he eant to call the Matter further in Question, to aim no Privilege or Favour; but would answer r himself more amply in the Morning. Sir Chri- pher Blount, taking the Earl's Answer from him, id, he thought my Lord would not sup at all. To hich Ralegh reply'd, That, for his own ap- tite, he might, when he was invited, disable it his own Pleasure; but if the Earl would stay, should be glad of his Company. In the mean ime, the Lord Thomas Howard, very nobly ta- ng Care that no disrespectful Treatment should be

be offered to *Ralegh*, by the Practice of his Enemies, dealt with *Essex* to find how he stood resolved; and, the next Morning, assured *Ralegh* that his Lordship sought only some Acknowledgment; because the rest would think him a weak and tame Commander, if he had not Satisfactorily *Ralegh*, considering he had done nothing unfavourable, and very certain that he was successively the Commission for the whole Command of the Fleet, therefore not subject to any corporal Danger, as also of the Lord *Thomas Howard*'s since and honourable Dealing, came again in the Morning to visit *Essex*: Otherwise, rememb'ring the little Trust that Men ought to repose in such Recconciliations, and the strong Malice borne him others in greatest Favour with his Lordship, he designed to betake him to his own Squadron, and so to have defended himself, or forsaken the Earl. But the Lord *Thomas*, after having given his Honour with great Kindness and Resolution that he would make himself a Party if any Wrong or Violence were offered, contrary to his Lordship's Promise, persuading him to go and satisfy the Earl, *Ralegh* took his Counsel; and all Things after a little Debate, came to a calm and quiet Conclusion.

The Promoters of this Disturbance, however disappointed of their End, scrupled not to share in the Benefits of this reproved Victory, by lodging and refreshing themselves not only that Night but three or four Days after, in the goodly Town aforesaid; yet were they justly punished for the Envy and Ingratitude. For, had that Time which they spent in carping and cavilling at *Ralegh*'s Conduct, throughout this brave Action, been employed, according to his Measures, in pursuing i the Birds, which thereby they suffered to fly o

their Cage, had well rewarded their Unanimity in taking them; and they would not have lost, now they had, the Ransom of so many *Spanish* prisoners out of the high Fort; nor the Spoil which they had conveyed out of the Town for Safety to that Place: So that instead of Assistance to advance the Profit of this Conquest, *Essex's* Arrival ought only Means, as far as in them lay, to destroy the Honour of it.

After the Army had plentifully regaled themselves with the best Provisions the Island would afford, and the disgraced Captains were receiv'd again into Favour and Command, they hoisted sail; leaving first, in Honour of their lost Men, made the Town itself their funeral Pile, and carried all the Artillery, and other Stores they found therein, in their Forts, to their Ships. On the 26th of September, they cast Anchor at *Graciosa*, where the Chiefs of the Island coming on board the General, submitted themselves with very acceptable humiliation, and willingly brought such Provisions were required for their Composition. This Honour of those People banished all Thoughts in the Earl of further repairing, in that Place, the great charges he principally had created by this Voyage: or, he seemed so charmed with Submission, as to have disregarded the Advantages it might have yielded; and fonder of having a Power over his enemies, than of making any effectual Use of it. When they came to *St. Michael's*, they heard Tidings of the *Indian* Fleet; at which, most joyful acclamations rung through all their Ships: within a few Hours after, they encounter'd and took three *Spanish* Prizes, bound from the *Havanna*. The greatest of them being about 400 Tons burthen, was a very rich Ship, as well for the Lading,

as the Passengers in her; and this, if not the oth two, was taken by *Ralegh*; who, being neare gave Chace, caused her to strike and to yiel These three Ships, especially the last, were laden wi Cocheneal, and other profitable Merchandise, b sides the Silver, Gold, Pearl, Civit, Musk, Ambe grease, found among the Passengers, and ackno ledged, by the Merchants in them, to be richly wor above 400000 Ducats. When *Ralegh* had enquir from the Gallery of his own Ship, of those wl had computed the Value of these Commodities and been satisfy'd it would at least amount to th Sum, he said, *Although we shall be little the better f these rich Prizes, yet I am heartily glad, for o General's Sake; because they will, in great Me sure, give Content to her Majesty; so that there m be no repining against this poor Lord for the Expen of the Voyage.* These Ships made a Discovery forty Sale of Spanish Indiamen, whereof some we freighted with the King of Spain's Treasure; ar it was reported, that while three or four of th English Fleet, which were fallen among them, we rinsing one that foundered, the rest escaped, an recoaered the *Tercera*. *Essex* upon this Mischanc called a Council of War; and some of the Colonel with other Land Officers made liberal Professions the daring Feats they woudl attempt, if Boats, Pir naces and Men were allowed, how vain and impracticable soever they seem'd to the Sea Commander. For they offered, with 1500 Men, to take bot that Island and the Forts; but these, knowing th Difficulty of landing them, with their Artillery on so dangerous a Place in so bad a Season; beside the Strength of the Fortifications, so well furnish'd by this new Arrival, could not, cordially and se rioufly, give their Consent, but urged many Rea sons to the contrary; yet, when the Lord Thoma

bward perceived this Incompliance would be used a Handle at home for their losing the Spanish Fleet and Treasure, he told *Essex*, that if he was forward to have it attempted, both himself and *Walter Ralegh* were ready to venture as far as y of them; and that they would undertake to ure 3000 able Men out of the Fleet for the Ser- ce: but this second Offer, thus absolutely and emnly made, though of double the Number, ol'd their Courage, upon a little Deliberation, no had made even the first; and so the Vapour s dispelled.

Hence they returned again to St. Michael's Island, which they had left upon the Intelligence aforesaid; d in this Road *Essex*, with a great Number of Officers, coming on Board *Ralegh*'s Ship, hung t the Flag of Council; wherein they considered out landing, and taking of the fair Town which so temptingly before their Eyes, being unwall, and having but a slight Fort for its Defence by Sea-side. *Essex* was for landing all the Com- nies immediately; but *Ralegh* desired that himf might first go and survey the Place; because Billows were here, in some Parts, no less dan- rous than where he had made the Experiment at yal: The Earl, at first, consented; but, as Ra- b was putting off, *Essex* standing in his Gallery th Sir Christopher Blount, called him back in eat Haste, and said he would go himself. As he is descending into his Barge, *Ralegh*, seeing him together unarmed, except with his Collar and word, called aloud to him, and desired him to take s Cask and Target of Proof with him, if he design- to approach the Shore; seeing so many Muskets above 400) lying there on the Rest to oppose him. At *Essex* answered, That he would have none, be- use he disdained to take any Advantage of the Wa-

termen who rowed him; for which our Author censures him *, as he had before done Sir *Walter Ralegh*. However, in viewing of those landing Places, *Essex* and his Officers kept cautiously enough beyond the Reach even of Culverin-shot; therefore no such Temerity in leaving the Armour behind. Thus, after many Offers and Surveys, made also (says *Gorges*) the Conveniences of that Place for landing were excepted against.

This Descent being thus disliked, it was resolved that *Ralegh* should, with all the great Ships, lie near before the Town of *St. Michael* as he could keep them in continual Alarm; while *Essex*, in Pinnace of *Ralegh's*, called the *Guiana*, with about 2000 Men in Boats, should, by Night, convey themselves about six Miles further than their first determined landing, to the Town called *Villa Franca*. Accordingly, they all landed the next Morning at this Town, without any Manner Resistance, while the Fleet kept the other in such constant Dread and Confusion, that they could not regard their Neighbours; to the End that the English Army, having secured those, might the better fall on the Back of these. But in vain did the Fleet look over the Hills and Plains, in expectation of them; for that other pleasant Town of *Villa Franc*

* ‘ In my Opinion (says *Gorges*) though that Answer must shew his Valour; yet became it not the Place that my Lord held: For, in Truth, a General ought not to be so adventurous and careless of himself upon every slight Occasion, nor go unarmed to Places of imminent Peril. Homer describes the valiant Heroes and brave Leaders of the Greeks, to be best armed; as *Achilles*, *Ajax*, &c.—In somuch that their very Arms are famous to these Days, the Use whereof we make no scornful. But they are no beaten Soldiers in the Wars we hold these Opinions; for it is truly said, *That a great and wise General should die old*; and I have read, that *Epaminondas* was fined by his Countrymen the *Thebans*, for being too forward and serving in a Battle unarmed, though he won the Victory.

ad so enchanted the Army, being full of Fruits, Vines, and fresh Victuals, that the Commanders, well as their Soldiers, were content there to take p their Quarters, without further Thoughts of St. Michael's Town ; and, for six Days together, lay casting, and carrying on Board the Wheat, Salt, Voad, and other Merchandise, into certain private Mens Ships that followed the Fleet for such Purposes. While *Ralegh* lay thus at Anchor, there came into the Road a Ship of *Brazil* laden with the Woods of that Name, and of *Fernambuc*, with Sugars as well as other Merchandise ; and anchored ill in the Midst of the *English* Fleet. This Ship Sir *Francis Vere* also informs us, was taken by Mr *Walter Ralegh* ; and her Cargo, when brought into *England*, was very faithfully disposed of by our Author, *Gorges*, to defray the Expences of all the Men in *Ralegh's* own Ship, to the Number of 100, reckoning Soldiers as well as Mariners. Soon after, a huge Carrack, of 1800 Ton Burthen, and infinite Wealth, says *Gorges*, being laden with the Riches of the East and West, came bearing in with all her Sails, also among them ; whom she mistook for the Spanish Armada ; For the King of Spain's Men of War, when he made Fleets, were compounded of Shipping of divers Nations, and therefore more difficultly distinguished from ours *, which at that

* Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in his Discourse touching a War with *Spain*, and our Protection of the *Netherlands*, has discovered many other Disadvantages in the *Spanish* Fleets of these Times, through this Medley of Shipping whereof they were composed ; as the Diversity of Conduct and Swiftness in them, whereby they could not either assail or defend in gross as the *English* or *Dutch* could. Also the Confusion among their Mariners, of so many different Countries, and consequently Languages ; so as not to understand Directions, and take them in general, or even mistake them, to the Loss of their Ship : Besides, being of such strange

Time consisted of English and Holland Bottoms, besides a great Galleon (before-named) and other Spanish Vessels they had taken. At Sight of this Carrack Raleigh gave Orders throughout his Fleet to take all their Flags; also that none should weigh Anchor, fire a Gun, or put off a Boat without Leaving. But, as she was bearing in, one of the Holland Squadron, contrary to Direction and to all Discretion suddenly weighed Anchor, hoisted Top Sail, and as she approached, made two or three Shot at her whereupon, perceiving her Mistake, she nimbl changed her Course; at which Instant, the Wind changing also, so that he could not escape ouwards; “she, with the Help thereof, and with the Fear of falling into our Hands, says Gorges, ran herself a ground close under the Town and Fort. Here, finding Raleigh follow her, and her Danger inevitable, she discharged her Men in the Boats that flock’d about her, with some of her Wares, and was then instantly set on fire in many Places at once. Raleigh and his Men still pursue to board her, and prevent her loss; though no without great Danger in his Row-barge as he was the Surge being very outragious; but by then he could get up to her, she was all over Thunder and Lightning; her Ordnance discharging from every Port, and her whole Hulk, Masts, Cordage and Furniture funk, over-run with such a thorough yet distinct and unconfus’d Blaze, as represented the Figure of a Ship more perfectly in Fire, than could be done by any Painter with all his Art and Colours: and, when she was consumed even to the Surface of the Water, she exhaled as her last

strange Nations, unconcerned in the Quarrels they were forced into, they fought with their Hands, but not their Hearts; and desired Liberty rather than Victory. See Raleigh’s *Three Discourses*, 8vo, 1702. p. 13, 14.

Breath, such Clouds from her spicy Entrails, as, for a great Way, and for many Hours, perfumed the Air and Coast around. Had the Army then been at *St. Michael's Town*, as was expected, it might have secured this Ship before she could have disembarked her Men, or, if it had terrified her back to Sea, she must have been taken by the Fleet; and then the Treasures she contained, with those in his Town, might probably have reimbursed the Charges of their Voyage; since our Author, laying his Loss upon the said Land-Forces, thought it so much to be lamented, that they were not to be excused.

Neither *Essex* nor his Army being heard of in all this Time, *Ralegh* was in a Consultation about rawing up the Fleet towards him, when he perceived the Earl's Ship, by her Flag, turning out from the Point of *Villa Franca*. Then *Ralegh*, taking Capt. *Morgan* in his Barge, rowed to him, and, the same Night, sent the Captain back with Directions, in the General's Name, to command all the Fleet to weigh and come to that Town. It much grieved the Mariners, to see the unprofitable Measures which were thus taken, and that they must relinquish the Advantages they might have made of the Town before which they lay. When the Fleet was got up to the Army at *Villa Franca*, general Command was given that all the Companies should repair to their respective Ships; for the Time of Year approached that the Winds and Waves began to rise too high for them to ride on those Coasts any longer: So they left this Town also entire; upon what Considerations our Author knew not, but thought the Woad-mongers and Corn-Merchants might be most likely to resolve the Question.

On the 9th of October they set sail for England and, after three or four Days, were violently toss'd about and dispers'd in a most tempestuous See. Ralegh's Ship was near being stemm'd by the Shock she received from another that was drive against her, whereby she became so leaky, that he had much ado to keep her above Water. He was further in such great Distress for Want of Drink that Sir Arthur Gorges proffer'd one of the Victuallers six Chests of Sugar for six Hogsheads of fresh Water, but could not obtain it: Insomuch that they were forced to set their great Stills on Work to furnish themselves in the best Manner they could. During this Storm, 'tis also observed, many Sorts of Birds flew into his Ship; and the Dove, that came among them, was look'd upon to presage the Calm that ensued two Days after. When they began to meet again, they descriy'd at a great Distance the Earl of Essex, accompanied with only two littl Barks; who, about a Week before, was attende with 80 Sail of good Ships.

After hailing and saluting one another, they consulted with their Masters and Pilots about the best Course homewards, wherein they of Ralegh's Ship varied much from those who guided the Earl's: And tho' Essex had the Directions of John Davis, a Navigator of much Experience and Repute, who could have carried them, without Error, to any distant Parts of the World; yet, in conducting the Ships home to their own Coast, did he strangely fail in his Pilotage and Conjecture for the Sleeve. However, all follow'd the Admiral, and when he thought he was not far from the Entrance of the Channel, all Hands fell to sounding for Ground; and, at last, found it; tho' indeed, I saw few the wiser thereby, says our Author, or the more

were assured of the Coast, * except the skilful Master of Raleigh's Ship, old Broadbent, who knew it to be the Banks of Scilly. But there was no convincing of Essex; so all followed his erroneous Light; yet Raleigh kept at some Distance behind all Night long. At Break of Day, tho' it was close and hazy, he perceived how providentially he had escaped Destruction in the dark and dangerous Passage he had made close by those fatal Rocks call'd the Bishop and his Clerks. Soon after he also discerned Essex, and many with him, about three Leagues before, bearing in with all their Sail North-East, instead of East and by North, full upon the Sands of the Welsh Coast; on which, in that gloomy Weather he had certainly stuck and perish'd, had he held on a little longer; and had not Sir A. Gor-

* This Sounding of ours, so much in Practice, continues Sir Arthur Gorges, and yet, many Times, bringing no great Certainty, makes me call to mind an odd Conceit and Speech of a Spanish Prisoner, which the General gave me in this Journey. He was a Gentleman, a Soldier, and of late Years, traded to the West-Indies: With whom I one Day talking and discoursing of their Voyages (wherein he was very well experienc'd) he told me that, in their Navigation from the Indies, they sought at Spain in a more certain and gallant Manner than we did England. For, said he, ' We seek out our Coast aloft with our Eyes by the Heavens, by the Sun or Stars, and with the Use of Art and Instruments, which seldom or never fails: But you, said he, that seek for England, when you are forced to run into narrow Seas, are forced, for your surest Directions, like Men blindfold, to search under the Water, and scrape with Lead and Tallow to the Bottom for Banks, Sands, and Shallows, as if you would rake Hell for Instructions, to find out the Channel, which you call the Sleeve; and yet, for all your Soundings, are oftentimes mistaken.' I answer'd him; Indeed it was true, that our Humility taught us to go by the Ground; whereas their Pride led them to gaze above the Clouds, and thereby so dazzled their Eyes, that they often stumbled upon those Men of War which now used as well to sound the Spanish Pocket, as the English Sleeve.

ges, who was then upon the latter Watch (*Ralegh* being retired to rest) forced the Master-gunner of his Ship to discharge a Warning-piece three or four Times, much against his Will, and that of the Master himself, who, contrary to all Duty and Humanity, said they deserv'd to taste the Peril of their own Wilfulness, having brought themselves and all the Fleet clearly out of their Way into such Danger.

Upon this Admonition *Essex*, with all his Train, soon tack'd about, and, afterwards, confess'd his Error. With much ado, they beat up to double the Cape of *Scilly*, and enter'd the *Sleeve*. *Ralegh*, by this Time, was shot along the North-side of *Cornwall*; for his Ship was so crazy, and his Provisions so scanty, he durst not put again to Sea, but stood along the Coast; and that Night anchor'd before *St. Ives*, where he found the *Cornish* People all in Alarm, several *Spanish* Caravals and Fly-boats, which lay there, having made some Descents by Stealth, and put them into great Fright and Confusion. For *Essex*, because he met not with the *Adelantado*, had both believed and reported into *England*, that he never stirr'd out to Sea this Year; whereas, indeed, while the Strength of the *English* Navy lay before the Islands, he had set out with a puissant Fleet for the Invasion of *England*; and these lesser Vessels, which were sent before, did here attend his Coming. But that Storm, which so roughly scatter'd the *English*, dispersed this *Spanish* Armada utterly disabled for the intended Enterprize. *Ralegh* arriving at this Juncture, gave great Joy to this Part of the Kingdom; and, being landed, he immediately took such Order for the Safeguard of the County, whereof he was her Majesty's Lieutenant, as soon dispell'd the Fears of its Inhabitants. Then, having supply'd his Ship with

th proper Necessaries, he sent her round to the
eet, and she was paid off at *Bristol*, with the
rofits that arose from one of the Prizes he had taken
fore-named; Had as good an Account been gi-
n of the other Prizes, this Expedition, for all the
asualties and Oversights which happen'd in it;
ould have return'd her Majesty double the Charge
e had been at in setting it fourth.

Ralegh took his Journey to *Plymouth*, where a
ommission came down from the State to Lord
Thomas Howard, Lord *Mountjoy*, himself, and Sir
Vere, with Monies for repairing, victualling,
d sending about the Fleet to *Chatham*; and for
aintaining 1000 *Low-Country* Soldiers, which
ere now quarter'd along the Coast of *Cornwall*,
d afterwards sent into *Ireland*. *Essex*, in the
ean while, posted away to *London*; but, what-
er Advantage he might have in first shaping out
e Story of their Adventures to the Queen, it little
ail'd him; for Sir *Francis* soon after arriving also
Court, understood his Lordship was retir'd to
s House at *Wansted* in great Discontentment: For
e Queen was so incens'd against the Earl, that
e laid the whole Blame of their evil Success on
s Lordship, both for not burning, and spoiling
e *Spanish* Fleet at *Feroll*, and missing that which
me from *India*. *Vere* says, he justify'd his Lord-
ip, and laid the Blame upon those who deserv'd
with such Earnestness, that the Standers-by
e Majesty then walking in the Garden at *White-
ill*) might hear him: Insomuch, that he quieted
e Queen, as he tells us; who then discoursed
ith him of the Earl's Humours and Ambition,
id, at last, construed all so graciously, that she
ll into Commendation of him; so that he soon
ter came to Court. But he staid not long there,
or with any Ease or Content, so insupportable

was it to find *Cecil* made Master of the Wards, th Lord-Admiral *Howard* created Earl of *Nottingham* for his Services against the *Spanish Invasion*, and *Cadiz*; and now *Ralegh's* Actions at the Island esteem'd also more considerable than his own; th indeed by the fewer Number; for the Popula were easily led to believe the late Disappointme of *Essex's* great Expectations, was owing to *Ralegh* Regard of his own Glory more than that of h Country; whereby *Ralegh* lost their Opinion, ev tho' victorious against their Enemies, while *Essex* was sure to return with Triumph, however he mi carried in his Attempts; and was always receivd by them with such Joy, as if his great Fleets and Armies came laden with sufficient Spoil and Co quest, if they only brought him safe home agai Still both enjoy'd a liberal Share in the Queer Favour, but it only ratify'd the Veneration of the Multitude to one, and their Disaffection to the other; yet was their Esteem more fatal to *Essex*, at least more speedily so, than their Prejudice *Ralegh*. However, the Queen was little influenc'd with their Partiality to either; till *Essex* too zealously cultivated that which so unreasonably increas'd in his Favour; for she loved her People without Jealousy, nor was offended at his being the Darling of their Eyes, till she found him inclin'd to be the Darling of their Hearts. And, as for the Blame which *Camden* says they now laid on each other of the late Misadventures, and which he informs us grew to a more open Rupture, it seems to have fallen most upon *Essex*, and that *Ralegh's* Conduct was approv'd; because *Essex* was never after trusted with the Command of any naval Expedition, but *Ralegh* was. Yet whatever Mis conduct in others *Ralegh* might be now driven to object, in his own Defence; his Generosity to *Essex*,

w, and some of his Followers, whom he might have laid it upon, many Years after their Death, when there was little Fear of being controverted, so much above most of theirs to him while they were alive, that, having then Occasion to mention his Voyage, he does not drop the least *inuendo* against any of them; but ascribes their Disappointments in it to the most unblameable Cause.

Before *Ralegh* could well arrive, I think, at London, to give an Account of this Expedition, the Parliament was met at *Westminster*; for we read, that the Queen went thither in an open Chariot, all cover'd over-head Canopy-wise with silver Tissie, and begun the Sessions on the 24th of October this Year. *Ralegh*, making but a short stay in Town, went to his Seat at *Sherbourn*; of which he must have had but little Enjoyment for wo or three Years past. Towards the latter End of November following, we find Mr. *Arian Gil-
ert*, now a Burgess for *Bridport* in *Dorsetshire*, obtain'd License of the Speaker that he might retire to his Brother Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in that County, for the Benefit of his Health. About a Month afterwards, that is, on the 20th of December, we meet with *Ralegh* in the House; for what Place return'd, I find not; and that Day the Parliament was adjourn'd till the 11th of January. When they met again, *Ralegh* appears frequently in Committees, upon several Bills of the greatest Consequences that were then read; as that against lewd and wandering Persons pretending to be Soldiers or Mariners; another for an Act to encrease People for the Service and Strength of the Realm; one to explain an Act for the Maintenance of the Navy; one for paying the Queen's Debts; one for erecting Houses of Correction, and Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars; be-

sides many others; whose Titles are more proper to be sought in the Parliamentary Journals of this Reign, than here barely to be recited: For the Clerk of this House, seeming to have melted down most of the Speeches in this Session, for Brevity into a Narrative of its Proceedings, little or nothing of Sir Walter Ralegh's Arguments is to be particularly extracted.

The Parliament being dissolv'd on the 9th of February, Ralegh seems not to have resided long in Town; for, soon after, some Regulations being made for the publick Good of those People over whom he presided, by his Offices of Power, in the West of England, we find him celebrated, for his Exercise thereof among them, as a very worth Patriot in several Instances. The Lord Burghley mention'd in one of them, who died about six Months after the said Parliament broke up, that is to say, in August 1598; therefore we must here relate it, as occurring before this Time. It concern'd the Restoration of certain Manors to their antient Tenure in Cornwall; for there are 17 appertaining to that Dutchy, which took or renew'd their Holdings as they call it, every seven Years of certain Commissioners, for near three Centuries past; whereupon the Tenants reckon'd a kind of inheritable Estate accruing to them. But, notwithstanding this long Prescription, a bold and busy Person in these Times, getting an Exchequer-Lease of one or two such Tenements, called the whole Right in Question; but, failing of Success, another, soon after resumed the broken Title, and prosecuted it even to a *Nisi prius*. Hereupon, the Tenants deputed certain Gentlemen, among whom was the Author of this Passage, Richard Carew of Anthony, Esq; one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County, to repair to London with a Petition to the said Lord-

Treasurer *Burghley*; who, calling to him the Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer, found (besides his long Continuance, and the Importance thereof, touching the Ruin of above 1000 Inhabitants) that her Majesty possessed no Lands which yielded her so fair a Benefit as these, in Rents, Fines, Heriots, and other Perquisites. These Reasons sound favourable Allowance, but did not procure an effectual Remedy, till the said Gentlemen became Supplicants to her Majesty in Person; who then, having been prepared, it seems, by *Ralegh's* Applications and Interest, testify'd her Dislike of the Attempter; and expressly order'd the Cessation of his Attempt. For, says this Author, herein we are beholding to Sir *Walter Ralegh's* earnest Writing, who was then in the Country; also to the advice of Sir *Henry*, and the Sollicitations of Mr. *Killegrew*. Another Example of his zealous affection for the Ease and Advantage of these People under his Jurisdiction, appears in his lightning remission of a certain burdensome Tax, which carried many other Inconveniences with it. For, as the products and Commodities in those *Western* Parts had been antiently very much oppress'd with Tributes to the Earls of *Cornwall*, whereby the Condition of a *Cornish* Inhabitant and a *French* Peasant suffer'd very little; so latterly, while *Ralegh* was Lieutenant of that County, there wanted not some, who, through Favour at Court, and plausible Representations to her Majesty, did, in Part, revive the same; and, under Pretext of restoring a Rent decay'd ever since the Ninth of King *Henry II.* to the pretended Detriment of the Crown, procured letters patent, that none should salt, dry, or pack any Fish in *Devonshire* or *Cornwall*, without their license or Warrant; the ill Consequences whereof few so apparent, as being what would have made that

that Patentee an absolute Disposer of all the *Western* Shipping and Traffick, with their Sea and Land Dependants, that the *Cornish* Justices, whereof Mr *Carew* aforesaid was one, made Suit to the Privy Council for Redress ; and, through the never failin. Forwardness and Backing of Sir Walter Ralegh obtain'd a Revocation thereof. Here we may also add *Ralegh's* good Offices, the two followin Years, for freeing the Inhabitants of these Parts from those heavy Impositions, with which the Trade and Manufacture also of their Tin-work were very much embarrass'd. These Imposition were occasion'd by the Merchants and Usurers wh advanced Money to the Tinners, upon whom the Encroachments were now grown so exorbitant, that *Ralegh* was importun'd to revive the Privilege of *Pre-Emption*, founded on that Clause in the Charter of King *Edward I.* allowing them to ven their Tin to their best behoof, *nisi nos ipsi eme voluerimus*. It had been attempted by others before him, who alledg'd many Reasons how it mig prove advantageous, not only to her Majesty, b the Country, and prejudicial to none but the Extortioners, who practis'd a far worse kind *Pre-Emption*. * But tho' this Means of Redres w

* * When any Western Gentleman (says Mr. *Carew*) wa
Money to defray his Expences at London, he resorts to one
the Tin Merchants to bo'rrow some ; but shall as soon wr
the Club out of *Hercules's* Fist, as one Penny out of their F
gers, unless they give Bond for every 20*l.* so taken in Lo
to deliver 1000 Pound Weight of Tin at the next Coinag
which shall be within two or three Months, or half a Year
farthest. At which Time the Price of every thousand w
not fail to be at leaft 23, perhaps 25 Pounds; yea, and af
Promise made, must be driven with some Indignity to ma
three or four Errands to his House, before he shall get t
Money deliver'd. Thus some one Merchant will have
Pounds out before-hand, reaping thereby a double Commodo
be

by those Persons hotly begun, and a reasonable Price offer'd, it soon cool'd again, till it receiv'd a new Life in Michaelmas Term, 1599; for then the *Cornish Men*, being in *London*, were call'd before the principal Lords of her Majesty's Council, and the Matter was there debated by Sir *Walter Ralegh* in Behalf of the Country, against those Advocates deputed for the Merchants who had promoted this Suit; and he brought it to such a Conclusion that Articles were sign'd. Indeed it did not immediately take Effect: Yet, it seems, the Privilege was afterwards invested in *Ralegh*, and that he put his Power in Execution. In November, the Year following, he held a Court at *Lostwithiel*, the usual Place for Stannary Causes; where having signified her Majesty's Pleasure for a new Tax of six Pounds on every Thousand Weight of Tin that should be transported, besides 2*l.* 16*s.* ready payable, he told them also, that her Majesty had been prevail'd on so far to disengage them from dealing with the Merchants and Usurers, that she would disburse 4000*l.* in Loan to the Tanners for a Year's Space, and was contented to be repaid in Tin: And lastly what appears totally to have excluded those Merchants from the Exercise of their Impositions is, that, by the Time of the ensuing Parliament, *Ralegh* appears to have had the power of Pre-Emption granted him; because, in

both of excessive Gain for his Loan, and of Assurance of being serv'd with Tin for his Money. This they say is no Usury forsooth, because the Price of Tin is not commonly known before-hand (for once only, within these 12 Years, on purpose to escape the Penalty of the Law, they brought it a little under 20*l.* the thousand) but, if to take above fifty in the hundred be Extremity, whatsoever Name you list to give it, this, in Truth, can be no other than Cut-throat, and abominable Dealing,' *Survey of Cornwall*, p. 14. b. 16.

a Speech of his, having justly maintain'd his Title thereto, from the Charter before-mention'd, he yet no less generously offers to resign it, as indeed he not long after voluntarily did, if those, who had Privileges of far less antient Establishment would follow his Example.

But, to return a little into the more open and publick Current of Action, we must here observe that King *Henry IV.* of *France* having, about the End of the last Parliament, informed the Queen o*n England*, by an Ambassador, that he had held some Conferences with the *Spaniſh* Ministers abou a Peace, but would come to no Conclusion with out her Consent, and that of the United States her Majesty sent some Commissioners over : And while they were negotiating this Buſiness in *France* she had the Argument very closely debated in he Council at home. Here *Essex* was one of those who would by no means listen to any Manner c Accommodation ; and, while the Matter was upo the Carpet, was so expeditious as to produce a for mal Apology, in Writing, for his Reasons ; it be ing dated in 1598, and written before the King o*n Spain's* Death in the Beginning of September th same Year. Yet, upon this Topic, there ensue a warm Dispute, says *Camden*, between the Quee and *Essex* ; as also upon her chusing some able Mi nister to superintend the Affairs in *Ireland*. Sh look'd upon the Earl's Uncle, Sir *William Knolle* as a proper Person for that Charge. *Essex* preferr' Sir *George Carew*, perhaps on Purpose, says *Cam den*, to get rid of him : And, when the Queen would not be perswaded to approve his Choice, he quite forgetting all Duty, turn'd his Back upon her in a contemptuous Manner. The Queen, un able to bear his Insolence, dismiss'd him her Pre sence with a Box on the Ear. The Fury this thre

the Earl into, is better conceiv'd than express'd ; ut having, with his Hand on his Sword, told the Queen, *He would not have taken such a Blow from her Father*, he retired from Court. The Lord-Keeper Egerton sent him a prudent and pacifying letter ; in which, among other wholesome Motives Submission and Complacency, he says, *In this course you hold, if you have any Enemies, you do what for them which they could never do for themselves ; while your Friends you leave to Scorn and contemn.* The Earl return'd a long and passionate answer, as Camden calls it, in which it appears, he had also suffer'd some Imprisonment ; and herein he makes this Reply to those Objections. *Is this Course do I any thing for my Enemies ? When was present, I found them absolute ; and therefore I did rather they should triumph alone, than have me attendant upon their Chariots. Or do I leave my Friends ? When I was a Courtier, I could sell them the Fruit of my Love ; and now I am a Hermit, they all bear no Envy for their Love to me.* But the Lord-Keeper soon brought him out of his Hermitage ; and he was, in a little Time, re-admitted into the Queen's Favour. However, his Friends, according to Camden, were apt to date his Ruin from this unlucky Circumstance : And indeed, it hence appears, he had no Enemies so great, or who so much conspired to his Fall, as his own affions, his unreasonable Expectations of an absolute Conformity to his own Will, and Impatience to behold any Body aspire to Distinction, who did it not through his Patronage and Protection. Of this he gave a most notorious Example about this Time ; in which he made Ralegh a publick Object of his Opposition, tho' it ended in his own Disgrace, and his Relapse into the Queen's Displeasure ; which he might have prevented, had he kept his Word

to the Lord-keeper, and suffered *Ralegh* to have triumphed alone: for, during this Reconciliation or last Blaze *Essex* made with any Credit at Court this memorable Contest seems to have been promoted by him, at the martial Exercises performed on the Queen's Birth-day, which was the 17th of November.

These martial Exercises were the Jousts or Turnaments wherewith the most active Nobles and Cavaliers of those Times celebrated the Queen's Birth-day every Year, in the *Tilt-yard*, near her Palace at *Whitehall*. Here her Majesty was commonly herself a Spectator of them, with her Attendants of both Sexes; as likewise all the foreign Ambassador and a numerous Concourse besides both of the Court and City. History has not been very particular of *Ralegh*'s Appearance at those Assemblies; as to what Colour or Impresses he distinguished himself with what Success he ran the Carrers, or what Favours he bore away: But, as upon all other public Occasions, he made a most rich and splendid Figure; so we find, upon these Days of Triumph none surpassed him in military Bravery. I have somewhere read of his curious fine Armory; and as I remember, that Part of it is, or was preserved in the *Tower of London*; but it is more apparent than probably for some of these grand Entertainment he either made himself, or was presented by his royal Mistress with, a Suit of Armour all of solid Silver: For there are still in being, not only ancient Paintings, representing him about this Part of his Reign in that glittering and warlike Habiliment but mention is also made in some Writings of his being thus armed at all Points, and shining in those polished Plates of Silver. Yet who were his Competitors, and what his Success in these robust Exercises, there is little, I fear, remaining to satisfy us:

more than those dark and dispersed Hints of that extraordinary Opposition or Contention which *Essex* raised against him about this Time, as was observed: And this being the Original or Copy of a like Conivance, practised not long before or after it in France (by Marshal *Biron*, as I remember to have read) may, from thence, and the corresponding Testimony of an Author, whose Credit and Intelligence are not to be doubted, be presumed to have happened in the following manner.

About the Time that *Essex*, by other like Instances of his incurable Humour to monopolize the Multitude, fell into, or confirmed, the Queen's Displeasure, he had by some of his Followers learnt, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with a very gallant Train, gorgeously accoutred, was to make his Appearance the next Tilting day in Orange-colour Plumes. Whereupon *Essex* provided a much more numerous Cavalcade, and decked them out exactly in *Ralegh's* Colours: Then the Earl himself appearing at the Head of all, armed *cap a-pe* in a compleat Suit of Orange-colour, not only passed for the sole Knight or Champion of that Distinction, by drowning all Distinction in Sir *Walter Ralegh*, but thereby incorporated him and his Train only as so many more of his own Esquires, Pages, and other Retinue or Servants, who made up the Parade upon these Occasions. The Earl of *Clarendon* certainly points at this malignant Stratagem, where, speaking of those dangerous Indiscretions which were the Harbingers of *Essex's* Ruin, he mentions among them *His glorious feather-triumph; when he caused 2000 orange-tawney Feathers, in Despite of Sir Walter Ralegh, to be worne in the Tilt yard, even before her Majesty's own Face.* But it must have been somewhat surprising to see them enter the Lists, and orange-tawney running against itself. Yet the Earl's Suc-

cess, which is also come to Light, seems not to have been much regretted, being so agreeable to the Merit of Usurpers; insomuch that it proved *Ralegh's* Feather triumph in the Conclusion. For though the Lord *Bacon* might have Reason not to mention the Earl's Name, where he tells us a Gentleman, who came to the Tilt all in Orange-tawney and ran very ill, came again the next Day all in green, and ran worse; yet another Author, instead of this Gentleman, names *Essex*; and goes on, as the Lord *Bacon* does, with observing, that *One of the Spectators hereupon asking, Why this Tilter (which seemed to be known in both Habits) changed his Colours*; another answered, *Surely because it may be reported, that there was one in green who ran worse than he in Orange-colour.*

Such like Disturbances and ill Blood as these Contests must have bred, might well make the Queen weary of having *Essex* any longer about the Court, and desirous of removing him to some Employment where he might more commendably exercise his martial Qualities. A good Occasion offered itself in *Ireland*, where *Tir-Oen's* Rebellion had now overspread almost the whole Kingdom. A Consultation was therefore held for sending over the fittest Person to suppress it. The Lord *Mounjoy* was first proposed: But *Essex* himself made Exceptions against his Want of Experience and Activity; alledging, *Ireland* required a Person of the first Rank, who was an old General, and considerable for Honour, Interest and Estate, to gain him Respect and Influence there; by which *Camden* thinks he would have recommended himself, and adds, that when the Queen therefore resolved on *Essex*, he slightly refused it, advising her to some abler Person; tho' continues that Historian, he had an Objection ready against any Person she should have

ave named. Notwithstanding this Authority, and that *Essex's* smooth-tongued Adversaries were pr lending Spurs to the Ambition that wanted a Bridle, he seeems to me, by a Letter of his own enuine Stile, in Prose and Verse, to the Queen, t his going over in the End of *March* 1599, to ave looked upon the Government of that Kingom as the most irksome Kind of Banishment, and o have entered upon it with the utmost Aversion *. His Conduct in it was answerable to the Expecta-
ons of judicious Men; and one of his own Ser-
ants, who attended him thither, says, it was his
lackest Employment, that *Ireland* was ordained
o be the Sepulchre of his Father, and the Gulph
f his own Fortunes.

* *To the Queen.* ‘ From a Mind delighting in Sorrow, from Spirits wasted with Passion, from a Heart torn in Pieces with Care, Grief and Travel, from a Man that hateth himself and all Things else that keep him alive; what Service can your Majesty expect, since any Service past deserves no more than Banishment and Proscription into the cursedst of all Islands? It is your Rebels Pride and Succession must give me Leave to ransome myself out of this hateful Prison, out of my loath'd Body; which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no Cause to mislike the Fashion of my Death, since the Course of my Life could never please you.

Happy he, could finish forth his Fate,
In some unhaunted Desart most obscure
From all Society, from Love and Hate
Of worldly Folk, then should he sleep secure;
Then wake again, and yield God ever Praise:
Content with *Hips* and *Haws* and *Brambleberry*,
In Contemplation passing out his Days,
And Change of holy Thoughts to make him merry,
Who, when he dies, his Tomb may be a Bush,
Where harmless *Robin* dwells with gentle *Thrush*.

Your Majestys exiled Servant,

ROBERT ESSEX.
About

About four Months after *Essex* was thus disposed of, there were great Apprehensions in *England* of an Invasion; but from what Quarter is not well distinguished: 6000 Soldiers were suddenly raised to guard the City and Queen's Person. Chairs were drawn across the Streets of *London*, Watch-set, and Lights hung out at every Man's Door for above a Fortnight. By Sea 16 or 18 Ships of the Royal Navy were fitted out with wonderful Speed under the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard* as Admiral, in the *Elizabeth Jonas*, and Sir *Water*, Vice-admiral, in the *Ark-Royal*. Whether occasioned by any Mistrust the *English* and *Spaniards* had of one another, or a Policy held by both Sides to make Peace with Sword in Hand my Author does not resolve; but is sure the Preparation on both Sides was very great, as if or expected an Invasion from the other: And yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either, but that our Fleet had only Relation to the Earl of *Essex*, then in *Ireland*, as if he had some Desperate Design to try his Friends in *England*, and to be revenged of those he thought his Enemies. However it was, the Care and Cost was not great as necessary; for it was known, that the *Adalatado* had drawn, both his Ships and Galleys, to the *Groyne*; which was not usual, but upon some Action intended for *England* or *Ireland*: And, seeing we were not to be surprised, he diverted them afterwards to a different Use. Another Benefit that arose to the Nation, by putting it into this sudden Posture of Defence, was the great Dexterity an Expedition wherewith it was taught to spring into Arms: For the incredible Speed and Order of the Commanders, in raising such a Land Army, and fitting out such a Royal Navy, was so admired both by *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, that all Foreign

signers confessed, *Her Majesty's Deeds in War were not heretofore more dreadful to her Enemies, than now only her Preparations for it.* Insomuch that, it is said, an Envoy was sent by the Archduke from Brussels with Overtures of Peace, tho' they did not then succeed. Whether a designed invasion from Spain was hereby blown over, or her Majesty was better satisfied about the Earl of Essex, we find not; but she commanded her Fleet Home, after it had been about a Month at Sea.

Near a Month after this, *Essex* returned privately out of *Ireland*, with some of his choice Friends; one whereof, named Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, offered to murder the Lord Gray, whom they met upon the Road, and to dispatch Secretary *Cecyll* when they came to Court; but *Essex* would not encourage so base an Act. The Queen was now at *Nonsuch*; hither *Essex* hastened to present himself on his Knees before her, in her Privy-Chamber early in the Morning, and when her Majesty least dreamt of him, says *Camden*; who adds, that he entertained him with some Marks of her Grace and Favour, though not with that Freedom he used to find. The Queen indeed ordered *Essex* to his Apartment, and there to continue, as *Camden* goes on; for the Earl had not only disoblig'd her before, but now given fresh Provocation by leaving *Ireland* without her Permission, and for shuffling up a Truce there, which might be broke at a Fortnight's Warning; whereas he might have made an effectual Composition with the Rebels, and was impower'd to give them a general Act of Indemnity. The Excuses he offered before the Council, were so unsatisfactory, and his Behaviour so contemptuous, that the Queen thought proper to commit him to Custody; but appointed it to be in the Lord Keeper's House rather than a common Prison,

Prison, chiefly to obstruct the Infusions of his pernicious Adherents, to whom he was so infatuated that he could not relinquish them, though one of the Objections, which would be raised against him was by his own Hand pre-supposed to be, the leaving of that Kingdom in such an unsettled Posture and returning into this, with such a Pack of Sword-men at his Heels.

While *Essex* was thus in Restraint, Commissioners were sent over to *Bulloigne* to negotiat the Peace with *Spain*. This was in *May 1600*. And about the same Time we find Sir *Walter Ralegh* was also sent, with the Lord *Cobham*, upon an Embassy concerning the same, into *Flander*. Their Business was kept very secret; yet, *Albert* Archduke of *Austria*, and Governor of the *Netherlands*, having charged the Queen of *England* it seems, with relieving the *Hollanders*, and being likely to take some Umbrage at so many Persons of considerable Rank going over Volunteers *Prince Maurice*, as the Lord of *Northumberland* *Lord Rutland*, and others; Secretary *Cecyll* wrote to the said Commissioners at *Bolloigne*, that if the Archduke should object in the like Manner to *Cobham* and *Ralegh*, they were to return Answer That these had no Charge, nor carried either Hors or Men, except some half Dozen of their own Attendants; and finding the Queen so resolved to have Peace (if good Conditions could be had) they obtained leave, with importunity, to see that one Action (then expected) before they might despair of seeing any more of the like Kind in her Majesty's Time Thus much of this Matter we have in a Letter of Secretary *Cecyll's* to those Commissioners. In an other written by Sir *Henry Neville*, who was one of those Commissioners, to Mr. *Winwood*, he mentions it as a Report, that *Cobham* and *Ralegh* were gone

one over upon Pretext to see the Camp and Siege of Fort *Isabella* near *Ostend*, before which Prince Maurice lay; but thinks they had some other End; and that in *England* there was some Alarm taken at these Matters, although he was not worthy to know it. The said Sir *Henry* in another Letter to Mr. *Winwood*, says, that the Journey of *Cobham* and *Ralegh* was not upon Curiosity only; but that they carried some Message (to Prince *Maurice* it seems) which did no Harm, and that he would reveal the Particulars when he was better informed of them. These three Letters were written in *July* this Year, and in the first of them we perceive *Ralegh* was returned into *England* by the fourteenth day of the said Month.

When he arrived at Court, the Government of *Jersey* was, it seems, vacant by the Death of Sir *Amy*, Son of Sir *Amias Paulet*. The Queen had many Addressors for this Preferment; but she sought none so worthy of it as Sir *Walter Ralegh*. About six Weeks after, that is, in the latter End

August, his Patent was passed, with Grant of the Manor or Lordship of *St. Germain* in the said Island, and all the Lands and Tenements therein. There is a learned Inhabitant of this Island, who has his curious and exact History of it, giving us a ccession of the Governors, says, Sir *Walter Ralegh* came in after the *Paulets*, the Year only before the Royal Mistress Queen *Elizabeth* died; and was created the first Year of King *James*: so that we were soon bereaved of the Happiness we promised ourselves under so excellent a Person. His bare Name stands the *Lift* of our Governors does Honour to the Island. Yet, as the same Author further observes at the end of the said Patent, When Sir *Walter Ralegh* himself had this Government given him by Queen *Elizabeth*, she struck off 300 l. a Year from it, which

she took into her own disposal; and made that great Man, so renowned for his eminent Services to her and to the whole Nation, be contented with the Remainder.

Essex had now been called before the Council at the Lord-keeper's, where, for the Matters laid to his Charge, he was suspended from some of his Offices. But the Course of Penitence and Resignation, which he held for a while, gave great Hope after he had obtain'd his Liberty, that he woul recover himself also at Court; till his Creatures blew him up again with their poisonous Counsel and led him to expect not only a Restoration Favour, but with unreasonable Interest; *insomuc that he negleeted the Queen's Pardon, because it can not accompanied with a new Grant of his Lease for the farming of sweet Wines,* as a noble Author observes, who adds, *if ever that uncouth Speech from him of the Queen, which is delivered to us one who was then much conversant in the secrets of the Court, that she was as crooked in her Disposition as in her Carcase; all my Wonder at his Destruction is taken from me.* After this Speech, the Queen could as good as deny him the Wine Licenses aforesaid as Camden relates. Then Essex threw himself open to all ill Impressions, renewing the Project he had begun in Ireland of removing by Force his Enemies at Court. He curried Favour with King James in Scotland, by several respectful Letters wherein he laboured to prejudice the King against those who had any Influence in the English Court and was very particular in acquainting him with the Interest of his Adversaries; as one of whom he failed not to set forth Sir Walter Ralegh, with the formidable Power he had in the West of England, and now again in the Isle of Jersey; the Cobham was Warden of the Cinque Ports; Lord Burghill

Burghley, President of the North, and Sir George Carew, President of Munster, in the South of Ireland: That those were Places commodious for the Spaniards to land; and these, Persons well affected to the King of Spain, and altogether, with the Lord Treasurer, Admiral and Secretary, steer'd the Helm of Government. Then he practised with the said King to send Ambassadors into England, to press a publick Declaration of his Title to the Succession, prepares Instructions for that Purpose, still instancing the exorbitant Power of his enemies, their Disaffection to the King of Scots, and great Veneration for the Infanta. These Proceedings were outwardly varnish'd over, all this while, with the gloss of Conscience and Religion; he won over the Puritans and their Preachers to his party, commiserated the afflicted Condition of the apists, retained a Crew of *Desperado's* to guard his House, and left none uncountenanc'd, who had nothing to hope for, but Changes and Revolutions.

Thus these ill Humours kept gathering till Sunday the 8th of February following, and then broke out, as may be seen at large in our Histories of these Times. At Court the Guard was doubled, being appris'd of this Eruption; and the Morning it happened, Sir Walter Ralegh sent, out of particular Kindness, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of Essex's Adherents and Governor of Plymouth Fort, to come in all Haste to him at Durham-house to speak with him, and as the more private Way, that he would come by Water. Gorges, in the Manuscript he writ to vindicate himself from the Imputation of betraying Essex by this Meeting avers, that he advertis'd his Lordship of this Message, and that upon Council the Earl was willing he should go; but directing him to appoint

his Meeting with Ralegh upon the Thames, and no
to land at Durham-House; also to take with him
Guard for securing his Return. The Conference
that passed between them, as Gorges relates it, wa
only this: When Sir Walter Ralegh's Boat came i
me, he being all alone, and I having two Gentlemen
he told me that he had sent for me to admonish me i
make all Haste out of the Town down to my Charge
there being a Warrant out for the sending me to th
Fleet. For his kind Advertisement I gave hi
Thanks; but told him withal, because I knew th
present Occasion would soon discover itself, that
came too late; for I had engaged myself in another
Matter. He further inquiring of me, what it was
I told him, there were 2000 Gentlemen who had ri
solved that Day to live or die Free Men. He pri
tested unto me he heard not of it until that Morning
but did not see what they were able to do against th
Queen's Authority. My Answer was, it was the a
buse of that by him and others, which made so man
honest Men resolve to seek a Reformation thereo
His Reply was, that no Man is without a Colour fi
bis Intent; and advised me to look to myself, an
to remember my Duty and Allegiance. I answer'd
that I knew not any Man who did not more respe
bis Allegiance than his Life, as the End would mak
apparent; and thus we parted; he to the Court, an
I to Essex house. In the Confession made by thi
Gorges, eight Days after that of their Insurrectio
above-named, before some of the Privy Council
it appears, Sir Christopher Blount, had persuaded
him to murder or seize Sir Walter Ralegh at thi
Meeting upon the Water. For not doing either
Gorges apologizes in the Manuscript aforesaid af
ter this Manner. If it be demanded of me why
did not then take Sir Walter Ralegh. First, It wa
not a Matter I ever proposed; though many persuadea

e so to do. Secondly, I never held it an Act fitting
mong Men to betray any that repose Trust in us ; and
e putting himself into my Hands, with what Honesty
ould I have avowed so barbarous a Deed, unless he
ad given me the first Occasion by violent Deeds or un-
ind Words ; for either of which, I was both re-
olved and prepared. And at my Return, I deliver'd
nto my Lord what had passed between Sir Walter
alegh and my self, which he received with Ap-
lause, as may be testified by those who were present,
nd yet alive. Lastly, in another Part of the said
Manuscript, Gorges says, *The Reason why I ac-
knowledge I had Means to have taken or killed Sir
Valter Ralegh was, the better to make it appear,
at there was neither malicious or butcherous Course
ntended to him or any ; and also to give him Cause
acknowledge himself in that Respect behoden unto
e ; whereby to take from him Occasion to exercise his
ower (which I knew to be great at that Juncture)
my Ruin. For I did believe, he could not in Rea-
n be so void of human Respect, as not to requite
ie Courtesy with another ; and also it was no Mat-
er of Treason against her Majesty, but rather a Ma-
ifestation of the contrary, approving this Intent to
e particular against Sir Walter Ralegh and others.*
his is the Conference which passed between them
few Hours before the Insurrection, as Gorges has
epresented it.

After Essex, with his Party, had made several
Excursions, and some Persons had been slain both
n his Side and the Queen's. After he had been
roclaimed a Traitor by the King of Arms in
everal Parts of the City ; and was driven, by Wa-
ter, to seek Garrison in his own House ; we find
Ralegh mentioned among the several Nobles and
Knights who invested it ; tho' he appears in no par-
icular Action against the said Earl or his Company.

But

But when the Earl soon after surrender'd himself and was brought to Examination, he profess'd that he was to have been assaulted or assassinat'd by his private Enemies; of this we have the following Account publish'd by Authority. As in all former Discontentments, he had gone the beaten Path Traitors, turning their Imputation upon Counsellors and Persons of Credit with their Sovereign: so now he was forced to descend to the Pretext of a private Quarrel; giving out, how that Evening, when he should have been called before the Lords of the Council, there was an Ambuscade of Musketeers placed upon the Water, by the Device of my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, to have murdered him the Way as he pass'd. A Matter of no Probability (continues my Author) those Persons having no such desperate Estates or Minds as to ruin themselves and their Posterity by committing so odious a Crime. On the contrary, it was certain, Sir Ferdinand Gorges accused Blount persuading him to kill, or least apprehend Sir Walter Ralegh; and that Gorges rejecting this Advice, Blount sent four Shot after him in a Boat, which Blount denied not; and asked Ralegh Forgiveness for it at the Time of his Death. But there were other Improbabilities to discredite this Slander (as we may safely call it, since the State call'd it by a grosser Name) besides that the Persons so accused had Reputations and Estates better establish'd, than to overthrow them by such detestable Deed; as Essex's declining to produce any Author of such an Information: besides his varying from himself (like the Judges, in the Story of Susannah, from one another) in the Place; one while he was to have been murdered in his Bed, and another, on the Water: also in the Time: and Persons; as that it was to have been done by Jesuit, and some Days before: so that in the End, this Acci-

tion by Essex was resembled to the Action of Pisistratus, who proceeded so far in this Kind of Fiction and Dissimulation, that he lanced his own Body, and came wounded before the People, as though he had been assaulted by his private Enemies; thus obtained Guard about his Person, whereby he afterwards surped upon the State. Further, what may perfectly clear up the Innocence of Cobham and Raleigh from this unworthy Calumny, is the Acknowledgment which Blount made at his own Trial; when, being asked by Secretary Cecyll, Whether he thought Sir Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh intended any such Assassination of the Earl? he answered, that he did not believe they ever meant any such Thing, nor that the Earl himself feared it; only, it was a Word cast out to colour other Matters. And lastly, what may tend to prove, that Raleigh did rather compassionate and incline to befriend the Earl, than harbour any Enmity that was implacable against him, is, that one of the Earl's own Faction, Capt. Thomas Lee, should have such Hopes, that Raleigh might be persuaded into the Danger of disobliging the Queen by importunity, or other violent Means, for retrieving both Essex and Southampton from the Jaws of Death, as, by Way of Proposition, to tell Sir Robert Cross, who had been an old Officer under Raleigh in several Engagements at Sea, That Sir Walter Raleigh might get himself eternal Honour and Love, more than ever he can otherwise, if he would procure her Majesty's Warrant to free the Lords; which he might compass, by undertaking her Person: for this does not only shew the Opinion that was held of Raleigh's Power with the Queen, but the Probability that he might be induced to exert it for the Rescue of those Noblemen. We find he did use his Interest for some who were drawn in unawares, and got a Pardon for Sir Edmund Bainham;

also

also for *John Littleton*, and *Orell* a brave old Soldier: the two former were Men of Fortune, and their Purses might bleed, or be threatened upon the Occasion. But, as *Camden* observes, few paid the Fines laid on them.

On the 19th of February, *Essex* was arraigned at Westminster; and we find, in his Trial, that Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with 40 of the Queen's Guard, was Captain thereof, there present upon Duty. *Ralegh* was here examined about the Conference before-mentioned; and all he said was, *That Gorges told him on the Water, Essex had put himself in a strong Guard at his House; and this would be the bloodiest Day's Work that ever was; wishing to speed to Court for the Prevention of it; as that he himself wished Gorges to refuse their Company, else he would be undone.* This is all *Ralegh* said of that Conference; which *Gorges*, here also in Court, confirmed. But *Essex* seems to charge *Gorges* with Prevarication, where he replies, *Whosoever Sir Walter Ralegh hath said, differeth altogether from that which Sir Ferdinando told us at Essex's house, upon his Return from the Water.* And indeed it is not likely he should tell *Essex* he advised *Ralegh* to go to Court and prevent the Insurrection. Six Days after, *Essex* was beheaded in the Court yard of London-Tower. Among the many Persons of Distinction, there present was Sir *Walter Ralegh*, probably in his Charge again as Captain of the Guard. He stood near the Scaffold, according to his own Assertion; that he might better answer, if *Essex* should be desirous of speaking to him. But his Enemies expounded his Presence there in such a barbarous Sense, says *Camden*, as if he had pressed near the Place of Execution, only to feast his Eyes with the Tragedy of the Earl's Sufferings and the greatest or most notorious of *Ralegh's* Enemies.

ties (who is known to us) he who betrayed him to his untimely End, as will be observ'd, did after Raleigh's Death, when he could not answer for himself, insinuate, that he not only insulted upon Essex being dead, but even plotted his Downfall, as that *he had called the Earl's Saintship in Question*, and writ in some Letters, that the great Boy died like a Calf, and like a Craven, and that, soon after the Execution, a Gentleman, returning from Spain, touched at Sherborne, who, being asked by Raleigh, what they said in Spain of Essex's Death, answered, They had not heard of it; but he was sorry to hear, that in the Island Voyage the Earl had sought him to his Mercy; to which, that Raleigh answer'd, but I trust I am now quit with him; and, a more evident Demonstration, says, that the night before the Earl's Suffering, Raleigh gave Instructions to the Lieutenant of the Tower for the Execution of the Warrant: Which surely he did not do without Authority. But these Particulars, it must be observed, come from the Person stigmatiz'd with having ensnared Raleigh to his Destruction, and to the Person who destroy'd him, with Indeavour to palliate the Conduct of both to the World. And as we find those Obloquies gave not satisfaction to their Author's Cotemporaries: So we have produced them, that they may not escape the Reception they deserve of Posterity. As for Raleigh's Comportment to Essex, we may guess what it was while the Earl was alive, since he made no Exceptions to it at his Death; when he had free Liberty of Speech; and when Raleigh came to the same End, it appears by his last Words, that he had relented more at the Earl's Fate, than any Thing were hear of in his pretended Friends; and that he retir'd from the Sight of the Earl at the time of his Death, in Compliance with the Mis-

construction of the Populace, though he afterward repented it; since the Earl had a Desire to see and speak with him before he took his Farewell of the World.

This Desire was, in all Probability, to ask Raleigh Forgiveness, for having so dishonourably treated and traduced him, to countenance his own rash Purposes. For just such a Desire had Sir Christopher Blount, when his own Execution approached on the 18th of March following at Towe Hill; where, understanding that Raleigh, as Captain of the Guard, was near the Scaffold, he said to Sir Walter Raleigh, *I thank God that you are present: I had an infinite Desire to speak with you, ask you Forgiveness e'er I died; both for the Wrong done you, and for my particular ill Intent toward you: I beseech you forgive me.* Raleigh answered that he most willingly forgave him, and besought God to forgive him, and to give him his divine Comfort, protesting before the Lord, that whatever Sir Christopher Blount meant towards him, for his Part, never bore him any ill Intent: And further said him, *I pray you, without Offence, let me put you Mind; that you have been esteemed not only a principal Provoker and Persuader of the Earl of Essex in all his undutiful Courses, but especially an Adviser that which has been confess'd, of his Purpose to transport a great Part of her Majesty's Army out of Ireland into England, to land at Milford, and then to turn it against her sacred Person: You will do well to tell the Truth herein, and to satisfy the World.* Blount reply'd, *When I was brought from Reban Dublin, and lodg'd in the Castle; his Lordship at the Earl of Southampton came to visit me; and began thus plainly with me: That he intended to transport a choice Part of the Army of Ireland in England, and land them in Wales at Milford,*

ereabouts : And so securing his Descent, would gather such other Forces, as would enable him to march London. I answer'd, I would that Night consider of it. Next Day the Earls came again ; I told em, Such an Enterprize, as it was most dangerous, wold cost much Blood ; so as I could not like it. But rather advised him to go over himself, with a good train, and make sure of the Court, than make his own Conditions ; and tho' we never resolved to hurt r Majesty's Person, yet I know, and must confess, we had failed of our Ends, we should, rather than have been disappointed, even have drawn Blood from rself. Then giving a few farther Hints of their progress in general, he leaves the rest to his Considerations made before the Privy-Counsellors, whom names, and to whom he beseeches Sir Walter Ralegh to commend him for their favourable and charitable Dealing. Lastly, having also declared he died in the Catholick Faith, and bid farewell to the Lords Gray, Compton, and the rest, he made decent End. Thus have we connected all the usages of Essex's Insurrection, wherein we have found Ralegh any ways mention'd or concern'd ; which, with several other remarkable Parts of his history, those Authors, who had read many of the acts, Letters, Records, and other Manuscripts whence it is here drawn out, have visibly curtail'd and suppress'd in their Annals and Chronicles of this Reign, which were publish'd in the next.

The following Summer, in the Year 1601, it appears, that Ralegh attended upon the Queen in her Progress ; and, when the King of France came to Calais, on the Alarm of the Arch-Duke's besieging of Ostend, her Majesty was at Dover. Ambassadors were sent over to each other on this Occasion ; and, in that private Dispatch of the Marquis of Rosney, afterwards Duke of Sully, related only by

himself, we find, that upon his landing at *Dover* he was received by *Ralegh*, in Company with the Lords *Cobham*, *Sidney*, and others. The Interview then expected between these two Princes, was not brought to pass; nor seem the Proposals, made to her Majesty about the War with *Spain*, to have had the full Effect that was hoped for; because, no long after, on the 5th of *September*, there arrived at *London* another Ambassador from *France*, named the Duke of *Biron*, with a very noble, numerous and stately Equipage, to the Number of 3 or 40 Persons. The Queen was then in *Hantsire*; and during the 13 Days she was entertained at *Basing*, the Marquis of *Winchester*'s Seat, the Duke of *Biron*, with his Retinue, was brought to the *Vine*, a fair House in the said County, of the Lord *Sandy* which was furnish'd with 140 Beds by the neighbouring Gentry, and with all other Accommodations from the Queen's Palaces, for the Reception of the said Ambassador. I leave this Entertainment to the Description of the *French* and *English* Historians, who observe it as one discontinued Festival and that the like was never made by any of the Princes in a Progress. 'Tis more particularly to be expected, that *Ralegh* did here attend upon the Court, because he was commonly appointed to entertain the foreign Ministers, especially of *France* or the *States*, being so well acquainted with the People and their Policies: And when the Queen left the Country, we find, among the ten Persons she there knighted (a greater Number than ever she had conferr'd that Honour upon at one Time) that one of them was *Carew*, * the Brother of Sir

Walter

* *John Stow's Annals*, Edit. 1615. Fol. 797. This is the Sir *Carew Ralegh*, who appears, in the Court-Rolls of *Gillingham* in *Glocestershire*, to have been one of the Stewards, his Br.

Walter Ralegh. But as for that Passage, in a French Historian lately quoted, between the Queen and her Ambassador when they were in London, of her shewing him, among the Heads of those Rebels which were stuck upon the Tower, that of the Earl of Essex; it has been proved fabulous by Camden, who would doubtless have detected other such falsities in the said French Author, relating to our English History, and in particular to Sir Walter Ralegh, had his Annals extended to the Year, in which we shall be obliged to take Notice thereof.

Soon after the Queen's Return from this Progress, her last Parliament met at Westminster, and that was on the 27th Day of October. This was a Session

ier Sir Walter Ralegh being the other of that Manor, in these times belonging the Crown; as I have it from a Letter of some obliging Remarks upon the Family of the Raleghs, written by William Nicholas, Esq; of West-horsely in Sussex. This must be also the same Sir Carew Ralegh, who had in 1616, for what Consideration is not mention'd, 100l. paid him from the Government, as I find in an Abstract of the State of his Majesty's Revenue, reprinted 8vo. 1692, p. 30. Likewise the same who sold Widdicombe Ralegh to one of the Martyns, as is before observed; and the antient Patrimony of Fardel to Walter Heale, Esq; of Brixton, as John Prince informs us in the Worthies of Devon, Fol. 402. Lastly, the same Sir Carew Ralegh, who married Dorothy, Daughter of Sir William Wroughton, and Relict of Sir John Thynne, by whom he had Gilbert, Hier of Downton; and he, by Lucy, Daughter of Sir Gilly Wroughton, of Broadington in Wilts, had several Children, as Gilbert, George, Walter, Katharine, Anne, &c. This I gather from a Pedigree of the Raleghs, in the Possession of Brown Willis, Esq; mention'd at the Beginning of this Work; wherein it farther appears, the said Sir Carew, his Son, and Grand-Children, were all alive in 1623. And hence the Wiltshire Raleghs have flourish'd to these latter Times.

+ Whereas certain French Writers have mention'd, says Camden, that the Queen shewed to Biron the Earl of Essex's Skull in her Closet, or according to others fixed upon a Pole; it must needs be a Story as ridiculous as false; since that was interr'd with his Body.' *Annal Eliz.* 1601.

full of important Business, and *Ralegh* appears frequently engaged in it. The first or most ancient List of the Members of the House of Commons at least extant, is, as I have been told by an eminent Antiquary, that which we have of this Parliament; and herein it appears, that Sir *Walter Ralegh* was one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Cornwall*, *John Arundell*, Esq; being the other; and that Sir *Carew Ralegh* was one of the Burgesses for *Fowey* in the same County. The first Speech we have of Sir *Walter's*, upon Recoin this Parliament, was on November the 4th; an in Opposition to the Act for sowing of Hemp. *For my Part*, said he, *I do not like this constrainin of Men to manure or use their Ground at our Wills but rather let every Man use his Ground to that whic it is most fit for, and therein use his own Diferetion.* *For Halsiers, Cables, Cordage, and the like, we ha* plentifullly enough from foreign Nations; and we ha Countries here in England that make use thereof in Abundance: And the Bill of Tillage may be a sufficient Motive to us in this Case, not to take the Course that this Bill intends. For where the Law provides that every Man must plough the third Part of his Land; I know divers poor People have done so, to avoid the Penalty of the Statute, when their Abilities have been so poor, that they have not been able to buy Seed-corn to sow it withal; nay, they have been fain to hire others to plough it; which, if it had been unploughed, would have been good Pasture for Beasts, or might have been converted to other good Uses.

Upon this Motion, all the House bid away with the Bill: But it was put to the Question, whether it should be committed or no? Some Doubt arising, the House was divided; and the Yea's were 103, the Noes 162; so the Bill was not committed. It was afterwards put to the Question for ingrossing; and,

nd, notwithstanding Mr. Comptroller's Speech for
the Weight of it (which is not preserved) it was de-
cided, and so absolutely rejected. Three Days after,
Sir Walter Ralegh was at the Committee in the
House, touching the Subsidy. Here he moved
them to consider for what Intent they came thither,
and now in their coming, what was to be consider-
ed. For the Subsidy, said he, the Manner and Qua-
ntity thereof, I will now only intimate thus much to you ;
at the last Parliament, only three Subsidies were grant-
ed, upon fear that the Spaniards were coming ; but
now we see they are come, and have set Foot even
in the Queen's Territories already ; therefore, are the
treasures of us to be respected and regarded. And seeing
the Sale of her Majesty's own Jewels ; the great
sums her Subjects have lent her, yet unpaid ; the
continual selling of her Lands, and decaying of her
venues ; the sparing even out of her own Purse
and Apparel for our own Sakes, will not serve ; but
we must yet be fain to call her Court of Parliament
for our Advice and Aid in this Case ; I wish, for my
part, as a particular Member of the Commonwealth,
that we may not do less than we did before ; and that
we may also bountifully, according to our Estates,
contribute to her Majesty's Necessities, as they now
are. This Speech was confirmed by many other
Members, and met with no Opposition that we
had of. But the manner of raising this Subsidy
created some short Debate ; in which Sir Francis
Walsingham moved, that the Three Pound Men might
be exempted ; and all others, above that Rate, to
pay according to the Rate, to make up a full Sub-
sidy. To this Sir Walter Ralegh answered, If all
pay, none will be aggrieved ; if any be exempted,
subtly it will breed much Grief ; the feeling will
be great to those Three Pound Men that will feel
any Thing, but it will be nothing to them that know

any Thing. Sir Edward Hobby, who, it seen sat near the Door, not hearing well this Speec said, You should speak standing, that the Ho might hear you. Ralegh answered, That being in Committee, he might speak sitting or standing : (without rising) repeated his former Words. the End this Proposal was agreed to, and Secreta Cecyll reported to the whole House, That m Voices concluded, there should be no Exception of Three Pound Men, because, according to their Ra some were assed under Value ; besides, Separati might breed Emulation, Suspicion of Partiality a Confusion. Yet when Cecyll, among those w launched out *, carried the Matter so high as say, That neither Pots or Pans, nor Dish nor Spoo should be spared, when Danger is at our Elbow nor would by any Means have the Three Pound M excluded, because he'd have the King of Spain kno how willing we are to sell all in Defence of Gou Religion, our Prince and our Country ; and wh Mr. Francis Bacon, in his Speech, concluded it w Dulcis tractus pari jugo ; therefore the Poor, as w as the Rich, not to be exempted : Ralegh did answe I like it not, that the Spaniards, our Enemi should know of our selling our Pots and Pans to p Subsidies ; well may you call it Policy, as an honou

* Of whom, none more remarkable than Serjeant Hea, who marvelled much the House should demur upon granti this Subsidy, or in the Time of Payment ; ‘ When all we ha said he, is her Majesty’s ; and she may lawfully, at Pleasur take it from us : Yea, she has as much Right to all our Lan and Goods, as to any Revenue of her Crown.’ At which t House hummed and laughed. ‘ Well, all your Humming, sa the Serjeant, shan’t put me out of Countenance.’ So to men the Matter, he told them, ‘ he could prove his former Positic in the Time of King Henry III. King John, King Stephen, &c At this, the House was louder than before, ’till they hummed the Serjeant into his Seat ; but he w:s afterwards more partic larly exposed for these slavish Principles.

Person alledged; but I am sure it argues Poverty in the State. And for the Motion that was last made, Dulcis tractus pari jugo: Call you this parum, when a poor Man pays as much as a rich? peradventure his Estate is no better than it is set or but little better; while our Estates are three our Pounds in the Queen's Books, and it is not hundredth Part of our Wealth; therefore it is neither dulcis nor par. This might flow as well from natural Source of his own Benignity, as from Compliance with the Queen's Inclination to our the poorer Sort, for whom *Ralegh* seems, her Command, to have before indeed been a sen Advocate*: but he knowing, as well as Rest of the Members, by former Experience, such a Supply, as her Majesty now wanted, being no less than 300,000 Pounds, according to *Ell's* Representation, could not be raised, if such Exemption were admitted of; the former Protection prevailed, and the three pound Men were necessarily included.

When the Complaint against Monopolies was de on the 20th of November, and Dr. *Bennet* mentioned that of Cards, I cannot perceive how it could be justly observed in the Journals, to make Change in the Countenance of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; since in the same Journals it is also obserued, the Patent for Cards was now granted to *Edward Darcy*. But, when Mr. *Martin* spoke of a

Sir *Walter*, speaking of a Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward II.* wherein a Subsidy was given only by the better, and the Commons spared, says (in the Person of a Justice in Peace) 'I myself once moved it in Parliament, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who desired much to spare the common people, and I did it by her Commandment: but, when we set up the Subsidy-books, we found the Sum but small, whereupon the 30 Pound Men (perhaps the Cypher is added by Mistake) were left out.' See *Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments*.

Country that groaned under the Burthen of monstrous and unconscionable Substitutes to Monopolitans Starch, Tin, Fish, Cloth, Oil, Vinegar, Salt, a what not. Sir Walter Ralegh replied, I am urg to speak in two Respects ; the one, because I find n self touched upon in particular ; the other, in tha take some Imputation and Slander to be offered u her Majesty : I mean by the Gentleman who first m tioned Tin. For that being one of the principal Co modities of this Kingdom, and being in Cornwall, has ever (so long as there were any) belonged to Dukes of Cornwall ; and they had special Patent Privilege. It has pleased her Majesty freely to best on me that Privilege, and that Patent ; being W for Word the very same the Duke's is. And beca by Reason of my Office of Lord-warden of the Si naries, I can sufficiently inform this House of State thereof, I will make bold to deliver it unto : When the Tin is taken out of the Mine, and mo and refined, then is every Piece, containing : Weight, sealed with the Duke's Seal. And by E son of this Privilege (which I now have) he ever the Refusal in buying thereof ; for the Words of Patent are, Nisi nos emere voluimus. Now I tell you, that before the granting of my Patent, u ther Tin were but at 17 Shillings and so upward 50 Shillings a Hundred ; yet the poor Workman ver had but two Shillings a Week, finding himf But since my Patent, whosoever will work, be Tin what Price soever, they have four Shillings a H truly paid : there is no Poor that will work th but may, and have that Wages. But, notwithstanding his Merit, as well as Right, Ralegh conclud saying, Yet if all others may be repealed, I give my Consent as freely to the cancelling of this, any Member of this House. It is noted, that a gi and uncommon Silence followed this Speech.

ast Sir Francis Hastings said, in Respect thereto :
I joy to see so great a Reformation, that we may
peak quietly, and be heard peaceably ; every Man
has not alike Sense or Judgment, neither is every
Man's Memory alike. I wish, that if any Gentle-
man, who speaks of this, or any other Subject as cu-
rious, shall let fall any Word amiss or unpleasing,
that it may be attributed rather to Earnestness, than
Want of Duty. Throughout the further Proceed-
ings against the numerous Monopolies now in Force,
we find not any Mention made of his Patent afore-
aid, among those which were particularly promis'd
to be revoked or abolished as Grievances to the
State. On the 24th of November, Sir Edmund
Morgan and Mr. Pemberton, both Members of the
House, being served with Subpœnas to appear in
the Court of Chancery, the same Day, at the Suit
of Sir Walter and Sir Carew Ralegh, they had the
Privilege granted them. The Officers, who served
those Subpœnas, were taken into the Custody of
the Serjeant, but soon released, upon pleading they
knew not those Gentlemen to be Members of Par-
liament. This is all I find of that Suit concerning
Sir Walter Ralegh. On the 2d of December, he
spoke against the Defects and Hardships in a Bill
that was read for Reformation of Abuses in Inns ; as
that, it would deprive those, who, by their Lordships
or Manors, had Right to enquire into the Default of
selling Liquors by full Measure, of their Privilege ;
that, by disabling a Man for ever after of being an
Inn-keeper, how detrimental it might be to the Inhe-
ritance of those who had Inns, some at 100 Pounds
per Annum ; and how dangerous to Inn-keepers,
who might, by the Negligence of a Servant, suffer :
All which he left to the Discretion of the House. Af-
ter other like Objections, by another Member or
two, we hear no more of it. Soon after, the

Means of suppressing the Pirates of Dunkirk, ne
grown strong both in Arms and Shipping, car
under the Consideration of this House. As o
Remedy against them, it was proposed, to restrai
the Transportation of Ordnance, and a Bill to pr
hibit the same was read a second Time on the 8
of December; but, before it was committed, the
passed many Speeches upon this important Arg
ment. It seems, a Patent for transporting the
had been granted to Sir Henry Nevill, and th
Queen's Duty thereby rose to 3000*l.* a Year; y
this Profit no Ways ballanced the Inconvenienc
For, being carried into all Countries that we
Friends with Dunkirk, and Confederates with Spai.
the Spaniards had such Plenty, that they now us
ually sold 100 Weight of Iron Ordnance for seve
Ducats and a half. The Laws were moreover urg
ed in 33 of Henry VIII. and 2 of Edward V
which prohibited the Transporting of Gun Metal
and tho' Guns were not then made of Iron, the
now were; therefore it was within the Power
those Laws. Sir Walter Ralegh, in Approbatio
of this Motion, said, *I * am sure heretofore one Shi*

* Sir Walter Ralegh has also written upon this Subject in tw
or three Places. In his Discourse, touching a War with Spair
and the protecting of the Netherlands, written not long after he
made the aforesaid Speech, having told King James how he re
membered, that within these 30 Years, two of her Majesty's
Ships would have commanded 100 Sail of theirs; and tha
when he was a Captain in Ireland, 100 Foot and 100 Horse
would have beaten all the Force of the strongest Provinces: He
adds, ' but of late I have known an Easterling fight, Hand to
Hand, with one of her Majesty's Ships; and that the Irish have
in this last War, overthrown with even or far less Number.
The Netherlands (continues he) in those Days, had wooden
Guns, and the Irish had Darts; but the one is now furnished
with as great a Number of English Ordnance as ourselves, and
the other with as good Pikes and Muskets as England hath.'

her Majesty's was able to beat ten Spaniards; but w, by Reason of our own Ordnance, we are hardly matched one to one. And, if the Low-Countries
should

In Raleigh's three Discourses, 8vo. 1702, p. 16. In another Discourse he afterwards writ, touching a Marriage between Prince Henry of England, and a Daughter of Savoy, speaking of thetherlands, he has these Words; ‘ Whereas, in my Time, I have known one of her Majesty's Ships command 40 of theirs to strike Sail; they will now undertake us one to one, and not give us a good Morrow: They master us both in their Number and in their Mariners; and they have our own Ordnance to break our own Bones withal. We had Reason to help them; but not to help them up to that Height, as to make them able to tread upon our own Heads.’ Thus in the old MS. of that discourse, communicated by the noble Earl of Oxford. Lastly, another Discourse Sir Walter Raleigh wrote after this, I mean it on the Invention of Shipping, he has more copiously argued on this Head. These Arguments I shall here also annex, both what will exemplify the Constancy of his Judgment, and give the Genuineness of these Discourses; though two of them are blumous Publications, and the other was never published. There is no State, says he, grown in Haste, but that of the United Provinces, especially in their Sea-Forces; and by a contrary Way to that of France, or Spain; the latter by Invasion, former by Oppression. For I myself may remember, when a Ship of her Majesty's would have made 40 Hollanders strike sail, and to come to Anchor; they did not then dispute de mariage; but readily acknowledged the English to be *Domini Maris Itannici.*’ And a little further: “ But whence comes this dispute? Not from the Encrease of Numbers, not because our neighbours breed more Mariners than we do, nor from the Greatness of their Trade in all Parts of the World; for the French creep into all Corners of America as they do, and the Spaniards and Portugese employ more Ships by many (fishing Trades excepted) in the Netherlands: But it comes from the detestable Covetousness of such particular Persons as have gotten Licences, and given way to the transporting of English Ordnance *Fuit hæc sapientia* *ndam, publica privatis fecernere, sacra profanis;* and that in so great Abundance, that not only our good Friends, the Hollanders and Zeelanders, have furnished themselves, and have them lying at their Wharfs to sell to others; but all other Nations have had from us, not only to furnish their Fleets, but to garnish all their Ports and other Places, fortifying their Coasts; without which,

should either be subdued by the Spaniard, or yield unto him upon a conditional Peace, or shall join in Amity with the French, as we see them daily inclining, I say there is nothing does so much threaten the Conquest of this Kingdom, as the Transportation of Ordnance and therefore I think it a good and speedy Course to proceed by Way of Petition, lest we be cut off from our Desires, either by the Upper House, or before, by the Shortness and sudden Ending of the Parliament. The Generality agreed with him in the Needfulness

the Spanish King durst not have dismounted so many Pieces of Brass in Naples, and elsewhere, to arm his great Fleet in 1588. But it was directly proved in the Lower-house of Parliament — of Queen Elizabeth, that there were landed in Naples above 140 Culverins English; since which Time, and not long since, it is lamentable that so many have been transported into Spain. But those belike who then determin'd it, and the Transporters, have now forsaken the Country; and tho' the Procurer remain, I am resolved they also have forsaken the Care of his Majesty's Estate, and the Honour of this Nation. I urge me this Point, as thinking it unfit to furnish his Majesty's good Friends and Allies, who have had with us one common Enemy for many Years. But all politick States have well observed the Precept, *Ut sic tractarent amicum, tanquam inimicum futurum;* for what are all the Ships in the World to be valued at, other than a Company of floating Tubs, were they not furnish'd with Ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a Ship of 1000 Tons had in her 1000 Musketeers, and never a great Gun; with one Crumster, carrying 10 or 13 Culverins, she might be beaten to Pieces, and her Men slaughtered. Certainly the Advantage, which the English had by their Bows and Arrows in former Times, was never so great as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our Enemies, or imparted it to our Friends moderately: For, as by the former, we obtained many notable Victories, and made ourselves Masters of many Parts of France; so by the latter, we might have commanded the Seas, and thereby the Trade of the World itself. But we have now, to our future Prejudice, and how far to our Prejudice I know not, forged Hammers, and delivered them out of our Hands to break our own Bones withal." See judicious and select Essays by Sir Walter Ralegh. 8vo. 1650, p. 27, 32, &c.

of restraining this Privilege; however, they proceeded by Way of Bill, which passed the Commons, but not the Lords; for other Business interfering, it fell asleep 'till the End of the Session, and then the Speaker *Crook*, who was to represent it to her Majesty, forgetting his Promise, it came to nothing.

On the 9th of December the Dispute was renew'd, whether the Statute of Tillage should be continu'd? This Statute was made in the Time of Dearth, and Sir Walter Raleigh agreed with those who were for having it now repeal'd. His Reason for it was, because 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 incur the Penalty of the Law. Besides, all Nations abound with Corn. France offer'd the Queen to serve Ireland with Corn for sixteen Shillings a Quarter, which is but two Shillings the Bushel; if we should sell it so here, the Ploughman would be beggar'd. The Low-Countryman and the Hollander, who never sow Corn, have, by their Industry, such Plenty, that they will serve other Nations. The Spaniard, who often wants Corn, had we never so much Plenty, would never be beholden to the Englishman for it, neither to the Low-Countryman, nor to France, but will fetch it even of the very Barbarian; and that which the Barbarian has been suing for these 200 Years (I mean for Traffick of Corn into Spain) the King, in Policy, has set at Liberty of himself, because he will not be beholden to other Nations. And therefore, I think, the best Course is, to set it at Liberty, and leave every Man free, which is the Desire of a true Englishman. After other Speeches, it was put to the Question, whether the Bill of Tillage should be committed? and it pass'd in the affirmative. But, it having pleas'd her Majesty to license Mr. Dormer, under

her Letters patent, with a *Non-obstante*, this Statute, to enclose 300 Acres of Ground, he prayed the House to admit of this Proviso; therefore i was put to the Question, and carried. The Noe demanded a Division of the House: Whereupon Mr. *Richard Martyn* observ'd, the Noes had always carried it in this Parliament when they came to a Division; many staying with the Yeas, because they would not lose their Places. Sir *Walter Raleigh* rose to answer him; but many hurrying out to the Division, he and *Cecyll*, it seems, took some Displeasure; for, after the Division, when Mr *Dormer's* Proviso carried it again by a Majority, whereby the House was set quiet, Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, *I thought I had deserved of the House to have been heard to speak, as well as he that spake before the Division; and in that I offer'd to speak, and was not heard, I had Wrong: For him that last spake, it was out of Humour, and not out of Judgment.* Notwithstanding, I think it a Monopoly, and the Speech to be both Persuasion, and to lay a great Imputation upon the House: And this is all I would have said before.

Next Day came on the Question, whether the Tax for *Dover-Haven* should be continued by Force of the Statute; which was Three Pence a Ton for the Burthen of every Ship. One Member, Mr. *Swale*, objected, that the Charge amounted to at least a Thousand Marks a Year, yet the Haven was never the better; and that it was grown a proverbial Wish of any Tax, that it would not continue like that of *Dover-Haven*. But Mr. *John Boys* shewed the Conveniency of this Haven, and how many hundred Pounds worth of Stones were ready to repair it: Sir *John Fortescue* also observ'd, what large Ships of Burthen it would receive; how necessary it is for the Passage of all Merchants:

As also that the Tax was small, and the Time might be when it would need a great Tax at one Time. Lastly, Mr. Comptroller having likewise express'd how imprudent it was to take away this Tax, now they were debating how to defend themselves from the *Dunkirkers*, which would weaken the most necessary Haven of *England*, Sir Walter Ralegh was more particular in these Words: There are divers Havens which have been famous, and now are grown to decay, as *Tinmouth*, *Seaton* and *Winchelsea*; *Rye* is of little Receipt; *Sandwich* (as a Burgess of that Town, Mr. Peak, said this Parliament) is even a going. The Tax being employ'd as it should be, I hold it both good and necessary; and there is no Trade of Fishermen to *Newfoundland*, but by this Haven of *Dover*; which, if the Tax be taken away, and that go to Decay, her Majesty shall lose one of the best and most necessary Havens of *England*, which hath all the Commodities that Mr. Comptroller viewed, and lies opposite to all our Enemies Countries, who may soon be with us, and we not able to resist them, or help ourselves, should we want this Haven. I think it therefore fit this Matter should be consider'd f, and committed: And so it was.

The 12th of December was read, the third Time, Bill for the more diligent Resort to Church on Sundays, which produced several Speeches in the House. The Recusants were very numerous at this Time, no less than 1500 in *Yorkshire*, as Dr. Benet affirm'd, which might be one Reason for now urging this Bill; but those, who were no ways popishly inclin'd, perceived several insufferable Defects in it; as Mr. John Bond, who, among other Arguments, was not for exposing the Ecclesiastical Authority among their Enemies, as more impotent than a Twelve-penny Fine. At last there was a Proviso added to it, That if any Man came eight

Times a Year to Church, and said the usual Divine Service twice every Sunday, and Holy-Day in his House, with his whole Family, that should be a sufficient Dispensation. But the Bill, weak enough itself, was overthrown by this Conjunction, after Sir Walter Ralegh had shewed, That all the Church Wardens of every Shire must come to the Assizes, give Information to the Grand Jury. Say then there be 120 Parishes in a Shire, there must now come extraordinarily 240 Church-Wardens; and say, that but two in a Parish offend in a Quarter of a Year; that makes 480 Persons (with the Offenders) to appear: What great Multitudes this will bring together! what Quarrelling and Danger may happen besides giving Authority to a mean Church-Warden how prejudicial this may be! with divers other Reasons against it, and Instances of the Ambiguities and Equivocations in it; and as for the Provision newly added, it was a plain Toleration from coming to Church; and the Parson could not prevent constrain any, if they read Service at Home. Hereupon it was put to the Question, and the House was divided; the Yeas went forth, and were 105, and the Noes within were 106; so was thrown out by one Voice. But the Yeas urging they had the Speaker's Voice, which would make it even; this grew a Question, whether he had a Vote? Sir Edward Hobby thought he had one; but Sir Walter Ralegh argued, that he was foreclos'd of his Voice, by taking that Place which he had pleased them to impose upon him; and that he was to be indifferent for both Parties; whither shewed that by the old Order of the House, the Bill was lost. The Speaker himself confirm'd his Observation, and confess'd, he had not, by Custom, any Vote. Then Mr. Boyer, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, would have retrieved it, by suggesting, . . . there

there was some foul Play; deelaring, a Member was pulled back by the Sleeve as going out, and charged Mr. Dale of the Middle-Temple: To which Sir Walter Ralegh answer'd, in a humurous Manner, *Why! if it please you, it is a small Matter to pull one by the Sleeve, for so I have done myself oftentimes;* which, though a familiar Phrase for checking or reproving one's self for any Weakness or Error, yet a very disingenuous and incongruous Construction was forced upon it by the Comptroller and Cecyll; as if, *large was his Conscience, or very flexible, that, in a Matter of this Consequence, would be drawn backwards or forwards by the Sleeve.* Ralegh took no Notice of them, and the Speaker being allowed to have no Voice, the Bill was thrown up, and they took their Leave of it. Besides the Speeches Ralegh made in Parliament, which we have thus drawn together, as far as they are upon Record, he appears in the Committees of many other Bills, and in several Conferences with the Lords, as may be seen in the Journal Books of both Houses; but being only mention'd in general, we need not here be so particular as to recite them: Therefore shall only observe, that the Commons, having granted the Queen a liberal Subsidy, and her Majesty given her Royal Assent to Nineteen publick and ten private Acts, this last Parliament, in her Reign, was dissolv'd on the 19th of December.

In the Beginning of the Year 1602, Mr. Carew's Dedication of his *Survey of Cornwall* is dated, as was before intimated; wherein that Author has, with such Energy, copied forth the most amiable Distinctions of Ralegh's Mind: This agreeable Picture thereof, and the many other noble Attitudes in which we have seen it display'd, have made me inquisitive what Portraitures remained of his Person,

that we might better judge of the Correspondence between them ; how well, in one Aspect, the Sprightliness of Genius consoled with the Solidity of Judgment ; how well, in one Figure, the Roughness of War, with the Splendor and Magnificence of Courts. I have, at last, had the Satisfaction of seeing these Characters united in the Portrait of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, still remaining with the Descendants of his Family. * It is a half Length, representing him in the silver Armour before-mention'd, and richly adorn'd in the Skirts the Sword and Belt with Diamonds, Rubies and Pearls. It seems, by the Darkness and Fullness of the Hair, with the Freshness and Clearness of the Countenance, to have been the Picture of him before his *Guianian Expedition* above related ; but the Inscription, upon another very old Draught in the same Posture and Habit, mentions his Government of *Jersey*. † Farther, to describe this Piece here, will be needless, since it is now brought into Sculpture by an excellent Hand, and ready to be made publick. Another Painting I have also seen of him, and this is at full Length ; probably an Original. It agrees very well with the Foregoing, in the Form of the Face, and Colour of the Hair and Beard ; at least as far as may be expected from the Hands of different Artists, some Alteration perhaps by Repairs, and some Difference of Years in the Object ; whereby he seems, in this last, more ruddy and tann'd than the other. For, by the Inscription thereon, partly still legible, it ap-

* 'Tis in the Possession of Captain *William Elwes*, Nephew of the Lady *Elwes*, Grand Daughter of Sir *Walter Ralegh* ; and to that Gentleman we are oblig'd for the Liberty of bringing the same into Print.

† Among the Collections of his Grace the Duke of *Dorset* at *Knowle* in Kent.

years, that this Picture was painted in this last Year of the Queen, above-mentioned; and that his Son *Walter*, who is likewise here drawn by him, was then eight Years of Age. Further, in his Picture the Stature of Sir *Walter Ralegh* measures about six Feet, is well-shaped, and not too slender: He is apparell'd in a white Sattin pink'd Vest, close-sleev'd to the Wrist; and over the body of it a brown Doublet, finely flowered and embroidered with Pearl; his Belt of the same Colour and Ornament, in which hangs his Sword; and on the other Side, over the right Hip, is seen the Pommel of his Dagger. In his Hat, which he has on, is a little black Feather, with a large ruby and pearl Drop at the Bottom of the Sprig in Place of the Button. His Trunks or breeches, with his Stockings and Ribbon-garters, ringed at the End, are all white; and Buff-shoes, ed with white Ribbons. His Son, standing under his left Elbow, is fair and prettily featured; dressed in a blue silk Jacket and Trowsers, guard'd down with narrow silver Galloon; Stockings blue, and white Shooes; Gloves in the right Hand, Hat or Cap in the left, and a silver Sword by his side*.

A Year before this, the Lady *Ralegh's* Picture was also painted, as appears by the Date upon it: it is a half-length like the first, but painted on board; a high finish'd Piece, in the labour'd manner of those Times, by some masterly Hand; as been well kept, and is doubtless an Original. represents her a fair handsome Woman, turn'd

* This Picture of Sir *Walter* and his Son, did belong to the execrable of *Beddington*, whence, by Marriage with a Daughter of the late Sir *Stephen Leonard, Baronet*, it was removed to *Weftickham* in *Kent*; near which Place, at a Gentleman's Seat, here there is a Copy that was taken from it, I lately saw it. perhaps

perhaps of thirty. She has on, a dark colour'd hanging-sleeve Robe, tufted on the Arms; and under it, a close-bodied Gown of white Satin flower'd with black, with close Sleeves down to her Wrist; has a rich Ruby in her Ear, bedrop'd with large Pearls; a lac'd Whisk rising above the Shoulders; her Bosom uncover'd, and a Jewel hanging thereon; with a large Chain of Pearls round her Neck, down to her Waist. These are all the paintings I have seen of them, that I can account authentic, or most likely to bear any true resemblance. But have been credibly inform'd of a Picture of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, in Miniature, taken not long before his Death; and another at large representing him also in a white Suit, which I had, beset with Jewels, to the value of three thousand Pounds; and that one Diamond thereon worth a hundred Pounds, remained in the Family till the beginning of the late Queen's Reign. In this Picture there is a Ribbon-garter, fring'd at the ends, ty'd about his left Arm. This, according to the Tradition that remains in his Family, was a Lady's (otherwise) might be thought one of the Queen's Favours at the *Tilt-Yard*) which he brought one Morning, when he was obliged to attend his Majesty early, as a Token, that, for Dispatch, he had rode 120 Miles since he took leave of her late the Night before. But such a Number of Jewels which might be call'd Extravagance in others, was no Expence to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had many other Kinds of Treasure, as well as this in Spanish Prizes, or otherwise in Traffick with foreign Nations; and as for his stately Appearance in, by wearing of them upon some special Occasions, it is not only confirm'd by Circumstances, in part before mentioned, but also by some Authors; who are not expected to take Notice of it with great Commendation.

nendation: yet the Jesuit *Drexelius* might perhaps have found more dazzling Examples to dress out his *Dialogue upon Attire*, nearer the Time he wrote it, * and to have parellel'd with the *Roman Emperors* he produces, than *Ralegh*; even tho' Sir *Walter* might, upon some great Assemblies at Court, have this very *Shoes* bedeck'd with precious Stones, that exceeded the value of *six thousand six hundred Pieces of Gold*, as that Author relates. All I think here further observable upon the Pictures of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, is, that after so many which may be called genuine, and many more pretended to be so, still in being, there have been such frequent Occasions of engraving his Effigies for his Books; yet we have never had, till now, more han *two Sculptures*, which can pretend to have aken from any paintings; that even these are different from any above describ'd; and that all the rest of the Copper Prints we have of him, whereof near half a score might be reckon'd, are Copies only from the last of those two. †

Among

* As Lord *Hay* and others in King *James's* Reign, but above all the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom it was common, at an ordinary Dancing, to have his Cloaths trimmed with great Diamond Buttons, and to have Diamond Hatbands, Cockades and Ear-rings; to be yoked with great and manifold Ropes and Knots of Pearl; in short, to be manacled, fettered and imprisoned in Jewels; insomuch, that, "at his going over to *Paris* in 1625, he had 27 Suits of Cloaths made, the richest that Embroidery, Lace, Silk, Velvet, Silver, Gold and Gems could contribute: one of which was a white uncut Velvet, set all over, both Suit and Cloak, with Diamonds, valued at Fourscore thousand Pounds, besides a great Feather stuck all over with Diamonds; as were also his Sword, Girdle, Hatband, and Spurs." This from a MS. in the *Harleyan Library*. B. H. 90. C. 7. fol. 642.

† Of these two Sculptures or Prints of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the first is an extraordinary Rarity; insomuch, that many *Virtuosi* and *Antiquaries*, who have searched after, and collected the graved

Among the Rest of the Particulars, we shall briefly relate of Sir Walter Ralegh, in this last Year of the Queen's Reign; a Voyage, which he now set out for the Supply of his Colony in *Virginia*, is principally to be remembered. For tho' he had made an Assignment of his Patent to other Undertakers, as was before observed, yet they making no successful Progress, he was so regard-

graved Heads of eminent Persons, for many Years together, have not so much as ever heard of it: The Felicity and the Favours are therefore the greater, that I have been oblig'd with the Sight of it by General Dormer, who has procur'd a fresh and fair Impression of it from France into his choice and costly Collections for it is a French Piece, in the Octavo Size, and graved by Thomas Leau, an Artist, who was encouraged by some of our Nobility in these Times for the Excellence of his Hand. It represents him in a close-bodied silk Coat, laced; agrees pretty well in the Features with those before describ'd, especially the high Forehead and cornering up of the Hair above the Right Temple. It has a Compartment or Group at the Bottom, displaying his Victory over the Fleet in the Bay of Cadiz; yet, in the large Latin Inscription, expressing his Titles and Offices of Command, there is Mention made of his Government of Jersey: So I conclude it was graved between his Preferment thereto, and the Queen's Death. The other Print of him, is that which we see prefix'd to most of the Editions of his History of the World whether to the first Edition I am not yet certain, the oldest that I have seen being among the Heads, annexed to *Henry Holland's Basilologia*, was graved by Simon Pass in the Year 1617, representing him in a close-bodied Suit, thickly laced; a full laced Ruff and Truncheon in his Hand: Also when he was more aged and corpulent, than we see him in any of those before mention'd. By the visible Erasement of a long Inscription that was at the Bottom, for the Substitution of that which is more brief, the Plate should seem to have been graved before that Year; but by the Truncheon in his Hand, not till he had his Command as General for his last Expedition; yet, being probably taken from some authentic Painting, it lay most ready to be copied, when any Print was wanting for his lesser Works. This is all I shall here observe upon the Pictures of Sir Walter Ralegh; and, for much of this, we are obliged to the Knowledge and Industry of the ingenious Mr. Vertue.

the Time of the said Assignment. For, besides the five Voyages before epitomized, which himself chiefly was at the Expence of, for the first Plantation of *Virginia*, we are well informed of five Voyages more; which, since those he set forth thither for the Relief of his Countrymen, as well as for further Discoveries of those Parts, and Alliance with the People; and that the last of these Voyages, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Mace*, was made this Year. In all which Sir *Walter Ralegh* might very well have disbursed forty thousand Pounds, as was before observed; since, in a *French* Author I have found the two first Voyages only to *Virginia* cost him and his Friends threescore thousand Crowns: yet were not the English so securely established in this most promising Plantation, as Sir *Walter Ralegh* would have had them; for, from the short Account we have of this last Voyage, and other Circumstances, we may observe the said Colony was much impaired by the barbarous *Indians*, as indeed *Ralegh's* Purse seems also to have been by these frequent Communications to it. Nor was it without much Blood, as well as Money, that this Settlement was at last fixed by the succeeding Undertakers in the next Reign; and all owing to the want of that timely and competent Assistance from the Queen or State, whereby the most worthy Attempts for the Publick Good were even in these, as well as other Times, so generally starved. But *Ralegh* afterwards gave some emphatical Reasons for this Unhappiness; whence we may evidently perceive, it was o the Queen's consulting so much, and relying upon the Persuasions of her *Scribes*, Men unexperienced in all warlike or adventurous Enterprizes, arrow domestick Politicians, or mere Courtiers, who were most constant at her Ear; that she so

frequently did Things by halves, as well in Conquests and Discoveries, as in Rewards and Preferments, especially of Military Men *. Thus those speculative Counsellors, though they could not hinder brave and active Spirits from budding out into noble Beginnings, of most hopeful Benefit to the Commonwealth; yet could, by stopping the Channel of Supplies or Encouragements, blite them from advancing to any fruitful or profitable Conclusions; and this, only to bring down those of superior Service and Merit, to a Level with themselves.

Whether the Expence of those Voyages was the Cause of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* selling, about this Time, his Estate, or some part of it, in *Ireland* is not so expressly told us, as that it was become less advantageous to him since the late Rebellion in that Kingdom. But we find, that a little before Sir *George Carew*, now President of *Munster*, took the Castle of *Carigfoyl Kerry*, Mr. *Richard Boy*. (afterwards Earl of *Cork*) not only bought a Shi-

* ' That her Majesty, in her Advancement of her Men in War, says Sir *Walter Ralegh*, 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, altho' it may seem altogether to excuse her noble Nature, yet can it not, but in 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 priz'd, the Actors are so unprosperous and neglected. The Cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same Effect in all Times and among all Nations, is this; that those, who are neare the Person of Princes (which martial Men seldom are) carry with no good Grace, commend, or at least magnify, a Profession far more noble than their own; seeing therein, they should only remind their Masters of the Wrong they did unto others, in giving less Honour and Reward to Men of far greater Deserving, and far greater Use, than themselves.

History of the World, lib. 5. cap. 6. sect. 2.

of Sir Walter Ralegh's, called the *Pilgrim*, but soon after the said President conquered Berehaven Castle, he, having advised the said Mr. Boyle to buy also Sir Walter's Lands in Munster, sent him into England with two Letters; the one to Secretary Cecyll, giving an Account of Mr. Boyle's Abilities, desired, that he would introduce him to Sir Walter Ralegh, and recommended him to this great Man (says my Author) as a proper Purchaser of his said Lands; the other Letter was written by Sir George Carew, to Sir Walter Ralegh himself, acquainting him, that the Bearer was capable of making the Purchase; and that he thought he might be willing to dispose of it, since the Management thereof, in those turbulent Times, gave him a great deal of Trouble, and the Income it produced was very inconsiderable; so, after a Meeting, the Bargain was struck up, and Conveyances executed. These Lands, soon after in the peaceable Times, became a great Estate to Mr. Boyle: and this Purchase, as he afterwards gratefully remembered in the *Memoirs* he wrote of his own Life when he was Earl of Cork, was the third Addition and Rise to his Estate *.

* See an Extract of the said *Memoirs*, in the Life of the late Earl of Orrery, by Eustace Budgell, Esq; 8vo. 1732, p. 13, 18. 19. But, it seems, the said Earl of Cork was afterwards sadly plunder'd of his great Estate; for at the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he wrote these Words in a letter to another Nobleman. "Thus your Lordship sees in what miserable Condition we are fighting Night and Day to preserve ourselves and our Castles; for all we had without Doors is lost, and poor I, that, besides my House, Demesne, Parks, Iron-works. Fishings, and other Commodities, had a Revenue of fifty Pounds per diem, cannot now truly say, that I have fifty Pounds per Ann. in certain Revenue." Thus in the Earl of Cork's Letter to the Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland. MS. in the Harleyan Library, B. H. 90. C. 7. fol. 706.

As for the Estate at Sherborne, it appears, he now settled it upon his Son *Walter*; and that the Deeds were drawn in Midsummer, this present Year, for so we have it from his own Words. This Settlement, as I understand it, was of the Remainder of the Lease for 99 Years: For though the Bishop of Sarum, Dr. Henry Cotton, had the last Year assigned over to the Queen, the Fee and Inheritance also of the said Premises, and her Majesty granted the same by her Letters Patent to Sir *Walter Raleigh* before her Death, yet he did not make them over to his Son, 'till the seventh Year of his Successor. The Reason of settling his Estate upon his Son at this Time, appears also to have risen from a Challenge, which he had lately received from Sir *Amias Preston* (who had been knighted at Cadiz by the Earl of Essex since we last spoke of him) and which *Raleigh* says himself, *he intended to answer* The Cause of their Quarrel I never could meet with in Print or Manuscript; yet conceive *Raleigh* had good Reason on his Side, because he afterwards shewed publickly himself, how deliberate he was in his Preparations for it, by sorting his Writings, and how resolved, by settling his Estate. But from what excellent Hands soever Dr. *Fuller* received his Information, that, upon some distaste, Sir *Amias* sent *Raleigh* this Challenge; we may be pretty certain from what *Raleigh* has mention'd, that the said Information, or this Author's Account of it, is erroneous, where he adds, *That Sir Walter declined it.* Indeed, I agree he might do so, without any Abatement to his Valour, wherein he had abundantly satisfied all Possibility of Suspicion, and with great Advancement of his Judgment; for having (continues *Fuller*) a fair and fixed Estate, with Wife and Children (Child he should have said) being a Privy-Councillor (where he mistakes again) and Lord-warden of

he Stannaries; my said Author thinks, Sir Walter looked upon it as an uneven Lay to stake himself against Sir Amias, a private and single Person, though of good Birth and Courage; yet of no considerable Estate. But if Raleigh did accept of the Challenge, as it appears plainly he did, when he might have had such fair Reasons of Evasion; those Inequalities in Person will either prove Sir Walter a generous Adversary, or that the Injury he received from Sir Amias was indispensable. Now this Representation seems to have been officially and unnecessarily shaped to make Raleigh's Actions conformable with his Writings; for (continues our said Author) *this is consonant to what he has written so judiciously about Duels, indemnifying those for ill Honours where the Hangman gives the Garland**. However, they were afterwards reconciled, as Fuller concludes; and, upon the whole, Sir Walter Raleigh seems to have shewn much more creditable Conduct herein, than Sir Francis Vere a little while before had done in the Difference between him and a certain Nobleman.

* This curious and copious Digression against Duels, which that Author alludes to, is in Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, lib. V. cap. III. S. XVII. sect. 2. Sir Walter has also, in his *Instructions to his Son*, written a Chapter against *Private Quarrels*; in which he no less wisely, than bravely says, 'Thou shalt be in as much Danger in contending with a Brawler in a private Quarrel, as in a Battle, wherein thou mayst 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.' And a little further, 'I would not have thee, for any respect, lose thy Reputation, or endure publick Disgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a Coward, if the Offence proceed not from thyself; if it does, 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, &c.'

But here we are no longer to take Notice of such open Adversaries; for now, in the very Close of this Year, on the 24th of *March*, ends the long Reign of glorious *Elizabeth*, and now sets the Sun of *Ralegh's* external Honour and Felicity; ye like that ever active Planet, will shine resplendent to the Heavens, when he is clouded or eclipse to Mankind. How he fell into this Eclipse, Record, the only Luminary of Time past, does but dimly or doubtfully discover. All we can do, diligently to assemble every unextinguish'd Spark which darts any Light this Way; then see if they will afford that Guidance to the Truth, by being congregated, which they have not yet been observed to yield asunder. And first, we may remember to have before read of the Prepossession which *Essex* is affirm'd to have instill'd unto King *James* against *Ralegh*; and, after the Earl's Death there are several Circumstances employing that *Cecyll* did the like. For tho' *Cecyll* and *Ralegh* join'd against *Essex* and his Faction; yet, when they were overthrown, they divided, and seem to have had a Trial of Skill with one another. And our Author says, that *Ralegh*, wanting Strength, tho' not Wit, to be the Treasurer's Rival, perished, because not thought to own Humility enough to be his Servant; it being more safe at Court to have many Enemies of equal Power, than one false ambitious Friend that has attained to the Absoluteness of Command. In short, *Cecyll* seems to have used those Arts of Insinuation with King *James* before his coming into *England*; to which *Ralegh* could not bend himself. That he then held clandestine Correspondences with *Scotland*, is apparent from the Story in Sir *Henry Wotton*, who tells us, that the Majesty taking the Air on Blackheath, attended by *Cecyll* when the Post rode by; and, hearing he came from

om Scotland, she called for his Packet: Cecyll; though he knew it contained Letters, which, to disver, were as so many Serpents, yet, making more ew of Diligence than Doubt, to obey, called in greataste for a Knife to rip it up; but, approaching at me Distance with it, he told the Queen it looked and smelted so ill-favour'dly, coming out of the filthy Budg-, that it must needs be aired first, because he knew no offensive ill Scents were to her Majesty: So got pportunity to separate what he would not have seen, id she smelt nothing of the Matter. One Talent above the Rest *Cecyll* was not wanting in to recommend him to this new Sovereign; and this was ch a Faculty of discovering Plots, as if he thought should be looked on as useless without them.

For, as a noble Author observes, *It seemed as necessary for him, that there should be Treasons, as for the State, that they should be prevented.* And, though he created none, yet he fomented some Conspiracies; that he might give frequent Evidences of his Loyalty; giving not the Advantage of others in Person to gain estimation, therefore did it by these eminent Services: And as for King James, he was so apprehensive, so susceptible of such Impressions, that, when he was at cross'd or disturb'd in his Sports, he would charge People with Treason: Nay, we are particularly told by those who were otherwise Friends to his Memory, that his Carver, once at Table, giving him accidentally a Nick on the Finger (as he was routing in the Dish) his Majesty, at the sight of his own Blood, could not forbear calling out Treason; and that *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden, was wont to make himself merry with this Expression: And all this instanced, by my said Author, to shew, that for any Clamour of this Kind King James's Word was no Slander. But more directly to our purpose there is another Writer, who,

making some critical Enquiry into the Preliminaries of Sir Walter's Fall, says, Sir Robert Cecyll principal Secretary of State, fearing the great Abilities of Raleigh, and being wearied with the trouble some Impertinences of Gray and Cobham ; all which had joined with him in Design against the Earl of Essex, their common Enemy ; had done their Errand to King James (whose Counsels he desired to engross to himself alone) before his coming into England. And when the King was arrived, there was Matter enough to exasperate Cecyll against Raleigh, if through any Design of Recrimination, Sir Walter did present to his Majesty a Memorial wherein he reflected heavily upon Cecyll in the matter of Essex ; and vindicating himself, threw the whole Blame upon the other ; further laying open (at the End thereof) the Conduct of Cecyll and his Father also in the Matter of the Queen of Scots (his Majesty's Mother) bitterly charging the Death of this unfortunate Queen upon them. However, says my Author, this had no Influence over the King, and only irritated Cecyll the more against Raleigh.

But what seems sufficient to have incensed the King also against Raleigh, was his being of that Party, who, in Regard of the inveterate Feud between England and Scotland, desired the King might be obliged to Articles ; for, as another writes, among these noble and publick Spirits, were Sir John Fortescue, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Cobham, &c. all frowned upon after by the King who had yet the Luck to live so long as to change his Opinion, and wish the Number of his Countrymen had been limited, and they not suffer'd, like Locusts, to devour this Kingdom. There were not wanting still other particulars, which might render Raleigh obnoxious to a Man of the King's jealous Disposition ; for he had (at the Time of his Majesty's

Accession to the Throne) the Daughter and Heir of Basset to his Ward, who was to be married to his Son Walter, her Estate worth 3000 l. per Annum; but he was (after his Condemnation, we suppose) taken from him, and married to Mr. Henry Howard, who died suddenly at Table; and she was afterwards married to the Earl of Newcastle, who profess'd he could never have wedded her, if young Walter Raleigh had been alive; conceiving her, before God, to be his Wife, for they were married as much as Children could be. Now these Bassets, as we find elsewhere, were those of Umberleigh and Heanton-Court in Devonshire; who, being descended from the Plantagenets, laid some Claim at this very Time of the King's Entrance to the Crown of England. †

But whatever Discountenance Raleigh might receive at his first Meeting of the King, in his Journey from Scotland, * whence he set out on the 5th of April, 1603, and arrived at Theobalds, which

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was

† Sir Robert Basset, by his Grandmother, descended from the Plantagenets, and of the Blood Royal, in the Beginning of King James's Reign, made some Pretensions to the Crown of England; but, not being able to make them good, was forced to fly into France to save his Head; to compound for which, together with his generous Way of Living, he greatly exhausted his Estate, selling off no less than 30 Manors of Land; tho' there is now a fair Estate belonging to the Heir of the Family. Prince's Worthies of Devon, fol. 114. See also Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. I. fol. 366.

* Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle. Also Sir John Hawles, in his Reply to the Magistracy and Government of England, vindicated, &c. Fol. 1689. more expressly says, " Cobham and Raleigh were not permitted to come at the King, upon his Journey into England, and had Word sent them, they might spare their Labour." But Stow says, when the King came towards York, his Train increased by such Numbers of Gentleman from the South, as made Provisions so dear, that he was fain to publish an Inhibition against the inordinate Access: So that many were stopp'd in their Way. Thus perhaps the Countermand might not be particular

was Cecyll's Seat, on the 3d of May, and at London four Days after ; it seems not to have amounted to a peremptory Dismission from his Majesty's Service or Presence : For we are told, the King used Raleigh for some Weeks with great Kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers Presents which he had received from him being in Scotland ; for which he gave him Thanks. But, finding him a martial Man addicted to foreign Affairs and great Actions, feared lest he should engage him in a War. That Raleigh was in Company with the King ; and that some of his Conversation turned upon this Subject we have from his own Words, where he says, offer'd his Majesty, at my Uncle Carew's, to carry 2000 Men to invade the Spaniards without the King Charge. And this agrees with his writing a Discourse, which he did or intended to deliver to his Majesty against the Peace with Spain now in Treat which seems to be the same that was 100 Years afterwards publish'd by his Grandson. Herein he advised his Majesty to protect the Netherlands ; for says he, *a poor Neighbour's House, set on Fire, is better guarded or watched, than a great City afar off.* Herein he persuades the King to deliberate and not come to a hasty Conclusion of Peace with the Spaniards ; for, when the House is built, it will mending the Foundation. Herein he says, *I do not write all I desire ; for I know not to whose Hand these may come.* This I beseech your Majesty to know that it proceeds from an humble and a faithful Heart which your Majesty cannot beat from the Love of your Royal Person and good Estate. And lastly, I sha

ticular of any Person ; however some, as we see, apply it to Raleigh, as others have also done to Cobham ; affirming, the King check'd him for his Absence from his Charge at that dangerous Time, being then Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports.

observe

bserve, that herein he also mentions another Discourse, how War may be made against Spain and the Indies; which I will, says he, also present your Majesty, if you will vouchsafe the reading thereof; but this, I think, has never appear'd in Print. The former of these Discourses is humbly and discreetly address'd with Variety of Arguments and Observations from his own Knowledge and Experience; also strengthened with many historical Examples of Foreign Countries, and political Maxims or Sentences from the antient Classicks: All which he had plentifully at Command in any Topic he undertook to write, or even speak of: Such the Extensiveness of his Remarks and his Reading; such the Felicity of his Memory and Talents of Application. But, if Reason would have prevail'd, it was not wanting also from other Hands; so that Sir Walter Ralegh was not singular in his Dissuasions of the King, but had the Satisfaction of seeing Foreigners, as well as his own Countrymen, subscribe to his Sentiments; and the Lord Henry Howard, tho' otherwise brought into the Court-Measures, yet could not, it seems, consent to these of a general Pacification; therefore was, as well as Ralegh, excluded from the Benefit of those rich Presents, which the Marquis of Rosny, Ambassador from France, made to all those Courtiers who promoted the same; insomuch that Howard, being ask'd by the King, How it happen'd he had not a Jewel as well as the rest? Answer'd, in Allusion to Esop's Fable, Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi Gemmam. The Causes, which moved the King of Spain to sue for this Peace, Ralegh did afterwards, with great Perspicuity, lay open;* but his present

* Ralegh lays down five Reasons for the King of Spain's making this Peace with England and the Netherlands: "As first, his having

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Mast, he might abide all Winds and Storms, or else he som Time or other perish'd by his own Invention: So that Man who prizes Virtue for itself, and cannot endure to hoist an strike Sail, 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; t wit, a mean and free Estate." Sir *Walter Ralegh's* History o^r the World, lib. I. cap. I. sect. 15.

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these tell over this desperate Story thus. In the
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d her to commend him to God in her Prayers, for
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never to return. She, suspecting that he was go-
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he

he rode a hunting. Hereupon the said Conspirators were taken up and tried, as these Authors proceed to relate. If there had been any Truth in the ridiculous Story, which I think no one before has taken the Pains to relate in *English*, that Confessor had neither escaped the Attorney General *Coke*: *Ralegh's* Trial; when they were so lamely put to bring him in guilty without sufficient Proof, no King *James's* apologetical Declaration after *Ralegh* Death, in which his Majesty and his Council together, have no less lamely offered weaker Reason for taking away his Life, as will be fully represented in its proper Place.

By our *English* Accounts it appears there was somewhat of a Plot, but it was never proved that *Ralegh* was engaged in it; however, his great Enemy, the Attorney-general *Coke*, affected to compare him with the Conspirators, *to Sampson's Foxe which were joined in the Tails, though their Heads were severed*. What Share he had in that Plot may further be judged by the Promotions which the Conspirators intended themselves upon the Success of it; for whereas one was to be Lord-chancellor, another Lord-marshall, this Lord-treasurer, the Master of the Horse, and 'other Secretary of State how comes it, as one Author well observes, that *Ralegh*, able to officiate any, had no Office in the State assign'd him? But perhaps the best Means to clear him, may be the very *Trial* by which he was condemn'd. 'Tis too common, and too tedious to be thought needful of transcribing it here at length; not to say so full of barbarous Partiality and foul Language, especially by *Coke* himself, that he was exposed for it upon the publick Theatre and those, who revere the Laws of our Country have been so ashamed of it, as rather to wish the Proceedings have been falsely related, than believ-

such a Sentence could pass upon such insufficient Evidence. But the Character of this Trial, and of that *Attorney General*, I leave to others; and shall here only, from the several Copies or Accounts of it I have met with, draw out a short regular Narrative of the most material Matters of Fact, wherein *Ralegh* appears any way concern'd; and it is as follows:

There was one *Matthew de Laurencie*, a Merchant of *Antwerp*, Attendant on Count *Aremberg*, who now, about the Beginning of *June*, came over Ambassador-extraordinary from *Albert*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, to congratulate King *James*, and assist in composing the General Peace. With this Merchant the Lord *Cobham* had held Intelligence some Years before, upon Matters of State, with Licence. Five Days after *Aremberg's* Arrival, that is to say, about the 9th of the same Month, *Cobham* repair'd to him with *Laurencie*, and that Night *Cobham* supp'd, with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, at *Durham*-house in the *Strand*; whereby *Ralegh* came to understand, that *Cobham* had fresh Negotiations with *Areniberg*; and was, as the chief of those who refused the Peace, offered a Sum of Money by *Cobham* to be a Promoter of it; tho' that Offer, also made to *Ralegh* before *Aremberg* came, was afterwards pretended, as will appear, to have been for treasonable Purposes. In the next Month, those Persons with whom *Cobham* transacted the Conspiracy (or part of it) then on foot, were discover'd; either by the *Spanish* Faction in revenge to *Ralegh*, the greatest Enemy of *Spain* alive, thinking he was then too far hamper'd in, or acquainted with it to escape; or by some one of the *English* Conspirators to secure himself: And, when the Lord *Cecilly* (for he was lately made Baron of *Effenden*) found, upon the first News of *Anthony Copley*, one of these

Conspirators, who was apprehended the 6th of July, that the King's Person was to be surpriz'd by the Lord Grey of Wilton, and George Brook, Brother to the Lord Cobham, he suspected Cobham himself was in the Secret; and Cobham's great Intimacy with Ralegh at this Time, who was now buying an Estate for him, and settling his Housholc Affairs, drew Ralegh also into Suspicion.

Hereupon Cecyll, meeting Ralegh upon Windsor Terrace, tells him, *the Lords of the Council had something to say to him*: so he was examined about the surprising Treason, and particularly about Cobham, as appears from his own Words, whom he fully cleared. After Examination, Ralegh further said: *Whatsoever Correspondence there was between Cobham and Aremberg, Laurencie might be better able to give Account of it, therefore advised to the calling upon him*; though, as he further explained he knew of no Intelligence between them, but such a. might be warranted: And that Advice he wrote also in a Letter to Cecyll. When Ralegh returned from Examination a private Prisoner to his own House, Cobham sent him to know what had pass'd; Ralegh writ an Answer by Capt. Keymis, that he was examin'd, and had clear'd him of all; and Keymis bid Cobham be of good Comfort, for one Witness could not condemn him: This Precaution, to arm Cobham against making Discoveries, was, after his Confession of it, objected against Ralegh; but he utterly deny'd, that he sent any such verbal Message. Now when Cobham was brought to his Examination at Richmond, one Date whereof appears to have been July 18; and after he had, by a constant Denial, cleared both himself and Ralegh of all that was question'd against them, Cobham was, by Device, says my Author (in an Epistolary Narrative of his Trial, at which he was present) induced

luced to think, that *Ralegh* had first impeach'd
and betray'd him. For that Part of *Ralegh's* Let-
ter aforesaid to *Cecyll*, referring the Lords to *Lau-*
encie for *Cobham's* Transactions with *Aremberg*,
being shewed to *Cobham*, and accompanied, it
eems, with such artful Suggestions as were proper
to inflame a Man of *Cobham's* Weakness, had the
desired Effect; for he being led thereby to imagine
that *Ralegh* had accus'd him of all, or more than he
knew, burst out into vehement Exclamations
against *Ralegh*, and in his Rage, or Madness, made
the following Confession. That having a Passport
to go to the Spanish King, he intended first to confer
with the Archduke; and, because he knew he had not
Money to pay his own Army, meant from thence to go
to Spain, to deal with the King for 600,0000 Crowns,
then to return by Jersey; and that nothing should be
done about the Distribution of that Money to the Dis-
contented in England, till he had spoken with Sir
Walter *Ralegh*: Further, that he had never enter'd
into these Courses, but by his Instigation. He spake
also of Plots, but of the Particulars could give no Ac-
count; yet acknowledg'd he was afraid that *Ralegh*,
upon his Return to Jersey, would have him and the
Money to the King. After all this, before *Cobham*
departed to the Stair-foot, he retracted his Confes-
sion, and profess'd he had done *Ralegh* wrong:
Nor does it appear, says my Author, that he did
subscribe it. In another Branch of his Examina-
tion, *Cobham* said he had of *Ralegh* a Book, writ-
ten against the King's Title, which he gave to his
Brother *Brook*, and that *Ralegh* said it was foolishly
written. But this he also retracted, as we shall
hear. Upon this, and other Parts of his Confes-
sion more foreign to *Ralegh*, concerning the Ad-
vancement of Lady *Arabella Stuart* to the Crown,
as also from that of *George Brook*, a known Enemy

to Ralegh, as Cecyl could not deny ; asserting his Brother Cobham told him (tho' Cobham, in his Confession, refused to own it) the Lord Grey and others were only on the bye, but he and Ralegh were on the main ; thereby meaning, said Brook, the taking away of the King and his Issue ; together with what Ralegh acknowledg'd in his own Examination ; That Cobham offer'd him 8000 Crowns for his Furtherance of the Peace, tho' the Lord Cecil and Earl of Northumberland were to have the same Proffers ; and that in some Discourses he might have said, the Way to invade England was to begin with Stirs in Scotland : Upon these Circumstances I say, Ralegh was indicted at Stanes on the 21st of September following ; and from hence that heavy Indictment appears to have been accumulated upon him, which we see prefixed to his Trial. Three Days afterwards Cobham and Grey were also indicted at the same Place ; and, not long after this, they were all three return'd Prisoners to the Tower of London. When the Time of their Trial drew nigh, that is to say in the Beginning of November, Ralegh got a poor Fellow in the Tower to cast up a Letter, fasten'd to an Apple, in at Cobham's Window, while the Lieutenant was at Supper, to intreat him (because he then knew not but Cobham might be arraign'd before 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, by an Answer under his Hand, confess the same ; which not being perhaps so full and expressive as Ralegh expected, he afterwards sent Cobham another Letter, desiring he would publish his Innocence at his Arraignment. But notwithstanding that Ralegh did not now request any further Justification under his Hand, Cobham sent him another Answer, clearing him in the most solemn

olemn and perfect Manner, as will presently appear. Now by Reason of the Plague, which aged so violently in and about *London*, the Term having been proclaim'd to be held at *Winchester*, the State Prisoners, who were thus indicted for the Plot, were conveyed thither in great Pomp. I find, that *Ralegh* went in his own Coach, under the Custody of Sir *Robert Mansell*, on the 10th of November, to *Bagshot* in *Surrey*, twenty four Miles from *London*; and, two Days after, from thence, the other thirty Miles, to the Castle at *Winchester*. The Conspirators conducted thither at the same Time, were *George Brook*, under the Charge of Sir *William Wade*; Sir *Griffin Markam*, under Sir *Robert Worth*; besides Sir *Edward Cobham*, *Bartholomew Brooksby*, *Anthony Copley*; so *William Watson* and *William Clark*, two priests, Under-wardens of the Tower, and the keeper of the Gate-house, together with a Guard of fifty Light Horse: As for *Cobham* and *Grey*, they set out six Days, and arrived three Days before, at the said Castle, under the like Guard.

And here *Cobham* having been prevailed on to make fresh Accusations in a Letter to the Lords, at least subscrib'd with his Name, which will be produced a little further, *Ralegh's* Trial was first brought on; and this was on the 17th of the Month aforesaid. He excepted not against his Jury, being all Strangers: But we are told by one, who seems to have had good Intelligence of his Matter, 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 Killegrew, 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, and those others (named in

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the common Printed Trial) put in their Places. After the Indictment had been opened, and aggravated, Serjeant Heath and Attorney Coke, in Speeches manifestly fathering the Treasons of the Rest upon Raleigh, for no other Reason that I can see, but because he was a Man of Wit, and a Swordsman Cobham's Examination was read as before quoted. Here Raleigh first shewed the Unreasonableness and Improbability of the Accusation therein against him, as follows: *It is strange for me, said he, to devise with Cobham, that he should go to Spain to persuade the King to disburse so much Money, being a Man of no Love in England; and I having resigned my Room of chiefeſt Command, the Wardenship of the Stannaries; it is strange for me to make myself a Robin Hood, or a Ket, or a Cade, I knowing England to be in a better State than ever it was. I knew Scotland united, Ireland quieted, Denmark assured, which before was suspected. I knew, the having a Lady, whom Time had surprised, we have now a lawful Successor. The State of Spain was unknown to me. I had written a Discourse, which intended to present unto the King against the Peace with Spain. I knew the Spaniard had six Repulse three in Ireland, and three at Sea; and once in 1588, by my Lord-admiral, also at Cadiz. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the King of Spain to be the proudest Prince living, but now he comes creeping to my Master for a Peace. I knew, whereas he had before in his Ports six or seven Score Sail of Ships, he has now but six or seven. I knew, of twenty-five Millions he had from his Indies, he has scarce one left. I knew him so poor that the Jesuits in Spain were fain to beg at the Church door. Was it ever read or heard, that an Prince should disburse so much Money, without a sufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Cities*

sens 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 she would let Cobham have so great a Sum? I never came to the Lord Cobham's but about Matters of his Profit, as the ordering of his House; and I had of her, when I was examined, four thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase, a Pearl of three thousand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds. If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left so much Money to have purchased a Lease in Fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books to send to his Library at Canterbury, and a Cabinet of three hundred Pounds to give Mr. Attorney for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knows, not I, whether he intended to travel: But for the Practice with Arabella, or Letters to Aremberg, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; I knew any of these Things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy of a thousand Deaths. And a little further concerning Cobham's Examination: He that hath been examined, has ever been asked if it be according to his Meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it; it is not sufficient to say we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given Cobham some Arguments, whereby to persuade the King of Spain, and answer his Objections? I knew Westmoreland and Bothwell, Men of other Understandings than Cobham, were ready to beg their Bread. Here being obstructed by other Matters, the Attorney fell at last into that Passage of Cobham's telling Brook, You are on the Bye, Raleigh and I are on the Main. But Cobham would not confirm

firm his ever having said such Words. Broo who had pretended he did say them, was allowe to have been Ralegh's Enemy; so the Expressio was not proved. Another Matter they kept son Coil about was, the Book Cobham said he had Ralegh, written against the King's Title. It was nothing more than a Defence of the Queen's Pr ceedings against Mary Queen of Scotland, written by one Robert Snag, a Lawyer, and found by Ralegh in the Library of the late Lord-treasurer Burghley which he had Liberty of searching for some graphical Descriptions of the West-Indies. Ralegh had declared to Cobham that it was foolishly writte but denied that he gave it him; and though Cobham, in his Examination, said it was given him by Ralegh, he revoked that Confession upon being further questioned about it (as one of the Lords the Council own'd); and said, the Truth w: he took the same of himself out of Sir Walter Ralegh's Study when he was asleep; so much to be depended on were Lord Cobham's Accusations. But there was nothing acted thereby to the King's Prejudice, for the Book was burnt. As for the Evidence of a Rumour in Lisbon, brought into Court by one Dyer, a Pilot, who answering to a Question, when the King would be crowned? made to somebody or other there, that he hoped 'twould shortly; was told again, it should never be, for Don Ralegh and Don Cobham would cut his Throat first. Ralegh made light of it, as of such a Rumour as such a Witness he might; and said, If Cobham had Practice with Aremberg, it might well be known abroad: And that the Duke of Buckingham was named with Jack Straw's Treason to countenance it. But none of these little Circumstances were much insisted on; and we are told by one wh: was present, that, touching the setting up of Arambell,

ela, nothing at all was proved; nor touching the invasion here, or Sedition in Scotland, or even the destruction of the King, &c. The Proof against Raleigh (as the same Writer continues a little further) - did rest only upon Cobham's Accusation, and some Presumptions, whereof that only was the Ground; wherefore Raleigh spent most of the Time in disabling that Accusation, as being only utter'd in Fury and affion; through the Device aforesaid, of making cobham believe that Raleigh had first accused him. Besides, that he had renounced and repented it; id altho' afterwards by Practice, says my said Author, he did affirm it, yet wculd he never be brought set his Hand to the Examination; all which was far. Then Raleigh, seeing this Retraction so unctly overlook'd, laboured to prove these two Points of Scripture, Civil Law, Statute Law, Common Law and Conscience; in every of which he had been entiffully read (as the same Auditor of his Arraignement goes on) first, that there ought to be produced ainst him two Witnesses; secondly, that his Accuser ought be brought to accuse him Face to Face. Agreeable hereto are Raleigh's own Words, after he had g'd the Statutes of Edward III. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; produced the Opinions of Judges the Law, and Precedents from their Writings; sides Testimonies from the Old and New Testament; where he says, If by the Statute, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be requir'd that therc must be two Witnesses at least, bear with me, if I desire but one. It truly it was an unreasonable Request; those statutes were repeal'd, and the Law would not allow of it now; tho' we are informed that King James himself, taking Notice how Cobham was i'th-held, should say, If he could have spoken any thing against Raleigh, they would have brought him from Constantinople to have accused him. Well

therefore might he desire the Jury to consider. There is no Cause so doubtful, which the King's Counsel cannot make good against the Law. These Men usually defend bad Causes every Day against Men of their own Profession, and as able as themselves; they can do so, what may they not do with me, who never studied Law till I came into the Tower of London, who have been practis'd in other Affairs; weak of Memory, and feeble as you see? (for he was fain to have a Pen and Ink to help him in his long Speeches that were made against him.) This said he, more closely to them, If you would be content to be judg'd upon Suspicions and Inferences; you would not have your Accusation subscrib'd by your Accuser; if you would not have your Accuser brought to your Face (being in the same House too) where you are arraign'd; if you would be condemned by an Accusation of one that has recanted, and is truly sorrowful for it; if you, in my Case, would yield your Lives to Torture, lose your Lives, your Wives and Children, and all your Fortunes, upon so slender Proof; then am I ready to suffer all these Things; as the common Trial has it.) If you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me. Now tho' Raleigh at last put himself on it, that if Cobham would only speak before God and the King, that he ever knew either of Arabella's Matter, or the Money of Spain, or of the surprizing Treason, or would accuse him with Things equivalent, in any main Point or any Ways to have been an Instigator of him to dethrone the King of Spain; yet would they not confront Cobham with his Testimony vi voce; and tho' Raleigh did not directly consent to be determined by Cobham's Accusation, if they should now produce it justified under his Hand, yet he was forced to submit to what they had Reserve of this Kind, which was the Letter above me

nentioned, written to the Lords at *Winchester* the Day before the Trial. Some say, this Letter was not written by *Cobham* himself; but that Sir *William Wade*, one of *Cecyll's* Creatures, tampering with his Weakness, got *Cobham* to write his Name o a Blank; to which, says my Author, *Wade* no question wrote the Accusation. Others imply, that *Cobham* did himself write it; tho' after he was instructed by a Letter from his Lady, that there was no Way to save his own Life, but to accuse *Raleigh*; and that it was so reported upon the going together of the Jury. This Letter was read with great Triumph and Exultation by *Coke*, as follows.

I have thought it fit to set down this to my Lords, wherein I profess on my Soul to write nothing but the truth. I am come now near to the Period of my time; therefore I confess the Truth before God and his Angels. *Raleigh*, four Days before I came from the Tower, caused an Apple to be thrown in at my Chamber-window; the Effect of it was, to intreat me to right the Wrong I had done him, in saying that he would come home by Jersey; which under my Hand o him I have retracted. His first Letter was thrown in the same Manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me Word the Judges met at Mr. Attorney's House; and that there was good Hope the Proceedings against us should be laid; he sent me another Time a little Tobacco. At Aremberg's coming, *Raleigh* dealt with me to procure him a Pension of fifteen hundred Pounds a Year, for which he promised, that no Action should be against Spain, but he wculd give Knowledge before-hand. He told me the States had Audience with the King. He bath been the original Cause of my Ruin; for I had no Dealing with Aremberg, but by his Instigation. He bath been the Cause of my Discontentment; he advised me not to be overtaken with Preachers, as Essex

was ; and that the King would better allow of a constant Denial, than to accuse any. But this Advice to a Denial, and by that Example, and the Desire of any such Pension from Spain, Ralegh protesteth to be false. And further, to shew them what base dishonourable Recreant Cobham was, he pull'd out the Letter which Cobham a few Days before wrote to him voluntarily in the Tower, desiring the Lord Cecyll to read it, because he knew his Hand and that the Jury would observe, if Cobham's Testimony were of any Credit with them, how much more solemnly it was writ to clear, than the other to condemn him ; being in these Words, *Seeing myself so near my End ; for the Discharge of my own Conscience, and freeing myself from your Blood, whic else will cry Vengeance against me : I protest, upon my Salvation, I never practis'd with Spain by you Procurement ; God so comfort me in this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any Thing that I know. I will say with Daniel, Purus sum sanguine hujus : So God have Mercy on my Soul, a I know no Treason by you.* This was the last Evidence given ; yet the Jury brought in their Verdict guilty : This Letter, last produced to acquit Ralegh not prevailing with them so much, it seems, as the Letter before, which was last, tho' less forcibly written by Cobham to accuse him ; which, all Things considered, says the Person, who heard the whole Trial, was no more to be weigh'd than the Barking of a Dog ; and I would not (continues he) for much, to have been of the Jury, to have found him guilty. Some of his Jury, we are further told, were after he was cast, so far touch'd in Conscience, as to demand of him Pardon on their Knees ; and even Coke the Attorney himself, being retired into a Garden to take some Air, when his Man brought him Word that the Jury had condemn'd Ralegh of Treason,

on, answered, Surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of Misprision of Treason; and this Relation, upon the Word of a Christian, I have received, says my Author, from Sir Edward Coke's own Mouth. Sentence being given, Ralegh humbly desired, the King might know the Proofs against him; that he still persisted in his Loyalty, notwithstanding that Verdict; which he would pray, that his said Jury might never answer for: and only craved Pardon for concealing Lord Cobham's Offer to him, which he did through a Confidence that he had diverted him from those Humours. So accompanied the Sheriff to the Prison with admirable Erection, yet in such Sort as a condemned Man should do.

Thus was he tired out of his Life, as one observes, by the Bawling of the King's Counsel on one Side, and the Bench's insisting on a Confession, extorted from the Lord Cobham out of Fear, on the other, rather than convinced: And thus did his Adversaries reap Dishonour and Reproach in their Victory, while he received triumphant Applauses in his Overthrow, like some Flowers which are sweeter in their Fall, than others in their Bloom. He stood at a Bay with them from Morning 'till Night, to the great admiration of the Hearers, who all thought that a Man of such Understanding and Experience, would hardly be drawn into a Plot so foul and so foolish. Divers, who went thither his Enemies, went away with Commiseration of his Injuries and Misfortunes, thinking never Man spake better for himself. 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 Fate, to the extremest Pity: And another says, That Sir Walter Ralegh's Carriage was most remarkable; first, to the Lords; humble, yet not prostrate;

strate: Towards the Jury; affable, but not fawning: rather shewing Love 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; that he was never overtaken in Passion, &c. On the other Side, as to Coke's Behaviour, we shall to what has been said, only observe, as one Mean to account for it, that if Essex was known to have ever been in any wise a Friend or Patron to him, as it appears he was in a private Memorial of an honourable Person, who was of the same College at Oxford with Ralegh, and almost of the same standing; then Coke might perhaps think of retrieving himself in the Eye of the World, and making Atonement for his Ingratitude to the said Earl, also at his Trial; and to his Memory after his Death by his Inhumanity now to one of the contrary Faction. Cecyll, on the other Side, play'd a smooth Edge upon Ralegh throughout the Trial; his Blad seemed ever anointed with the Balsam of Compliment or Apology, whereby he gave not such rough and smarting Wounds, though they were a deep and fatal as the other. But Ralegh could distinguish crooked Friendship, and perhaps the Grounds of it, in this Place, as well as he has done crooked Wisdom in another; when, to those Speeches, where Cecyll said, *My Affection, to you Sir Walter Ralegh was not extinguish'd, but flaked in Regard of your Deserts: and, excepting your Faults (I call them no worse) by God I am your Friend:* he answered, *Whoever is the Workman, it is Reason he should give Account of his Work to the Workmaster.* As to any Impertinences that occurred in the Trial, they appear no where so much as in the personal Reflections made by the said Attorney.

ney Coke, and the Lord Chief Justice Popham, whom Camden justly calls a censorious Man ; they being foreign to the Matters Raleigh was charged with, therefore he wisely looked over them. But these, and the other Irregularities throughout the whole Proceedings, which have left Men so unsatisfied in the Justice of them against Sir Walter Raleigh, and so little inclined to believe him the Criminal his Enemies made him, being summed up by an able Hand, and one whose Province it more properly was to judge of them, I shall take my Leave of the said Trial, with a Reference to his Observations on it *.

That

* Sir John Hawles, Sollicitor General to the late King William, in his Reply to a Sheet of Paper, entitled, *The Magistracy and Government of England, vindicated*; Printed in Fol. 1689. having observed, that the Accusations of Sir Walter Raleigh did not amount to a legal Proof; says further, p. 35, as follows.

' Not to mention all that might be excepted to in the Trial of the Case cited; I would know, 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 Brook's Deposition of what the Lord Cobham told him of Raleigh, was Evidence against Raleigh? I would know, by what Law the Story Dyer told of what an unknown Man said to him at Lisbon of Don Raleigh, was Evidence against Raleigh? I would know, by what Statute, the Statutes of the 25th of Edward III. and the 5th of Edward VI. are repeal'd? This Trial was so very irregular throughout, that I would willingly believe it was not so as it is related; but, if it were so, I am sure none can defend it: And even for that Reason, if any such Resolution was in the Case, as is cited, I am sure it ought to carry no Credit with it: And there is no Reason to believe there was any such Resolution; there being no Occasion for it; the Question being only Fact, which Sir Walter deny'd. The Circumstances of his Trial, in which the Court always over-ruled the Prisoner, were somewhat like the Lord Russel's; he complained of the ill Usage of the King's Counsel, as well as the Lord Russel; and both had Reason so to do. Hearsay was admitted to be given in Evidence against

That Ralegh expected nothing less than this Kind of Treatment from those Hands, is plain by the Letter which he wrote to the King himself just before his Trial ; wherein having said, *I know that, among many Presumptions gathered against me your Majesty has been persuaded, that I was one of those who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal ; but the great God of Heaven and Earth disclaim me from both Worlds, if I were not the contrary, and if I took not great Comfort to behold your Majesty always learning some Good, and bettering my Knowledge by your Majesty's Discourse : And having humbly beseeched him not to believe any of those, who, under Pretence of Offence to Kings, do easily work their particular Revenge.* he says a little further, *For my Part, I protest before the ever-living God, that I never intended Treason consented to Treason, or performed Treason against you ; and yet I know I shall fall into their Hands, quibus non possum evadere, unless by your Majesty's gracious Compassion I be sustained.* Another Letter which he wrote to the Lords, gives us some further Light or Assurance, that the Offer made to him for one Intention, and to others for another, was construed as made to him for both ; where, speaking of the two principal Accusations against him, he says, *the first was, that Money was offered me*

against both ; all that either of them said for themselves, tho' very material, was slighted. The one was put in Mind, at his Trial, of the Death of the Earl of Essex ; as the other was, of the Death of the Viscount Stafford ; both in their dying Speeches, vindicated themselves of those Aspersions. The principal Witnesses, in both Cases, had before the Trials, affirm'd, they knew nothing against them : They were both accused with having heard what other Persons had said in their Company, and had not discover'd 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 Ralegh is thought a Sham-plot ; What the Lord Russel's is thought, let the author say."

with a Pretence to maintain the Amity, but the Intent was to have assisted his Majesty's Surprise: The ther, that I was privy to my Lord Cobham's Spanish tourney. For the first, it seems, this Money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon other Considerations than it was to me. For myself I avow, upon my Allegiance, that I never new or suspected either the Man or the new Intention. To me it was but once propounded, and in bree Weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe that he had any Commission to offer it; or, if that Word Amity had been used to me Courably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true End for which it should have been given; which it seems was for the Surprize: But of any such horribile Purpose, if ever I had so much as a Suspition, I refuse your Lordships Favour, and the King's Mercy. I know your Lordships have omitted nothing to find out the Truth; but, as you have not err'd; like ill Surgeons, to lay on Plasters too narrow for so great Wounds, so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned Physicians, to give Medicines more cruel than the Disease itself. For the Journey into Spain, I know I was accused to be privy thereto; but I know your Lordships have a Reputation of Conscience, as well as Industry. By what means that revengeful Accusation was stirr'd, you, my Lord Cecyll, know right well, that it was my Letter about Keymis; and your Lordships all know whether it be maintain'd, or whether, out of Truth, and out of a Christian Consideration, it be revoked. A little further he says, * God knows, and I can give an Account of it,

* As the King's Counsel, in Ralegh's Trial, used Arguments, grounded on Presumptions, to prove him Guilty; so did he there also use others to clear himself, grounded on these of his great Expences against the Spaniards, and his having always been such

that I have spent 40000 Pounds of my own againſt
that King and Nation; that I never reserved ſo
much of all my Fortunes, as to purchase forty Pound
per Annum Land; that I have been a violen
Prosecutor and Furtherer of all Enterprizes againſt
that Nation: I have ſerved againſt them in Per
ſon; and how, my Lord Admiral and my Lord of
Suffolk can witness. I discover'd, myself, the
richest Part of all his Indies; I have planted in his
Territories. I offer'd his Maſteſty at my Uncle Ca
rew'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 Endeavour
of ſo many Testimonies ſhould be blown off with one
blast of Breath, or be preſented by one Man's Word
Think therefore (ſays he a little further) I beſeech
you, on my great Affliction with Compassion; who loſt
my Estate, and the King's Favour, upon one Man's
Word; and as you would that God ſhould deal with
you, deal with me. He concludes in this Manner
Your Lordſhips know, that I am guiltleſs of the
Surprise intended; you know, or may know that I ne
ver accepted of the Money, and that it was not of
fered me for any ill; and of the Spanish Journey,
I truſt your Conſciences are reſolved. Keep not then,
beſeech you, theſe my Anſwers and humble Deſires
from my Sovereign Lord, qui eſt rex pius & miſe
ricors, & non leo coronatus. In another Letter
which he wrote to the King after his Trial, he has
theſe Words: Loſt I am for hearing a vain Man,
for hearing only, and never believing or approviſing;
and ſo little Account I made of that Speech of his,
which was my Condemnation, that I never remem
ber'd

ſuch a noted Enemy to their Faſhion. But the Sum of 40,000 £.
in this Letter above, is only call'd ſo many Crowns in the ſaid
common Trial.

ber'd any such Thing, till it was at my Trial objected against me. This Letter he nobly concludes, with a Desire only to repay a *lent Life* with a Love and Affection equal to the Goodness wherewith his Majesty should please to bestow it.

If these Letters had any good Effect, it appeared not immediately, *Ralegh* being kept near a Month at *Winchester* after he was condemned, in daily Expectation of Death. We find, that when the Report of the Arraignments was made to the King in his Privy-chamber at *Wilton*, he carried himself so reservedly, that no Body could guess how well he was satisfied with the Equality of Condemnation, till he made, himself, a Difference in the Punishment. The two Priests were executed on the 29th of November, and *George Brook* on the 5th of December following. His Majesty also sign'd Warrants for *Cobham*, *Grey* and *Markham*, to be beheaded on the 9th Day of the said Month. But, in the particular *Narrative* of this proceeding to Execution, *Ralegh* is not so much as mention'd: and this might be owing to the extraordinary Disappointment of that Purgation, which was expected from one of those three next to be executed; for the Day aforesaid being come, *Markham* was first brought to the Scaffold; and, having ended his Speech, Prayers, with all he had to say, and being on his Knees, ready to receive the Stroke of the Ax, up steps *John Gibb*, Groom of the King's Bed-chamber, to Sir Benjamin *Tichbourne*, the Sheriff of *Hampshire*, with his Majesty's Warrant to stay the Execution; so *Markham* was told he must withdraw a while into the Hall, to be confronted by the Lords. Then Lord *Grey* was brought upon the Stage; and he is said to have poured out his Prayers and his Confession, tho' not one Word of them recorded in our *Narrative*.

aforesaid ; then was he also call'd aside. Lastly Cobham was brought, and expos'd in the same Manner ; and his Devotions to God are mentioned but not a Word of the Treason, his Guilt or Innocence, or concerning any Promoter of his Disloyalty or Discontent : So when he had done, the Sheriff found it Time to unravel the Plot, by proclaiming and magnifying his Majesty's Mercy, a we have it in the same Author, who yet canno forbear comparing his own Relation to a Comedy representing so many lively Figures of Justice and Mercy in a King, of Terror and Penitence in Offenders, and of so great Admiration and Applause in all others as appeared in this Action, carried on only wholly by his Majesty's own Direction. But where Coke had (after his outrageous Manner) charge Ralegh in the Trial frequently with being the chief Plotter and Traitor in all this Conspiracy we now see the King, in his Warrant aforesaid contradicting him, where he says, to use his own Dialect, that the two Priestis, and George Brooke vaire the principal Plotteris and Intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabill Machinations. And yet you find, in the Trial again that Brook's Treason was distinct, and to be kept secret from Ralegh, because there Brook tells Markham, Take Heed how you make Lord Cobham acquainted ; for whatever he knows, Ralegh the Witt will get it out of him. In short, the whole Proceeding is so full of Inconsistencies, Slanders, another like odious Effects of a false and malicious Prosecution, that we may well conclude with the Historian, who says the King had Ground enough to shew Mercy, which some of the condemned Party obtained.

But Ralegh, it seems, did last taste of it, and for no other apparent Reason, but because he was the

nly one whom his Enemies still wanted Matter to
xclude from it ; as may be gather'd from what
Recyll wrote to a Correspondent three Days after
the King's Warrant of Suspense, to the others be-
ore mentioned ; where, among these wonderful
instances of his Majesty's Clemency, we are told,
*He pretended to forbear Sir Walter Ralegh for the
resent, till the Lord Cobham's Death had given some
Light how far he would make good his Accusation :*
And tho' we hear not that he ever did make it
good, yet was the pretended Time of Ralegh's
Execution so determined, however we find not,
that he, like the rest, was ever brought to the
Place ; that he wrote, what he intended for his
last Words, to his Wife, the Night before he ex-
pected to be put to Death, in a very moving Let-
ter, full of the most generous Acknowledgments,
of the wisest, most religious and affectionate Ad-
vice to her, no less than of the most heroic and
magnanimous Sentiments in Regard to himself, and
to that Suffering which ordinary Souls so naturally
shrink at. It is too long to recite in this Place,
besides has been often printed, and may be easily
met with in his Works. The historical Passages
in it acquaint us, that his Lands were conveyed to
his Son, as is before mentioned ; that he intended
his Wife the Profits of his Wine-office, half his
Goods, and all his Jewels, except some one to his
Son ; that *Baily* owed him two hundred, or as
other Editions have it, 1000 Pounds ; and his Bro-
ther *Adrian Gilbert* six hundred ; that he had also
much Money owing him in *Jersey*, besides the Ar-
rearages of the Wines, which would pay all his
Debts. Towards the Conclusion, he intreats her
to get those Letters, if it be possible, which I writ,
said he, to the Lords, wherein I sued for my Life.
God is my Witness, that it was for you and yours that

I desir'd Life. But it is true that I disdain myself for
begging it ; for know it, dear Wife, that your Son
is the Son of a true Man, and one, who, in his own
Respect, despises Death, and all his misshapen and
ugly Forms. I cannot write much ; God knows how
hardly I steal this Time, while others sleep ; and it is
also high Time, that I should separate my Thought
from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living
was deny'd thee, and either lay it at Sherborne, in
the Land continue, or in Exeter Church, by my Fa-
ther and Mother. I can say no more ; Time and
Death call me away. And, as in the former Part
of this Letter, he trusts that his Blood will quench
their Malice, who had thus cruelly murdered him.
So in the Conclusion, he prays to God, that he may
forgive his Persecutors and Accusers.

But after all this Usage, Cobham never confirming his Accusation of Sir Walter Ralegh, they both were, with the rest of the Prisoners, returned, on the 15th of December, to the Tower of London. Those, of whom the least Profit was to be made were either acquitted, or did afterwards get their Liberty ; among whom was Markham, who travell'd abroad, but endured greater Distress in his State of Freedom, than he had in his Restraint. * But Grey, it seems, died in the Tower, and with Cobham it went nigh to fare still worse ; for he would have starved there, being so closely fleec'd

* James Wadsworth, in his *English Spaniard Pilgrim*, 4to, 1630, p. 66, speaking of the State and Demeanor of the English Fugitives under the King of Spain's Dominions, says, " This Sir Griffin Markham, at his first arrival in Bruxels, being kept under by the Jesuits, was driven to such an Exigency, that he was constrained to pluck out the inlaid Silver of the Hilts of his Sword, to buy Flour to make a Hasty-pudding for his Dinner ; but he afterwards (says the same Author) took the best way to raise his Fortunes ; having got into Favour with the Duke of Naburge, who gives him the surest Pension of all."

he was by the Court-beggars of his great Estate, & they not also laid thereby a Kind of a Fine upon his Majesty for his Offences ; the Crown being imposed upon to support him in his many Years Confinement, as *Ralegh* himself has sufficiently discover'd. + And here, to dispatch what more remains of this Lord relating to our present History, may observe, that some Years after their Condemnt, *Ralegh* is said to have himself procur'd Re-examination of *Cobham*, and to have been absolutely cleared by him.

But the Practices which were used against him herein, are represented so Foul and Wicked,

* The Lord *Cecyll*, who was created Earl of *Salisbury* in 1605, and Lord Treasurer, upon the Death of *Buckhurst*, Earl *Dorset*, in 1608, did very much engrofs the Revenues of the Crown, as *Ralegh* made appear to the King himself, in an excellent Dialogue he dedicated to his Majesty ; where, among Particulars, of *Cecyll's* neglecting an Increase of 40,000 £. in the King's Estate, the conferring a 10,000 £. Fine upon *Yorksire* and his Mistress, the engrossing to himself many goodly Manors, and the Exchange of *Theobald's* for *Hatfield*, which the greatest Subject or Favourite Queen *Elizabeth* had, ever durst have named to her ; he farther instances, that, " It had been an honest Service to the King, to have also added 50 £. Lands of the Lord *Cobham's*, with his Woods and Goods worth 30,000 £. more. For those Lands, remaining with *George York's* Children but during their Lives, had been the King's forever in Effect ; but to wrest them from the King, and draw the inheritance upon himself, the Treasurer persuaded his Majesty to inquish his Interest for a petty Sum of Money ; and, that there might be no Counter-working, he sent *Brook* six thousand Pounds to make Friends ; whereof Lord *Hume* had two thousand Pounds back again, *Buckhurst* and *Berwick* had the other four thousand Pounds, and the Treasurer and his Heirs the Mass of Pounds for ever." What then came to the King by this confiscation ? (This is one of the Correspondents in the said Dialogue.) " His Majesty (answers t'other) by all those goodly Possessions, Woods and Goods, loses five hundred Pounds a Year, which he gives Pension to *Cobham* to maintain him in Prison." See Sir Walter *Ralegh's* Prerogative of Parliaments in his Remains (last Edit.) 249, &c.

as to have given some, whose Interest it was to favour the Administrations of these Times, Occasion to suspect the Assertion; tho' it is corroborated by several material Circumstances, as well as the Testimony of coeval Writers. The Author, whom we first meet with this Passage, and whose shorter Account of it is before related, to shew that Ralegh's Life was surreptitiously taken away, gives it us again more Circumstantially, and has a true Story, thus, Queen Anne, that brave Princess, was in a desperate, and some believed incurable Disease whereof the Physicians were at the furthest End of their Studies to find the Cause, at a non plus for the Cure. Sir Walter Ralegh being by his long Studies, an admirable Chymist, undertook and performed the Cure; * for which he would receive no other Reward, but that her Majesty would procure that certain Lords might be sent to examine Cobham whether he had accused Sir Walter Ralegh of Treason at any Time under his Hand? The King, at the Queen's Request (and in Justice could do no less) sent some Lords and others of the Council (which, our Author goes on, were the Duke of Lenox, Salisbury, Worcester, Suffolk, Sir George Carew and Sir Julius Cæsar) to demand of Cobham whether he had not, under his Hand, accused S

* The Author of *Aulicus Coquinariae* thinks, he sufficiently answers this Passage; where he says, p. 97, 'The Queen was never cur'd of her Disease, but by Death, that ends all M' ladies.' Now the Disease, which this Queen Anne died of, was a Dropsey, but not till after Sir Walter Ralegh's Death, and above fifteen Years after this his Imprisonment; whereas the Disease, from which Ralegh recover'd her, was a Fever, as Dr Welwood informs us in his Notes on Wilson's History of King James. In the same Place, he says, it was some Time before the Illness of Prince Henry; and Camden, in his *Annals of King James*, telling us, when Sir Julius Cæsar was made a Privy counsellor, we may conclude this Cure was perform'd between the Years 1607 and 1612.

Valter Ralegh at Winchester, upon that Treason he was arraign'd for? Cobham did protest, never, nor could he; but, said he, that Villain Wade did often illicite me, and, not prevailing that Way, got me a Trick, to write my Name upon a piece of white paper, which, I thinking nothing, did; so that, if my Charge came under my Hand, it was forged by that Villain Wade, by writing something above my hand, without my Consent or Knowledge. * These returning to the King, the Rest made Salisbury their Spokesman; who said, Sir, My Lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he wrote or said. Where it is to be noted, that this was but an Equivocating Trick in Salisbury; for it was True, that Cobham had made good whatever he had Writ, but ever wrote any Thing to accuse Ralegh; by which you see the Baseness of this Lord, the Credulity of the King, and the Ruin of Sir Walter Ralegh. As for the miserable End this Lord Cobham made, the same Author relates it; † and it is also confirm'd

* An Author has attempted to disprove this Particular thus: How could Wade tamper with Cobham to write his Name to a Blank, to which Wade framed the Accusation against Ralegh; when it appears, Cobham never signed at all to his Examinations? Aulic. Coquin. p. 190. But it is plain this Trick of Wade's, if such he committed, could not be meant of Cobham's examinations, for they were taken at Richmond and at London; but the Question here put was, Whether Cobham had not, under his Hand, accused Sir Walter Ralegh at Winchester? which could relate only to this Letter of Accusation before quoted, which was inscribed with Cobham's Name, and pretended to be written by him the Night before Ralegh's Trial there.

† He tells us, that "as Lord Grey died pitied, Cobham died scorn'd, and his Death as base; for he died lousy for Want of Apparel and Linnen; and had starved, had not a Trencher-craper, some Time his Servant in Court, relieved him with scraps, in whose House he died, being so poor a House, as he was forced to creep up a Ladder into a little Hole to his Chamber:

firm'd by others, who were well acquainted with the History of these Times, and from whom we learn, that *Cobham* survived not Sir *Walter Ralegh* above two or three Months.

But to return to more early Passages in *Ralegh's* Imprisonment, and to consider his State, as it appears at his Entrance therein, we may very easily believe, he was at first in very great Trouble to be so suddenly, and in such a Manner, depriv'd of Power, Fortune, Liberty and Reputation; but find nothing to confirm the extraordinary Dejection one Writer, describes him under, where he says, ' In the publick Joy and Jubilee of the whole Realm, when Favour, Peace and Pardon were offered even to Offenders; he, who in Wit, in Wealth, in Courage, was inferior to few, fell suddenly (he cannot tell how) into such a downfall of Despair, that his greatest Enemies would not have wished him so much Harm, as he would have done himself; for we have seen he had Enemies who would have done him the Injury that could no

ber; which was a strange Judgment, and unprecedented, for a Man of seven thousand Pounds per Annum, and of a personal Estate of thirty thousand Pounds; of all which the King was cheated (or of what should have escheated to him) that he could not give him any Maintenance, as in all Cases the King does unless out of his own Revenue of the Crown; which was the Occasion of this Lord's Want (his Wife being very rich, and would not give him the Crumbs that fell from her Table) and this was a just Judgment of God on him." Thus *Weldon*, p. 37, & *Osborne* also, much to the same Sense, tells us, from the Authority of *William Earl of Pembroke*, that *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. Thus miserable was his Fate, in meeting with a Prince so inconsiderately profuse to Strangers, that he forgot the Owner, not leaving him wherewithal to buy Bread: An Impiety not found among Infidels, who ever deemed it less Injustice to take away Life, than the means to maintain it.

exceeded, had not the King, in some degree of Justice, rather than Mercy to him, interpos'd, and cured him, as well from being quite destroyed, as taking Revenge on them : Besides, that Letter to his Wife before-mentioned, when his fate appeared nearest and most unavoidable to him, demonstrates the Firmness and Fortitude of Man, who could receive Death as an Acquaintance, rather than a Stranger, or one, who, having so often gone to face him among the Foes to his Country abroad, could, with equal steadiness and composure of Mind, meet him from those at home. Indeed, the Affairs of a Person, who had such various and extensive Dealings or Commerce with Mankind, could not but be somewhat perplexed and embarrass'd, upon a Fall so sudden and precipitous ; therefore, to find him employing Agents for collecting in Debts, and satisfying Creditors, is to be expected. Thus, in one of his Letters to Sir Michael Hext, he desires him to spare John Shellbury for a little Time, he being bound for him in a Sum of fifteen hundred Pounds ; and, as he was restrained, so that he could not recover the Wine-arrearages, which (as we find from Raleigh's Letter before to his Wife) would clear all his Debts, they must remain unpaid. The Date endorsed upon this Letter, probably by Sir Michael himself, is November 12, 1604. In the Middle of February following, we find a Grant made by the King, to that John Shellbury and another Person, to this Effect : ' That Sir Walter Ralegh, late of Sherborne, &c. being attainted of High Treason, whereby all his Goods and Chattels, Real and Personal, Moveable and Immoveable ; Debts, Duties, Sums of Money, Bonds, &c. are forfeited. His Majesty therefore, in Consideration that the said Debts, which Sir Walter Ralegh did truly

‘ owe before the said Attainder and Conviction,
‘ may be justly and truly paid ; as also for the
‘ Help and Maintenance of Dame Elizabeth his
‘ Wife, his Child and Family ; and for other Con-
‘ siderations, grants to John Shellbury and Robert
‘ Smith of London, Gentlemen, all the said Good
‘ &c.

Thus we see a great Distinction made already between him and Cobham, and shall find more Favours extending towards him in a little while. 'Tis said to be much owing to the earnest and unwearied Intercessions of his Lady at Court, who, that she might be more serviceable to him, soon after he was committed to the Tower, petition'd the King that she might be a Prisoner with her Husband or live with him there in his Confinement ; and her Request was granted. Here, manifestly after the Grant aforesaid to Raleigh's Trustees, because that mentions but one of his Sons, she was delivered of the other, and he was Christen'd Carew who was yet born, as Authors compute, within the Year above-mentioned. To this Satisfaction Raleigh had others afterwards, which greatly alleviated the loss of his Liberty ; so that his restraint which was intended as a Mortification, his Prudence in Time so converted, that it proved only Retirement, or the quiet Enjoyment of a domestic Life ; and he felt certain Comforts arise from the constant Company of his little Family, which in the Pomp of Courts, the Pride of Conquests, the Glory of Discoveries, and the Sweetness of Freedom itself, he had never tasted. But this Tranquillity appears not to have suddenly arrived, being for a while divested of all his Estate ; and having some Contentions at Law with those who were considerably indebted to him, and could not otherwise be brought to Account ;

ne Instance whereof we have in *William Anderson* the elder, who was of Kin to Ralegh; and (as we are told) in the Time of his Prosperity and Greatness, was his Servant, intrusted with receiving great Sums of Money for him out of his Office of Wines, and his other Places, by which he became in Arrear to Ralegh in divers great Sums; which, after his Troubles, he sent for to Sanderson, who was so far from paying them, that he pretended Ralegh should owe him 2000 Pounds: Whereupon Sir Walter, in great Anger, commenced a Suit against Sanderson, which was managed by his servant and Sollicitor John Shellbury; and Sanderson, being overthrown, and found in Arrear to Ralegh in very great Sums, was cast into Prison, where he died a Beggar. Hence sprung all the Spleen and Malice of William Sanderson the younger (in his History of King James's Reign) towards Sir Walter Ralegh. Now this Exposure both of that Author's Father and his own History, so enraged the son, that he forthwith published an Answer to the said Pamphlet, in which he not only endeavours to upport what he had written of Sir Walter Ralegh in his History, though with no Authorities or satisfactory Reasons, but falls most foully upon Carew Ralegh, as if he was the Author of the Pamphlet aforesaid against his History; and that, with such womanish Spleen and Slander, as might have betrayed, had not himself owned, that his Wife had a Hand in writing it. But of the Passage here

* For the said *William Sanderson* the Elder, who was much engaged among the Merchant-Adventurers in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, and one of her Commissioners for the Spanish Prize-Goods; also of Note for the great Globes, which, by his Encouragement, were brought to Perfection, married, about the Year 1571, *Margaret Snedale* or *Snowdale*, the Daughter of Sir Walter Ralegh's Sister *Mary*, by her Husband *Hugh Snedale*, a Commander in the Queen's royal Navy.

last quoted, tho' he contradicts several Particulars, he does not deny the main Point; which is, that Sir Walter Ralegh, now after his Reprieve, did commence Suits by *Shellbury* against his Father, which might naturally sharpen the Son's Pen, and warp his Impartiality, when he was representing him in his History, and the rather if *Ralegh* was such a Debtor besides to his Father, as he describes him. But, whoever was the Author of those Observations on the said History; he has not more unfavourably treated it, than others who examined it.*

When *Ralegh* had got over these troublesome Contests, all Things appear'd, for a while, about him as serene, as in such a gloomy State could be hoped for; and he, who lately was upon the very Brink of Dissolution, had all his Offices, Lands and Goods seized upon, and was himself committed a close Prisoner, had not only his Life repriev'd, and his Confinement sweetned with some Degrees of Latitude, but even his Estate also restor'd to him. For these Lands were actually made over by Sir Walter *Ralegh* to his Son, both Inheritance and Fee, before Queen *Elizabeth* died, as formerly was, also the Lease for Years: So that, as he observes again in another Place, *being entail'd on Sir Walter's Heirs, he could not forfeit them, but during his*

* Dr. *Welwood*, in his Notes on *Wilson's History of King James*, says, nothing could inhance the Value of it more than "a most wretched one published by one *William Sanderson*; who pretends, in several Places, to some secret Memoirs or Discourses with great Men, to make good the Passages of his History. But the Truth is, the whole is nothing else but an ill-compil'd Collection out of other Authors; wherein he, for the most Part, mistakes or perverts their Meaning. In cursorily reading over this History, I have sometimes taken Notice of above four or five gross Errors, either in Names, Things or Chronology, in one single Page,"

wn Life ; and the King, finding in himself the Iniquity of Sir Walter's Condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again. Herewith agrees likewise Sir John Harrington, who not only tells us by whose Mediation Ralegh recovered his said Estate, and his Enlargement in Prison, but how laudably he employed himself there at the Time of this Author's Writing, which might be about the Year 607 ; where he says, God put it into the King's Mind, against Man's Expectation, to save his Life ; and since, by the Suit of his faithful Wife, both to reserve his Estate, and to ease his Restraint, in such sort as many, who are at Liberty, taste not greater comforts than he doth in Prison ; being not barr'd of those Companions, meaning Books, that he may, and perhaps does, take more true Comfort in them, than ever he took of his courtly Companions in his chiefeſt Bravery.

But this Prospect was soon overcast ; for there was a young Scotchman, named Robert Car, who, soon after the said Restitution, sprang up in great Favour at Court ; and, having no Fortune of his own, it was contrived by those who had gaped in vain for Ralegh's Estate themselves, to lay the foundation of this Favourite's future Greatness upon his Ruin ; for, being thus frustrated of the Effects of Sir Walter Ralegh's Attainder, they pretended to find a Flaw in his last Conveyance of the Fee and Inheritance of Sherborne to his Son ; and to this purpose an Information was exhibited in the Exchequer by the Attorney-general Hobart, to which Ralegh put in his Answer ; and therein the said Grant or Conveyance was set forth to be made over, as above ; yet for Want of a single Word (which was found notwithstanding in the Paper-book, and was only the Oversight of the Clerk) they pronounced the Conveyance invalid, and

Sherborne absolutely forfeited to the Crown ; a Judgment to be foreseen without Witchcraft, since his chief Judge was his greatest Enemy, and the Cause argued between a friendless Prisoner and the King of England.

Then was Sherborne given to this Car, afterward Earl of Somerset. The Lady Ralegh and her Children earnestly petitioned the King for Compassion but could now obtain no other Answer, than *he mun have the Land, he mun have it for Car.* And she, a Woman of high Spirit, on her Knees, pray'd to God, that he would punish those who had thus wrongfully exposed her and her Children to Ruin. We have an elegant Letter of Ralegh's extant, to Car himself, upon this Occasion ; but, having been corruptly printed, it may appear from several ancient Manuscript-copies more correct, as follows :

' After some great Losses, and many Years Sorrows, of both which I have Cause to fear I was mistaken in the End ; it is come to my Knowledge, that yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable Fame, has been persuaded to give me and mine our last fatal Blow, by obtaining from his Majesty the Inheritance of my Children and Nephews, lost in the Law for want of Word. This done, there remains nothing with me but the Name of Life, despoiled of all else but the Title and Sorrow thereof. His Majesty whom I never offended (for I ever held it unnatural and unmanly to hate Goodness) stayed me at the Grave's brink ; not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many Deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the World with myself ; but as a King, who, judging the Poor in Truth, has received a Promise from God, that his Throne shall be established for ever. And for yourself, Sir seeing your fair Day is but now

' in

in the Dawn, and mine drawn to the Evening, your
own Virtues and the King's Grace assuring you of
many Favours and much Honour, I beseech you not
to begin your first Building upon the Ruins of the
innocent ; and that their Sorrows, with mine, may
not attend your first Plantation. I have been ever
bound to your Nation, as well for many other Graces,
as for their true Report of my Trial to his Majesty,
against whom had I been found Malignant, the
bearing of my Cause would not have changed Ene-
mies into Feiends, Malice into Compassion, and the
Minds of the greatest Number present into the Com-
miseration of my State. It is not the Nature of foul
reason to beget such fair Passions ; neither could it
agree with the Duty and Love of faithful Subjects,
especially of your Nation, to bewail his Overthrow,
who had conspir'd against their most liberal and na-
tural Lord. I therefore trust, Sir, that you will not
be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the
tree with the Fruit, and undergo their Curse, who
iter the Field of the Fatherless ; which, if it please
you to know the Truth, is far less fruitful in Value
than in Fame : But that so worthy a Gentleman as
yourself will rather bind us to your Service, being,
Sir, Gentlemen, not base in Birth or Alliance, who
have Interest therein ; and myself, with my utmost
thankfulness, will ever remain ready to obey your
commandments. This Letter, in one or two old
Copies, is dated December 1608. But this so little
prevailed upon Car, or any other Applications
Ralegh might make to the King, with his Majesty
himself ; that besides Sherborne, and the Manors
elonging to it, those other Lands which Ralegh
himself had purchased, call'd, Pinford and Primesty,
Barton, and the Manors appertaining also thereunto,
forfeited with the rest by his Attainder, were

also granted the following Year 1609, or the seventh of his Majesty's Reign, to the said Favourite.

But now, or not long after, *Ralegh* was grown into high Esteem with that great hope and heir of these Kingdoms, Prince *Henry Frederick*, the King's eldest Son, who, being satisfied of his Loyalty, and well inform'd of his great Qualifications and Experience in Civil and Military Affairs, with his hazardous Services for the Honour and Defence of his Country, no less than his many publick-spirited Adventures, both to enlarge and enrich it, testified not his own Merits more in any one particular, than in distinguishing those of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; and, notwithstanding the many little envious Detractions of some undermining Courtiers about him, did both encourage his Epistolary Addresses to him from the *Tower*, and send for his Counsel or Opinion upon several emergent Occasions. It was perhaps, one of the brightest Rays in the shining Orb of this rare Prince's Actions; that he never left invading the King with the most persuasive Solicitations, that he would bestow *Sherborne* uppon him, with full design to return it to its just Owner till his Majesty at last granted his Request; but by what cruel Fate *Ralegh's* hopes were eclipsed again, and indeed those of the whole Kingdom, we shall suddenly hear.

In the mean Time, we must hear endeavour to give such Light of that intercourse which passed between the said Prince *Henry* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as those Letters and Discourses, which he addressed to his Highness, and are extant, will afford; and first, when he found how commendably the Prince was inclined to the Studies of Navigation; how much delighted he was with a View of the Fleet at *Chatham*; how inquisitive, or desirous to inform himself, by Consultation with the

most experienced Commanders, in the Knowledge of building Ships most Artfully, fitting them out most Commodiously, sailing them most Dexterously, and fighting with them most Successfully, in order to execute those great Designs he had upon the *West-Indies* and *Spain* itself, whenever the King thereof should give cause of publick Hostility, as of his own Servants acquaints us, and would have done more distinctly, had he not been manacled in in a Courtly Maxim so discrepant with all personal Narrative, *That to publish particulars agrees not with Rules of State*: *Ralegh* composed and communicated to his Highness several Tractates upon these Subjects. Such was his Letter touching the Model of a Ship, which the Prince intended to build; and such his Discourse of a Maritimall Voyage, with the Passages and Incidents therein, which he seconded with some necessary Observations on the Royal Navy and Sea Service, also dedicated to his Highness; and wherein he appears to have been a most worthy and earnest Counsellor of the Prince, to a due Regard and Regulation thereof. For, says *Ralegh* to him, in answer to any Objection that might be made to the Maintenance of so great a Fleet, in the Perfection and Readiness which he recommends, now in Times of Peace: ‘ Tho’ the ‘ Sword is put into the Sheath, we must not suffer ‘ it to rust, or stick so fast, that we shall not be ‘ able to draw it readily when needs requires;’ and, a little further, ‘ we may be assured, that if ‘ those powerful Means, whereby we reduced our ‘ Enemies to the Courtesy of seeking Peace of us, ‘ were neglected, so as we could not again, upon ‘ Occasion, readily assume the Use and Benefit of ‘ them, as we have done; those proud mastering ‘ Spirits, finding us at such Advantage, would be ‘ more willing to shake us by the Ears as Enemies,

than to take us by the Hands as Friends. Therefore, far be it from our Hearts to trust more to that Friendship of Strangers, which is but dissembled upon Policy and Necessity, than to the Strength of our own Forces, which has been experienced with so happy Success. I confess, that Peace is a Blessing of God, and blessed are the Peace-Makers ; therefore doubtless blessed are those Means whereby Peace is gain'd and maintain'd. For well we know, that God works all Things here among us, mediately and by a secondary Means ; the which Means, of our Defence and Safety, being Shipping and Sea-forces, are to be esteemed as his Gifts ; and then only available and beneficial, when he withal vouch-safes his Grace to use them aright.' To this end, *Ralegh* also wrote another Discourse for the said Prince, *Of the Art of War by Sea* : But the untimely Death of his Highness, as we shall too soon find, deprived both him and Posterity of the Advantages which a Subject so useful and uncommon, from an Author so able and experienc'd, did promise.

There is nothing in these Discourses, or any other I have met with, which shew *Ralegh* any ways concerned in writing those Propositions or Arguments for Foreign Wars, which were delivered to Prince *Henry* by some of his Military Servants, and which were afterwards abstractedly published, together with an Answer at large, written, very conformable to the Taste of King *James*, by the Learned Sir *Robert Cotton* ; tho', to the first Edition of this Treatise, the Bookseller, having prefixed Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Picture, have thereby misled some Writers of his Life, carelessly to insert this Book into the Catalogue of his Writings. 'Tis true, *Ralegh* has obliquely and subordinately touch'd

touched this Branch of the Subject in some of his Discourses upon War, but in other Arguments than are here answered, nay after this Answer was written; nor are they addressed to the Prince, but indeed written also after his Death. In some Places, he has given the greatest Discouragements to a military Life, from knowing, how many are deluded to be the Executioners of other Men's Ambition, and to lay down their Lives for what they should not venture them *; yet withal, the greater Disproportion of Honour and Reward which attends that Profession, than others of less personal Hardship and Danger, as was before partly observed. In other Places, he has written against wanton and useless Invasions, for the mere Sake of brutish and vain-glorious Victory; against waging War with our Enemies, 'till we beat the Art of it into them; 'till Cowards are learnt to be courageous, and Defenders become Assailants: Yet has elsewhere, in a very ingenious Similitude, shewn, that martial Policy is one of the principal Supports of

* His Words are: ' It may be affirmed, the Number of those that have been slaughtered by their Fellow-creatures, exceed the Number of all the Inhabitants that ever were at one Time living on the Face of the Earth; yet very few of this infinite Number, thus untimely Slain, were ever Masters of the Grounds of the disputes for which they suffered, or the true Reason of their being led to the Battle; the Truth, with much Artifice, being kept from all, but what were Parties to the Design resolved on. What deluded Wretches then have a great part of Mankind been, who have either yielded themselves to be slain in Causes, which, if truly known, their Hearts would abhor, or been the ready Executioners of other Men's Ambition! It is a hard fate to be slain for what a Man should never willingly Fight; yet few Soldiers have laid themselves down in the Bed of Honour under better Circumstances.' *Kalegh's Three Discourses*

Government *. However, when a Prince thereby got Authority, or the sharpest Means his Power, he would have the mildest Use ; and the one acquired in full Strength, only that the other may be exercised with perfect Safety : For I ever preferred Reason and Love as stronger Chai of Government than Constraint or Violence, and thought that royal Dealings was ever surest meeting with royal Success. Such were the Principles Sir Walter Ralegh infus'd not only into the Prince of Wales, but all other Readers, throughout his Writings ; and agreeable hereto is the Tenor of that Letter he wrote to the said Prince, *August the 12th 1611*, concerning the most eligible Power in an English Sovereign, where he has, with the Spirit of a true Patriot, said : *Let me not do but all Plans, which do not carry in them the mutual Happiness of Prince and People, will appear as absurd to your great Understanding, as disagreeable to your noble Nature.*

But now Ralegh's Pen was engaged upon a different Subject in the Prince's Service, and by Command ; for, ' the first Overtures of a Marriage between this Prince and the eldest Daughter of Spain being put off,' the like M

* It is as follows : ' They say, that the goodliest Cedars which grow on the high Mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their Roots between the Cliffs of hard Rocks, the better to brace themselves against the strong Storms that blow there. As Nature has instructed those Kings of Trees, so has Reason taught the Kings of Men to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful Subjects. And, as those Kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns ; where as the first would soon be broken from their Bodies, were they not underborne by many Branches ; so would the other easies totter, were they not fasten'd on their Heads with the strong Chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.' *Ralegh's Remains*, (last Edit,) p. 116.

on was now made by the Savoyan Ambassador, not only for a Marriage between Prince *Henry* and Daughter of the Duke of *Savoy*, but for another, his Son Don *Phillibert*, Prince of *Piedmont*, with Princess *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *England*. *Ralegh* wrote two Discourses, upon this Occasion, in the Year last mentioned; and that he particularly is requested by the Prince to give his Opinion of the said Offers, appears in his Introduction to the first of those Discourses, inscribed to some Minister of State about his Highness; in which *Ralegh* has so nobly discovered what a Tool for Avarice and Ambition most of the Catholic Princes in Europe had made of this Sacrament of Matrimony; and how notoriously the Castilians, with those of whom these Princes are descended, have gotten no less by the Traffic of their Marriages, than they have done by the Trade of their Indies; that I wonder these excellent Political Discourses were never made publick, for the more easy Advertisement of our succeeding Princes upon this Topick. The second of them, upon the Match for Prince *Henry*, is treated under eight Heads; and, in the fourth Page of it, *Ralegh* has these Words: *There is a Kind of noble and royal deceiving in Marriages between great Kings and Princes; yea it is, of all others, the fairest and most unsuspected Kind of betraying: It has been as ordinary among them to adventure or cast away a daughter to bring some Purpose to pass, as at other times, for saving of Charges, to make them Nuns.* A little farther, having represented the Duke of *Savoy* so tied to the See of *Rome*, both by Religion and Benefit, that he could no more be separated and subsist, than if his Soul was divided from his Body, he goes on thus, more directly, concerning the Marriages. *What then remains of Profit to our Prince by this Alliance? A Sum of Money, and a*

beautiful

beautiful Lady. For Beauty (says he) it was never more cheap in any Age ; and it is ever better loved, than the Hope, than when it is bad : For the Million Crowns offered, which makes but two of our Subsidie I speak it confidently ; that when those Dukes, Lord and great Ladies, who will attend the Princess her Passage hither, shall be all presented with Gif. according to their Degrees and the King's Honour when the Preparations, Triumphs and Feastings are paid for, there will nothing remain but a great Encrease of Charge, and, perchance, a great deal of Melancholly. And a little further, Ralegh comes closer still, to the Prince himself, in these Words. Now, if by these Dislikes of the former Alliance you make Judgment that it is my Desire that the Prince should not marry at all ; I say, my Desire is not, that the Prince should not marry at all, but not as yet ; and I am exceeding Sorry that the Prince has not the same Desire. For seeing his Majesty is yet but young, and by God's Favour like to live many Years ; and that his Highness, if he should now marry may have many Children born to him, before he be 30 Years old ; and, seeing all his Children shall be Princes, and must be provided for as Princes, I think it will much perplex him to find himself so environed, 'till his Majesty has somewhat repaired his Estate, and provided beautiful Gardens to plant these Olive Branches in. While the Prince is unmarried, all the Eyes of Christendom are upon him ; for with what King soever he shall be ballanced, he will cast the Scale ; but, to have him weighed with a little Prince, I should be sorry, and he himself will be as sorry after. All the Princes in Christendom woo'd Charles, Duke of Burgundy, while his Daughter was unmarried ; and while our Prince is free (our Enemies not knowing upon what Ground to build their Practices). his Majesty's Safety is in the mean while infinitely

finitely assured; but, the Prince once dispesed of, ey will presently muster our Forces, measure our fortunes, sound us to the Bottom, and make their oproaches accordingly: they will then say, we have n the utmost of the Prince of Wales! Then having observed, that since there is none but a Catholic Lady r us, let us have a King on our Side (says he) to it: So, in Consideration of the many Motives to amity between France and Spain, which he enu-erates; as also the many Obligations which ance then lay under, of Gratitude to the Crown England, and the Advantage of retaining the nberlands, he proposes the Daughter of the French ng. On the other Side, that it would be a need-s Hazard both to neglect this Love and Union, d sustain withal the Hatred of the Archduke, the pe, and the King of Spain together; however united; they were not to be feared: For then, if y should combine against us, from whm should we ve for Help? If it be from Savoy or Florence, d help us! Our Friends inhabit beyond the Moun- ins, our Enemies at Hand! We leave those that are ongest and nearest us, for those who are weakest and thest off! We leave those that can help us, or harm , for those that can do neither! Those we leave who pend on themselves, to wit, the French, for those o depend on others, to wit, the Savoyans and Flo- itines! Thus ends Sir Walter Ralegh's Discourse on the Marriage proposed for Prince Henry.

In his other Discourse, on the Match that was fered for the ingenious and accomplished Lady lizabeth, that Prince's Sister, having copiously emplified, as we have observed, what mercenary crifices had been made, by crowned Heads, of eir Children, in this grand Market of Matri-ony; and answered the Objection he foresaw some paniolized Courtiers might make, that seeing the

Kings of France, and especially of Spain had often matched themselves with the Dukes of Savoy. Why should not the King of England also accept of their Alliance? He proceeds to examine what Increase of Honour and Dignity, or what greater Comfort or Contentment this excellent young Princess could expect or hope for by this Match. For the first, to wit, Honour and Dignity (says he) as she is born the eldest, and now only Daughter one of the mightiest Kings of Christendom, so is she thereby of higher Place and State, than the Wife of Duke of Savoy. Besides, in her Birth and Blood both of Father and Mother, descended of such royal Races, as Savoy cannot add any greater Grace and Glory to; and by Nature and Education endow'd with such princely Perfections, both of Body and Mind, as may well deserve to be reputed a worthy Spouse for the greatest Monarch of Christendom, especially considering the Possibilities of a Daughter of England; whereof we have had many Precedents, and, at this Time, is happily manifested in King's Majesty, our Sovereign, being descended of a Daughter of England; whereby the whole Island, formerly divided, is again now made GREAT-BRITAIN, to the mutual Strength of either. Now to confer the Possibility of such a Fortune, upon a poor popish Duke of Savoy, that can return no competent Benefit to this State, were greatly for the Glory, tho' little for the Advancement of this noble Princess, and less for the Safety of this Kingdom, considering the Dangers that it may draw upon our worthy magnanimous Prince and the noble Duke of York if the Ambition of this Match should tickle the Savoy to look after Possibilities, wherein there would be neither Means, Persuasions, nor Pardons from Rome to practise any Villainy in that Behalf, whereby to benefit or strengthen an Appendix of Spain, and

evoted a Son to the Romish See. For the second, amely the Comfort and Contentment of this worthy young Lady by this Match, as there is little in Appearance presently, so there is less to be hoped for in the future. For, as first, she must be removed far from her nearest Blood, both by Father and Mother, into a Country far estranged from our Nation, as in part of Christendom, and as far differing from us in Religion, as in Climate. And what true Correspondence, or matrimonial Affection, there can be maintain'd between those Persons, whose Minds are different, and opposite in the religious Points of their Christian Faith, is greatly to be doubted. Moreover it is greatly to be feared, with what Safety and Security she can long live free from secret Practices and Treacheries, in a Country so near the Pope's Jurisdiction, environ'd with the Plots of the Jesuits, who, we see, do daily traffick the Lives and Fortunes of all Princes who are not wholly devoted to the Romish Obedience; and therefore how they will entertain or tolerate the Race of our King, were too great an Error and Presumption to trust to: So as when the worthy Lady, hereafter by her Children or otherwise, has furnish'd their Desire, and fully served their Turn, she shall be then either forced to wound her Conscience, by forsaking her Faith, or else to undergo the Scorns and Danger which shall be daily cast upon her and her Family, for the Exercise of her Religion. And this also we may be well assured of, that, if she shall have any Issue by the Prince of Piedmont, they must all be bred and brought up contrary to her Conscience, which can be no small Grief to a virtuous and natural Mother, and as little Comfort to our just religious King, their Grandfather. Lastly, the very binding Cause of Amity between all Kings, Princes and States, is their Trade and Intercourse of their Subjects. Now

there is not any Prince or State of Europe, the inland Countries of Hungary, and Transylvania excepted; but the English have Trade withal; yet even with the Turk, Barbarian, Persian and Indians; only with the Subjects of Savoy, I do not know that we have any meddling or interchange at all: for the Duke has no Port, his Ditch of Villa Franca excepted, which is only capable of a few Gallies, either to furnish Ships from, or to receive them, being Strangers. And therefore for his Majesty of England to match his eldest and only Daughter with a Prince, who has his Dependance on other Kings; a Prince jesuited, who can neither lead us in Time of War, nor trade with us in Time of Peace; a Prince, by the Situation of his Country, every Way unprofitable to us; and that, no less perilous for his Majesty's Daughter to live in: I resolve myself, that he is of too excellent a Judgment ever to accept of it, and his honourable Council too wise and provident to advise the Prosecution thereof. Now, if his Highness should be pleased to ask my Opinion, with what Christian Prince he should match his Sister, were it in his own Power and Choice to make Election, I humbly desire to be excused herein; for, would it become me to presume so far? It is true, I have heard it, that some Overtures have been made for the Prince Palatine of the Rhine; certainly he is as well born as the Duke of Savoy, and as free a Prince as he is. The Nation is faithful; he is of our Religion, and by him we shall greatly fasten unto us the Netherlands: And, for the little Judgment which God has given me, I do prize the Alliance of the Palatine of the RHINE, and of the House of NASSAU, more than I do the Alliance of Ten Dukes of Savoy. And thus ends his Discourse on the Marriage of Princess Elizabeth.

What followed was, that about a Twelvemonth after the writing of those Discourses, the said Prince was married to *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhine* *, afterwards King of *Bohemia*; a Match, which might have well answered all the advantages expected from it, at least one that had never been attended with such a Series of calamities, were King *James* to have been loved, if not through Honour and Power, as Sovereign, yet through Nature and Affection, as a Father, to have granted them a seasonable Supply against their Enemies. Instead of which, his indulging, beyond all Apprehension of Possibility, at least all Production of precedent, blessed peaceable Temper, as his Flatterers called it, to the sitting down a quiet Spectator of his Childrens Overthrow, and their Fortunes, occasioned, not only all the lamentable Wars which succeeded throughout *Germany*, to the utter Ruin of his said Son-in-law, and all the Princes who assisted him; but also those of his Successor at Home, throughout his own Dominions: For, daring not draw his Sword, through Fear of offending the *Paniard*, he sat musing at Home, one while, how to raise Money by Privy-Seals, Benevolences, Crown-lands and Woods, either to cram his insatiable Favourites, or else to fit out more prodigal and frivolous Embassies, than would, by Arms, have settled his Children unmoveably in their Throne; and, at other Times, how to improve

* This Marriage was celebrated on the 14th of February 1612, in such Pomp and Splendor, that the Jewels only, which were worn by the King, Queen and Prince, were valued that Day, by his Majesty himself (upon Occasion of Discourse happening of the Bravery then appearing) at 900,000 £. Sterling. Sir *John Finet's* Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors, 3vo. 1656. p. 11.

his Sovereignty ; or pick Quarrels with his Parliaments, and entail them to his Heirs-general.

As for the Prince of *Wales*, he is said to have first encouraged the Prince Elector to attempt his Sister ; desiring more to head an Army in *Germany*, than he durst make shew of, and would, no doubt, have been bravely followed : But alas ! that Fate, which so often suffers the unworthy to flourish, deprived this Kingdom of Prince *Henry*, it less than a Month after the Arrival of the said *Elector*. Some have insinuated, as if the *Spaniards*, because his Highness approved *Ralegh's Discourse* touching a War with *Spain*, had a Hand in his untimely End ; alledging, that, if *Philip* the second cut off his own hopeful Son *Charles*, for pitying the People of *Flanders*, it can be no wonder he (or his Son) should promote the Destruction of a Stranger, who did so far applaud the Advice of *Ralegh*, as to say, *No King, but his Father, would keep such a Bird in a Cage*. But, from more intestine and unnatural Sources, his sudden Death is surmised by others to have sprung ; the Disease being so violent, that the Combat of Nature against it, in the Strength of Youth (he being almost 19 Years of Age) lasted but few Days. Here it is somewhat remarkable, that after Sir *Theodore Mayenne*, with Dr. *Butler Hamond*, and other most eminent Physicians, had used the utmost of their Skill in vain, and had the least Hopes imaginable left of the Prince's Recovery, that these should be at last centered in some Relief that might be had from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and that a Cordial from him (a State-Prisoner) should be sent for, and, with Consent or Approbation, administered, when all other Means had failed, and were given over, as we may gather from Sir *William Cornwallis*, and other Historians of those Times. As to the Effect,

though

though it came too late, so that it might rather prolong Pain than Life for a few Hours, and truly must have been a Kind of Miracle to have restored one so far exhausted, and on the Point of expiring, for he died the same Evening, being the 6th of November 1612: Yet, to observant Readers, it is enough to manifest, first, what high Reputation Sir Walter Ralegh's medicinal Knowledge, through this Cordial, had now gained (and it afterwards increased *) among the most skilful of the Faculty; and

* Insomuch, that there has been a distinct Volume, written upon this Cordial; whereby I find it is not to be taken for that which is called Sir Walter Ralegh's Cordial, in a Book entitled, as I remember, *The Lady's Closet open'd*; for that is only a simple Strawberry-Water. But this here meant, was his Great Cordial, as I find Ralegh in one of his Manuscripts, has styl'd it himself. This Cordial rose into such high Repute, for its sovereign Virtues, in the Reign of King Charles II, and was so much recommended to and admired by him, that he commanded Nicholas e Febvre, the Royal Professor in Chymistry, and Apothecary in Ordinary to his Majesty's Household, to prepare a Quantity of this precious Remedy after the exactest Manner, which the said Chymist not only did, but composed in French also, under his Majesty's Auspices and Command, a Treatise entitled, *Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh*, which he dedicated to the said King: And this was at the same time Translated into English by Peter Belon, Student in Chymistry. For there were both Licensed on the 23d of April 1664; tho' the Translation appears to have been Printed first, because it is dated that Year; and the Original the Year after: The French is in 12°. the English in 8vo. After the Dedication, follows this Introduction of the Recipe: — Eximum Cordiale Regium multis rebus necessariis auctum, secundum consilium & approbationem illustrissimorum virorum, D. D. Kenelmi Digby, Equitis Aurat, & serenissimæ Reginæ matris Cancellarii, & D. D. Alex. Fraijer, Equitis Aurati, & serenissimi ac potentissimi Regis Caroli Secundi, &c. Archiatrorum Comitis. Next follows the Receipt in these Words: — ' Recipe Rasuræ Cornu Cervi, libram unam; Carnis Viperarum cum Cordibus & Hepatibus, uncias sex; Florum Boraginis, Bug'os, & Roris Marini, Calendulæ, Vetonicæ, Coronariæ rubræ, Roris

and secondly, the unsteady and incoherent Opinions which were entertain'd of one and the same Man's Loyalty; that he, who was accused at his Trial of a Plot to extirpate the Royal Family shoulc

Roris solis, Rosarum rubrarum, & Sambuci, singulorum libram semissem; Herbarum Scordii, Cardui Benedicti, Melissæ, Dictamni Cretici, Menthae, Majoranæ, Betonicæ, singularum manipulos duodecim; Granorum Kermes recenter irob redactorum, Cubebarum, Cardamomi majoris, Baccarum Juniperi, Maceris, Nucis Myristicæ, Caryophyllorum, Croci singulorum uncias duas; Cinnamomi acutissimi, Corticis ligni Sassafras, flavedinis malorum Citriorum & Aurantiorum singuloru[m] uncias tres: Lignorum Aloes & Sassafras, uniuscunusque uncias sex; Radicum Angelicæ, Valerianæ, Carlinæ Fraxinellæ seu Dictamni albi, Serpentariæ Virginianæ, Zedoariæ, Tormentillæ, Bistortæ, Aristolochiæ longæ, rotunda & cavæ, Gentianæ & Imperatoriæ, singulorum unciam unam & semissem. Omnia incisa & grosso modo contusa in vase idoneo posita cum spiritu vini rectificato extrahantur secundum Artem. Tincturæ filtratae in extractum mediante, in Mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magna expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixivientur, unde sal purum lege Artis paretur, quod extracto misceatur. His ita peractis, huic extracto adde, ut Artis est, Pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingredientia. Recipe Lapidum Bezoardicorum Orientalium & Occidentalium verorum uniuscujusque unciam semissem, Magisterii solubilis Perlarum Orientalium uncias duas, Magisterii solubilis Corellorum rubrorum uncias tres; Boli Orientalis, Terræ sigillatæ veræ, Unicornu Mineralis, Cornu Cervi Philosophicè præparati, & Cornu Cervi calcinati, singulorum unciam unam; Ambrægriseæ electissimæ in Estantiam reductæ, unciam unam; Moschi Orientalis optimi essentificati drachmam unam & semissem; Croci solis cum tinctura Antimonii Basillii Valentini parati drachmas duas. Sacchari candisati albi subtilissime pulverisati, libras duas. Ex his omnibus mixtis & ex arte unitis fiat Confectio vere Regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pixidibus apprime clausis.' Then the Author aforesaid begins his Discourse with Examples among the Antients of those who have made themselves Famous by their Remedies, as *Mithridates*, &c. and among the Moderns, *Matheolus*, *B. Valentine*, *Paracelsus*, and others; but finds none more worthy, in this particular, than Sir *Walter Raleigh*, because he has not only selected most judiciously whatever

hould yet be so far relied on to save it, as to have
the Lives first of Queen Anne, as was before related,

ver is most Choice and Sovereign in the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral World ; but has also manifested so much Art and xperience in the Preparation of this Great and Admirable Cordial, as will, of itself, render him Immortal : Wherefore he says, he could not restrain the Applauses owing to his Honour and Glory, which he has more than merited by that noble Labour and profound Study, that acquired him the sublime Knowledge he had in the Virtues and Qualities of all those Ingredients, which unite to the Composition of this incomparable Remedy. So he proceeds to explain, first the Virtues of every individual Drug, which, together, cause those rare Effects this Cordial daily produces (says he) as well towards the Healthful as the Sick. Secondly, He specifies how Art helps Nature in the harmonious and exquisite Method of the Preparation. Thirdly, Distinguishes the Efficacy of it in Maritime or Islandic and Northerly Countries. Lastly, What a Preservative it is, as well as Restorative ; and concludes with the Exposition of the Dose, the Quantity, Time and Method of using it. Thus much concerning this Discourse on Sir Walter Raleigh's great Cordial, of which the following Particulars may be here farther observed : That the Author *le Febvre* acknowledging, he had inserted two Ingredients, by the Counsel and Approbation of the abovesaid Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Alexander Fraiser, which were not mentioned in the first Prescription, and which I have marked before in a different Character, being the Flesh, Heart and Liver of Vipers, and the mineral Unicorn which some would have to be the white Loadstone ; it may induce the Curious to enquire whether more Liberties have not been taken with Sir Walter Raleigh's own genuine Recipe. To this end, should be consulted the English Copy thereof, in Sir Kenelm Digby's Collection of Receipts, printed a few Years after *le Febvre*'s Book. Also Sir Walter Raleigh's Book of Chymical Receipts, an original MS. in Sir Hans Shanes Library, marked B. 387. In which Book (all written with Raleigh's own Hand) there are, p. 63. b. these Words, *Our Great Cordial*; and underneath, several Ingredients set down, tho' not near the Number above cited ; but scored out again with a Pen, tho' not illegibly. The next Leaf is torn out, where 'tis supposed Raleigh had writ it more compleatly ; and that from this Leaf, *le Febvre*'s Copy was taken. Lastly, There is a Receipt of this Cordial remaining with a Lady, who is a Descendant from Sir Walter Raleigh ; but, whether agreeing with those in Print, I have not, at this juncture, the Leisure for making a Request to be satisfied.

and now of Prince *Henry*, trusted to his Experiments. But, in a modern Author, we have some further Circumstances of this Passage, which I have not elsewhere met with. For, having spoken of the particular Esteem which Prince *Henry* had contracted for Sir *Walter Ralegh*, the constant Correspondence he kept with him by Letters and Messages, and of the Sollicitations he had so repeatedly made to the King for his Liberty, as what might contribute towards his Majesty's personal Prejudice against *Ralegh*, he adds : *When the Prince fell into his last Illness, the Queen sent to Sir Walter Ralegh for some of his Cordial, which she herself had taken in a Fever some Time before, with remarkable Success.* *Ralegh sent it, together with a Letter to the Queen, wherein he express'd a tender Concern for the Prince ; and, boasting of his Medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an Expression to this Purpose, That it would certainly cure him, or any other, of a Fever except in Case of Poison.* *The Prince dying, tho' he took it, the Queen, in the Agony of her Grief, shewed Ralegh's Letter, and laid so much Weight on the Expression about Poison, that to her dying Day she could never be dissuaded from the Opinion, that her beloved Son had foul Play done him.* If this was true, there might be a Stress too confidently laid on this Medicine, in supposing that nothing but Poison could resist the Power of it, and perhaps some Inadvertency in starting such a Suspicion in a fond Mother, which (in the said modern Writer's Opinion) there might possibly be no Ground for, and might, in the Consequence, prove fatal to *Ralegh* himself ; tho' the same Author also knew, *Ralegh* was not the only Man who started that Suspicion ; for he knew what the Prince's domestick Chaplain preach'd at St. James's on the Dissolution of his Highness's Family ; and he knew what

what the Lord Chief Justice *Coke* not long after said in open Court about the poisoning of Sir *Thomas Overbury*: That it was to prevent the Discovery of another Crime of the same Nature, committed upon one of the highest Rank, whom he termed a *Sweet Prince*; and indeed several Histories of these Times make no Secret of it, where they shew the Bickerings between Prince *Henry* and the aforesaid Favourite *Car*, in Regard to the Countess of *Essex*, not to mention other Motives. However, the Physicians about the Prince gave it under their Hands, which was spread abroad in several Copies, that he died of a strong Malignant *Fever*, after they had anatomiz'd him to amuse the World (says another Writer) and clear the Suspicion of Poison, as if no Venoms could produce the like Effects; while the King, to dispel the Clouds and Monitors of Sorrow, commanded that no Man should appear at Court in Mourning.

Whatever was the Cause of this excellent Prince's Death, *Ralegh* had no common Share in the Loss of him; his Highness having, but a few Months before he died, obtained *Sherborne*, with Intention to return it him, as is already observ'd; and we are further inform'd, that King *James*, to satisfy his Favourite *Car*, who was now Viscount *Rochester*, gave him, instead thereof, 25000*l.* in Money: So far was the Crown from gaining by this Purchase. But now, after the Prince's Death, this *Rochester* got *Sherborne* of the King again; however (as some Kind of Composition or Amends) his Majesty, we are told by *Ralegh* himself, also gave his Wife and Son 8000*l.* for the said Estate. But how it thrived with *Rochester*, is evident enough in the Histories of those Times; where it appears, that in little more than three Years from this Prince's Death, the said Favourite, by the Title of

Earl of *Somerset*, was arraigned and condemned for that black and shameful Business of poisoning Sir *Thomas Overbury*; whereby he not only lost *Sherborne*, but all those other Possessions which the King had so lavishly heaped upon him; for what Merits or Services, may better appear in those Histories, than it is needful they should do here. A to *Sherborne*, on whom it was next bestowed, and upon what Consideration, with the Attempts made after *Ralegh's* Death by his Son *Carew* to recover it; since the Accounts thereof would carry us too far beyond the Period in these Sheets proposed, and indeed do more properly relate to the Story of the Son, than the Father, I shall here refer to an Abstract thereof, in a brief Memorial of the said *Carew Ralegh*, at the Bottom of the Page *; for a

to

* *Carew Ralegh* was born, as is before observed, in the *Tower*, in the latter End of 1604 (or Beginning of the next Year being aged about 13 Years at his Father's Death, as he tells us himself; became a Gentleman-commoner of *Wadham College* in *Oxford* in 1620, as *Anthony Wood* informs us; but indeed rather sooner, because *Carew Ralegh's* own Words are, that, after having been five Years at *Oxford*, he came to Court, and, by the Favour of *William Earl of Pembroke*, his noble Kinsman, hoped to obtain some Redress in his Misfortunes; but the King, not liking his Countenance, said, he appeared to him like his Father's Ghost: Whereupon the Earl advised him to travel, which he did till the Death of King *James*, which happen'd about a Year after. Then returning, and a Parliament sitting, he according to the Custom of this Land, petition'd to be restor'd in Blood, that he might be enabled to inherit whatever Lands might fall to him, as his Father's Heir, or any other Way; but his Petition having been twice read in the House of Lords, King *Charles* sent *Sir James Fullerton* (then of the Bed-chamber) for Mr. *Ralegh*, who being brought into the King's Chamber by that Knight, his Majesty (after using him with great Civility) told him plainly, that he had formerly promised *Sir John Digby*, now Earl of *Bristol*, to secure his Title to *Sherborne* (it being confer'd on him 14th of June) against the Heirs of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon *Digby* had given him, being then Prince, ten thousand

o his elder Brother *Walter*, whose Right it had
irst been to have pursued whatever Prospect there
was

housand Pounds ; so that now he was bound to make good his promise, being King ; and therefore, unless he would quit all his Right and Title to *Sherborne*, he neither could, nor would ass his Bill of Restoration. Mr. *Ralegh* urged the Justice of his cause ; that he desir'd only the Liberty of a Subject, and to be left to the Law, which was never deny'd any Freeman ; but the King was positive, and so left him. After this, Sir *James Fulerton* used many Arguments to persuade Submission, as the Impossibility of contesting with kingly Power, and the many Inconveniences of not being restor'd in Blood ; all which consider'd, together with splendid Promises of great Preferment in Court, and particular Favours from the King, not improbable, wrought much in the Mind of young Mr. *Ralegh*, who, being not full twenty Years old (as he says himself) left friendless and fortunes, it prevailed so far, that he subwitted to the King's Will. Whereupon there was afterwards an Act passed 3° *Caroli* for his Restoration ; and, together with it, a Settlement of *Sherborne* to the Earl of *Bristol* ; and, in Shew of some Kind of Recompence, four hundred Pounds a Year Pension, during Life, was granted to Mr. *Ralegh* after the Death of his Mother, who had that Sum paid during her Life, in Lieu of Jointure. About a Twelvemonth after this, Mr. *Carew Ralegh* married the Lady *Philippa*, Relict of Sir *Anthony Ashley*, a rich young Widow, by whom he had two Sons and three Daughters, and was not long after, at least before the Year 1635, made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy-chamber. Among the ingenious Poems of *Thomas Carew*, Esq; (who was another of those Gentlemen) printed 8vo. 1640, p. 80. there is a Compliment, *To his Cousin C. R. marrying the Lady A.* by which Letters are to be understood this Mr. *Ralegh*, and that Lady *Ashley*. As for the kind Token, which *Anthony Wood* says the King honoured him with at his Majesty's leaving *Hampton-court*, and going into the *Isle of Wight*, anno 1647, it was no more than a Picture of the Lady *Stanley*, as I remember, which was Mr. *Ralegh*'s own Property ; therefore she King, among the Letters he left on the Table, desired, in one of them, the said Picture might be returned him, as may appear by those Letters which were then printed, or the Extract of them in *Heath's Chronicle*. In the Year 1650, and afterwards, several little Tracts of his Father's were publish'd and dedicated to him. In 1651, there was a Committee for the Sale of Delinquents Estates ; and about that Time the Earl of *Digby* being fled to France, Mr. *Ralegh* had a fair Prospect to recover his Estate,

was of retrieving the said Estate, he died before their Father, as will be more particularly remembered towards the Conclusion of this Work.

But which of these two Sons was attended in his Adventures by *Ben Johnson*, is not easy distinguish from the Words of an Author, who writes, *That Johnson's Mother, having married her second Husband a Bricklayer, took her Son fri*

Estate, therefore deliver'd his Case in to the said Committee and it was order'd, ‘ That this Case be reported to the House with the Opinion of this Committee ; That they conceive him a Object of their Mercy. He also, about the same Time, drew a brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, and address'd to the Parliament. But whether printed before his Death I know not, (the Edition here used being dated three Years after wherefore his Case and Petition were laid aside. In 1655 came out the Observations on Sanderson's History of King Jam which this Historian supposing to be writ by Carew Ralegh, publish'd an Answer to it the same Year, with some scandalous and unworthy Reflections therein upon him : But no one has given Heed to them. He certainly made his Court to the Commonwealth of England, in Hopes of getting Sherborne by their Means.

Hence *Wood* says, he cringed to Men in Power, and was made Governor of the Isle of Jersey, by the Favour of General Monk, in the latter End of January 1659, as *Whitlock* has recorded. At the Restoration of King Charles II, his Majesty would have confer'd some personal Honour upon him, but he declined it in Hopes of something better ; the King therefore knighted his eldest Son *Walter*, who died soon after at *We Horsely*, in *Surrey*, his Father's Seat, which had, I think, been the Earl of *Dorset*'s ; for his Will is dated from thence, as a Friend who has seen it informs me. This was sold after Mr Ralegh's Death to Sir *Edward Nicholas*, Secretary to King *Charles*. He had another Seat at *Kenton Park* near *Hampton-Court* which, I think, he sold himself ; and dying in 1666, was buried in the Month of December according to *A. Wood*, in his Father's Grave ; who further says, he has seen some Sonnets of his Composition, and certain ingenious Discourses in MS. also a Poem set to Musick by Mr. *Henry Lawes*. Sir *Henry Wotton*, in his Letters, gives him the Character of a Gentleman of dexterous Abilities, and he is by others mentioned with Honour ; but far, God wot (says *Wood*) was he from his Father's Parts, either as to his Sword or Pen.

estminster-School (where he had made a hopeful progress under the learned Camden) and made his work at her Husband's Trade : 'till being pitied by some generous Gentlemen, Camden got him a better Employment ; which was to attend or accompany a Son of Sir Walter Raleigh in his Adventures ; where-gaining Experience, he made his Company acceptable among many. Now if this happened before Ben Johnson took to acting or writing of Plays, as it said Author relates it did, then Sir Walter Raleigh's eldest Son was scarce old enough to go to School, much less upon Adventures. Besides, this Son never made, that we can hear of, more than one Adventure abroad, from which he never returned ; therefore he could not part with his Attendant or Companion Ben Johnson in the manner it said Author intimates he did after their Return. Then if we suppose it the other Brother, Carew, he never made any Adventures at all, nor stir'd out of England till six Years after his Father's Death, and then only upon a short Tour for about Twelvemonth ; which was near thirty Years after Ben Johnson became a Dramatick Poet or Writer for the Stage ; and when he seems rather to have wrote himself into his Pension from the Crown, or otherwise into such easy Circumstances, as render it unlikely he should attend even on Carew Raleigh in those Sorrows and Difficulties he was then under, and consequently in the whole, that either one or other should part with him *not in cool Blood*, as our said Author thinks, after their Return. Had the Time of his going abroad with the younger or the elder Brother been better adjusted, that Particular of their Parting would need no Regard ; seeing by what Trifles, what Misunderstanding between themselves, or Misrepresentations by others, such Divisions are made between Persons, who would,

or might otherwise be most serviceable and beneficial to one another.

If *Ben Johnson* was of such a surly and *hypercritical* Disposition, as some Men's Writings, and indeed some of his own, have represented him ; as makes such parting the more plausible, if there ever been any such Meeting, so it is probable would have distill'd with more Acrimony from h Pen, when he was giving a Character of *Ralegh*: an Author, than that he could find nothing to condemn, either in his Judgment or his Stile.

But as for *Ralegh*'s Temper, to all who had Dependance upon him (and they were very numerous in the Time of his Felicity) especially toward those of any liberal Knowledge and Education it appears to have been of singular Candor and Benignity. There are Examples, further than what have been beforementioned, of his Courtesy, superior to that of many other great Persons in his Time, towards such Men of Parts as any ways relied on his Patronage or Protection ; and publickly asserted by those themselves, who had taste the Benefits thereof. He has also, under his own Hand, recommended such generous Treatment, a most coercive, especially to such as live under the Power or Command of others ; and exploded the Austere, the Imperious Regimen, as what is liable to betray its Practitioners no less into Peril than Disdain ; where he shews, how contemptibly the Vain, with effectual Sourness, counterfeit the Gravity of the Wise, because the Shadow of Reverence, thereby obtained, has Power to delude the Eyes only of Underlings ; and how thus, the Time wherein by using it well, Men might attain to be such as they ought, they usually mispend. in seeking to appear such as they are not : Yet withal,

not only how deceivable, but dangerous a Course his is ; procuring, instead of the Respect that was hoped for, more Indignation than was feared. Many other weighty Counsels and useful Precautions to this purpose, are dispersed up and down his Writings, both in Print and Manuscript, which (for brevity) I forbear here to recite.

But here, as *Ralegh* has been occasionally mentioned in the Character of an Author, we are reminded, that it is high time he should be considered more particularly in that Light ; which cannot in any Place more properly be done, than in this sedentary part of his Life, when most of his Works were written. Here then we are arrived at that part of his Story, wherein he will appear, rather Collegian than a Captive ; a Student in a Library, than a Prisoner in the Tower. On this Occasion, we cannot but reflect, how well such productions, in such a Situation ! Such spacious Exercises of Genius, in such a contracted State ! will prove, that, Tho' the Soul of Man, by a Fly, or a Hair, may be separated from the Body, Ty-nny itself cannot confine it to the Body ; and at the same Time, how trifling a calamity Confinement must be, to those who have well employed their Liberty. Some Men, impatient under so many Years Restraint, would have pined obscurely away by Despair ; and others with Rage, have made their Bonds more galling : But *Ralegh*, as in many other Disasters, so in this, has left us no common Example of an heroick Mind. In him we may observe, there is no levelling a sublime Spirit with the Subalterns of Nature : Press it on one part, it will still rise in another ; and be like some hardy Plants we have seen, whose Heads will shoot forth and flourish in the Sight of Mankind, tho' their Roots are closely fettered in Walls of Stone.

Happy then are they, who in their Youth have so fortified themselves with Knowledge, and attained to such a Relish of Literature, that, wheresoever they are driven by the Persecutions of Power, they can make the Contemplation of Wisdom beguile the Sense of their Sufferings ! Who out of the most prevailing Examples in all Ages, of Patience and Prudence in all Exigencies, can set themselves Lessons of Fortitude, and Tasks of Imitations ! Who can, out of the Misfortunes of others, extract Consolations for themselves ; or partake in their Prosperity, and make it Tributary to their own Contentment ! Such carry with them an infallible, and undeprivable Solace ; which can relieve them in Poverty with inestimable Treasure, manumit them in Prison with intellectual Liberty : For the Multitudes of Anxieties which surprise illiterate and uncultivated Minds, even in the midst of the most splendid Affluence or Adulation, are inaccessible to them, under the darkest Clouds of Indigence or Reproach.

That *Ralegh*, in his greener Years, did attain to such a Taste of Letters as all his succeeding Avocations could never remove ; and which proved not only an Ornament to those his earlier and happier Days, but a Relief in his Age and Afflictions even so as to render him under his darker Fortune and Condition more illustrious than he was in his brightest Prosperity, may appear by a Survey of his Writings from the juvenile Productions of his Pen, to the more numerous and mature Offspring of his present Confinement. But in this Survey we think not the simple chronological Method will be either needful or acceptable ; which tho' easiest and readiest for transcribing, would be most crude and disjointed in reading ; and yet be incapable of admitting all into their true Order, because we

have

have not the Time that several of his Pieces were written. Therefore, that we may carry on our Discourse with some Coherence, we shall attempt at such a Digestion as, upon a little Review, will naturally arise, or most conveniently, at least in this Place, lead us, as out of a flowry Garden, into the high Road again of publick Action; for I might, perhaps, recommend some Variation, in this Arrangement, of the same Pieces, if they were to be revived in a uniform and methodical Edition of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Works; so that the junior Efforts of his Muse, or more extemporary Products of his epistolary Correspondence might not, as here for Dispatch, lead up the rest.

Now as for these Productions of his Muse, since several of them are mentioned in the former part of these Sheets, they need be here only recapitulated; as his Poem on *Gascoign's Steele-glass*; *The Excuse*; *The Silent Lover*, the Answer to Marloe's *Pastoral*; with his Poem of *Cynthia*, and two more on *Spencer's Fairy Queen*. Since the Time that these seven were before spoken of, I have met with four other such like poetical Pieces, which seem also to have been composed by the same Hand, from those elegant Taulologies or Retornellos wherein his Sonnets and Madrigals are usually so correspondent with one another. These were all written long before this his Imprisonment, as were probably some also in the *Ashmolean Library*; namely, *Erroris Responsio*, and his Answer to the Lie, &c. Besides, we find there is a satirical Elegy on the Death of the Treasurer *Cecyll*, Earl of *Salisbury*, written within this Period, likewise ascrib'd to him; and we have still three Pieces more of his Poetry written afterwards, and but a short Time before his own Death. These are of a solemn Nature; as his Pilgrim, his Epigram in Allusion

to the Snuff of a Candle ; Lastly, a Divine Stanza, which is call'd his Epitaph.

Next we might speak of those shorter Pieces also in Prose, his Letters ; and these, being written in all parts of his Life, cannot perhaps be improperly enumerated in this. I have seen of them in Print and Manuscript to the Number of twenty-eight : Fourteen or fifteen of them have already been made use of in the foregoing Sheets ; and the rest, as they likewise are of personal Import, will be serviceable in the Remainder, so they need not be more particularly distinguish'd in this Place.

But those more continued Compositions which were the Result of Experience and Occasion in his several publick Professions or Engagements of Life, will, perhaps, first demand our Observation ; such as relate to his Character as a Warrior, a Sailor, a Discoverer of unknown Countries, and a Politician vers'd in the Interest of Nations and the Arts of Government. Among these, we may first mention his military Discourses ; and these concern either a Defence of *England* in particular, or contain general Arguments and Examples of the Causes and Reasons of War among Mankind. On the former Subject, he seems to have drawn up several Remonstrances which are but sparingly and slowly come to Light. However, from what has before been observed, of his having had a principal Hand in the Determinations of the grand Council of War, for putting the Nation in Arms when it was under immediate Apprehensions of the *Spanish Invasion*, there is good Reason to believe he was also the Author of a Treatise, containing Notes of Direction for such Defence of the Kingdom : Written three Years before, when the said Enemies were beginning to shew their Designs. To this Treatise was

also,

also joined a Direction for the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, whether in Campaign or Straits. And these were then presented in MS. to the Privy-council. Herein, one Advice is, since Frontier Forces are unlikely to prevent an Enemy from landing, that if they should land, through the Deficiency or Absence of our Shipping (for this is the Force *Ralegh* was ever for having first us'd against such foreign Invasions) it were better by driving or clearing the Country of Provisions, and temporising, to endeavour at growing stronger, and rendering the Enemy weaker, than to hazard all by a confused and disorderly Descent of the Populace to oppose the first landing, as their Custom heretofore was. But this, chiefly, among the said Reasons and Positions, for preventing an invading Enemy, was a little before the Approach of the Spanish Armada oppugned by *Thomas Gibbes*, Esq; Muster-Master-General of her Majesty's Forces in the Low-Countries, in a Discourse of the *best Order for repulsing a foreign Force*, &c. which he then exhibited in Print. This produced an Answer, which, having been found in an old manuscript Copy among others of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Discourses, has lately been published; and which, by several Circumstances therein, agreeing with many in his Life as well as with several Orders in the aforesaid Council of War, several Passages in his *History of the World*, and his other Writings, offers may Reasons to believe it was written by him.

But if we would see his Opinion upon this Subject in a more extensive and universal Manner, it must be in his Discourses of the original and fundamental Cause of natural and necessary, arbitrary and customary, holy and civil Wars; which tho' also published several Years after his Death, have sufficient Marks of Genuineness upon them. There are

are other Writings of his besides, which relate to this Topick. But as War in them is treated of subordinately, and rather with respect to some national Advantages, wherewith it might have been maintained against our Enemies as the Posture of Affairs then was, or the personal Behaviour of some particular Men, so we may think it more proper to speak of them under other Divisions.

Among these, that which admits of his maritime Discourses, may not perhaps be least observable, being a Subject so scarcely handled by Men of such Learning and Experience, yet of such Importance to a People in our Situation. And under this Head, that which should here be perhaps first spoken of, tho' indeed one of the last Pieces he wrote in this State of Durance is, his Discourse of the Invention of Shipping, &c. wherein he treats of the Use, Defects, and Improvements thereof ; the Strength and Deficiency of the Sea-forces of *England*, *France*, *Spain* and *Venice*, with five Causes of the Rise of the *Hollanders* : His Encouragement of a mutual Friendship between them and *England*, as also of the *Newcastle* Trade. This might lead us more particularly to his excellent Observations and Notes concerning the royal Navy and Sea Service, which he dedicated to the Prince of *Wales* as is before-mentioned ; therefore all we need observe more of it in this Place is, that herein he discourses under distinct Heads, of the Officers of the Navy, of some Errors to be reformed in Ship-building ; and others, in harbouring and manning the Fleet ; of surcharging them with great Ordnance ; the Defects in sheathing and calking ; the Abuses in victualling ; Inconveniency of the Cook-rooms of mustering and pressing Mariners ; of Arms and Munition ; and lastly, of Captains to serve in his Majesty's Ships. With the second Head or Chapter in

his Tract, agrees his Letter to Prince *Henry* before poken of, concerning the Model of a Ship. And in his Introduction to the said Observations, as was also said, our Author mentions a *Discourse of a maritime Voyage, with the Passages and Incidents herein*, which he had formerly written to that Prince. This, if it is now in being, must, I think, remain still in Manuscript; for no other Knowledge of it have I elsewhere met with; therefore it has, I fear, endured the same Fate with that other Work, probably, more copious and considerable, and to which, as what might seem designed to bring the others into Practice, they may appear only preparatory. This Work, though taken Notice of by no other Author who has written of him, is thus mentioned by himself. *Of the Art of War by Sea, I have written a Treatise to the Lord Henry Prince of Wales. A Subject, to my Knowledge, never handled by any Man ancient or modern: But God has spared me the Labour of finishing it, by the Loss of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sun, we shall find the Effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equal Words and Sorrows: I will therefore leave him in the Hands of God that bath him: Curæ leves loquuntur; ingentes stupent.* This may lead us up to such of his Discourses as represent this Art in Execution, particularly those two gallant naval Actions wherein Sir Richard Greenvil lost his Life, and himself won a most signal Victory, of which his own Pen has preserved the faithful Memorials in his *Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Azores*, and his epistolary Account of the *Action at Cadiz*; both of them before abstracted into this Work. Nor did his Care terminate in the best Advice for the Regulation and Maintenance of our Shipping, or in recording some of the most notable Atchievements performed therewith,

with, but extended to the Choice and Reparation of the most convenient Harbours for their Reception; and that not only by his Speeches in Parliament, as we have already seen, but also by a Memorial he presented to Queen *Elizabeth*, touching the Port of *Dover* in particular; declaring how honourable and profitable to her Majesty, how necessary and commodious for the Realm, the rebuilding it would be; with the least expensive, and most perfect manner of performing the same.

But if we advance to his more extensive pursuit and performances relating to that Topick, they will lead us into a new Geography, into Discoveries and Descriptions of unknown Countries, with the Voyages which himself and others under his charge and directions made to that Purpose. And under this Head would fall those Papers and Discourses of his, concerning the Discovery, Plantation, and Settlement of *Virginia*, which were in the Possession of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, as was before observed; but whether now recoverable I know not, nor what is become of his Treatise of the *West Indies*, which seems to have been a very comprehensive Work, by the short Sketch himself has given of its Contents before quoted.

Better Luck seems to have befall'n his Writings upon *Guiana*; for we have at least four of his Discourses on that Country in being, though they, probably, are not all he writ thereon; as first, his *Considerations on the Voyage for Guiana*, which I never saw in Print. Secondly, his *Discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana*, which he printed himself, and being, before, largely used and spoken of, the less need be said of it here. Thirdly, his *Journal of his second Voyage to Guiana*. This remains still in Manuscript, and perhaps should do so; it being unfinished and full of Chasms,

seeming to contain only Notes and Observations or his own Memory, when he should have leisure at his return into *England* to digest and fill up the Particulars in a continued Discourse: Accordingly it seems to have supply'd him therewith, when he wrote his *Apology for the said Voyage*. But as both these will be made use of in the subsequent part of our Narrative, 'twill be then time enough to speak more distinctly of them. And there also will be mention'd the four or five Letters we have of his extant concerning the said last Expedition.

After his writings, becoming the Character of an able Commander both by Land and sea, if we look for him as an Author in the Civil or Political Capacity, we may find him there also no less eminent; we may behold him in this light no less qualified to govern Nations, than in the other to conquer and defend them. Some of his Compositions under this Distribution, are of a general Nature; as that call'd the *Seat of Government*, viewing it to be upheld by the two great Pillars of Civil Justice and Martial Policy; and how this fram'd out of the Husbandmen, Merchants and Gentry of the Realm. The rest of these Ranks or Degrees he calls the Fruit Trees of the Kingdom; or those who gather the Honey, yet hardly enjoy the Wax: And as these feed, so the second Sort enrich it; nourishing such Trades as have assisted our Kings with great Sums of Money, and great Fleets, upon Occasion; while the third Sort, our Gentry, he calls the Garrisons of good Order throughout the Realm; or means rather they have been, or should be such, more than they were in these latter Times, to agree with a Note he has elsewhere dropt upon them. But this little Essay appears, by one Expression towards the Conclusion mentioning something to be hereafter prov'd;

which is not) to be no more than a Fragment. The like we apprehend of his *Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulence of Cities*, from a Word in the very first Paragraph referring to such People as seem to have been before mentioned. Tho' in the main this is a general Discourse, it bears some particular References to rude and barbarous People ; and might possibly be the Result of such Considerations as must have engaged his Mind, when those Propositions were in foot for founding the City of *Ralegh* in *Virginia* as was before intimated. In this little Essay, after having spoken of the Means to civilize and reformat such a People, he proceeds, under distinct Heads, to treat of the best Situations of Cities for Safety and Plenty ; of the Multitude of Inhabitants, Religion, Academies, Courts of Justice, Artificial Privileges and Triumphs ; so concludes with the three Causes of confirming a City in her Greatness, Justice, Peace and Plenty. Of a more extensive Nature still is that Treatise we have of him called *Maxims of State* ; being a methodical Compendium of Government in all or most of its Forms and Branches ; with many of its Chapters analytically digested for the sake of Brevity and Perspicuity. Herein having explain'd and defin'd the Words Government, Policy, State and the Office of Sovereignty, he proceeds to distinguish the several Sorts of Monarchy, Aristocracy, Free State, Tyranny, Oligarchy and Commonwealth. Then of the founding a State, with its Parts, and of preserving it under those several Forms, by Mysteries or Sophisms, Rules or Actions. Lastly the Conversion of States, general and particular by foreign Invasion, domestick Sedition, or Alteration without Violence. Thus ends this Treatise ; to which is joined, as a kind of Corollary,

or the better use of the Book, two or three Pages in the Story of *David*: From whence an inference is drawn, *that old Age is not always unfit for Government*; and also a defence of that Prince for marrying *Abishag*: So closes with a portrait of political Nobility, in the Story of *Adonijah* aspiring to the Kingdom; with Observations of the Marks to discern such Practices; and another of the *Political Prince*, in a farther Example of the said King *David*; who, tho' aged, deserted, and rebell'd against by many of his Nobles, stirr'd up himself to publick Action, and thereby shew'd his vigour and Sufficiency to manage the Affairs of his Kingdom. Herewith may be mention'd that larger Treatise bordering upon these Subjects, which is call'd *The Arts of Empire*, &c. * but handled in a different Manner. It is divided into twenty-six Chapters, defining publick Weals, and Differences of Sovereignty; more particularly the three Kinds of Monarchy, and how to perpetuate them. Also of Councils and Counsellors, Officers, Commis-

* This was first published with the Title of *The Cabinet-Council, containing the chief Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabineted, &c.* By the ever renowned Knight Sir Walter Ralegh: published by John Milton, Esq; 8vo. 1658, who prefixed this Motto, *Quis Martem Tunica tectum, Adamantina digne scripserit?* The Editor's Opinion of this Book and its Author, he farther offers to the Reader in these Words, "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 withdraw longer the Work of so eminent an Author from the publick; it being both answerable in Stile to other Works of his already extant, as far as the Subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a learned Man at his Death, who had collected several such Pieces. John Milton." In the second Edition it was titled, *The Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of State discabineted, &c.* 8vo. Lond, 1692; containing 238 Pages, and beginning with these Words, *A commonwealth is a certain sovereign Government of many Families, &c.*

sioners, Magistrates and Ministers of State. Of Justice, Treasure and War. Of Neighbouring Princes. The Character of an Excellent Prince Art of Ruling. Of princely Authority, Power and Force. Of Conspiracy and Treason, publick Hatred, Diffidence and Dissimulation. Of War, defensive and invasive, Law of Arms, Soldiers and their Discipline. Of Generals and Commanders Councils of War, Directions tactic and strategic; with Advice how to make an honourable Peace. Of Civil War; with the Causes and Remedies thereof. And the two last Chapters contain a Collection of Political Observations, and Maxims of State; or prudential Grounds and polemical Precepts concerning all States and Forms of Policy, &c. confirm'd by select Narrations and historical Precepts.

But if we descend to those political Writings of our Author, which were occasionally compos'd: and with more particular Regard to the Exigents of State in his own Time, through the Virtues of a penetrating Eye into the Drifts of every neighbouring Nation, and an undiscourageable Heart for the Security and Interest of his own; we shall find them still more numerous. And these, as they most of them have a special Regard to *Spain*, might proceed from the perfect Knowledge he had of that Kingdom and its tyrannical Practices. One Instance hereof we have in that Discourse of *The Spaniards Cruelties to the English in Havanna*; which is ascrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, with other Tracts, in a Volume among the Manuscripts of a late Person of Honour. His many other Observations of this Kind might well produce his *Consultation about the Peace with Spain*, and our protecting the *Netherlands*, of which some Account has been before given; as also that other Treatise,

How War may be made with Spain and the Indies, mention'd in the same Place. Directions for such an Enterprize may be easily presumed to have been effectually enough given by the same Hands that was also Author of *The present State of Spain, with a most accurate Account of his Catholick Majesty's Power and Riches*: Also the Names and Worth of the most considerable Persons in that Kingdom: A Manuscript which I have not hitherto been so successful as to meet with. Yet take it to be a different Performance from that also written by our Author, and entitled, *The present State of Things, as they now stand between the three Kingdoms, France, England, and Spain*; whereof there is a Copy in being.* Further, it was this intimate Knowledge he had in the State of all the European Princes, which so well qualified him to give the approved Advice he did in those two Discourses he wrote upon *The Match propounded by the Savoyan, between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont*: And that between *Prince Henry of England, and a Daughter of Savoy*, of which we have several manuscript Copies, and, as I have heard, the original also extant. The same Knowledge likewise, enabled him so dexterously to éviscerate the corrupt Doctrines, and pernicious Designs of the Papists, in his *Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant; shewing how dangerous their Principles are to Christian Princes*. Another excellent Tract we have of his in this Way of Writing is, his *Dialogue between a Counsellor of*

* In the Harleyan Library, N° 38. B. 3. 'Tis a Tract of about three Sheets and a Page in Folio, copied, as appears, about the Reign of King Charles I. and begins with these Words, *the three great Kingdoms, France, England, and Spain, as they now stand, may be compared to the Election of a King of Poland, where there are three Factions, and in the End, two of them join'd together, are able to overcome the third.*

State, and a Justice of Peace, better known in the printed Copies, by the Title of his *Prerogative of Parliaments*; dedicated with a true and generous Spirit of Wisdom and Loyalty to King James. These two Dialogues will give a perfect Taste of our Author's Manner in these his lesser Compositions, and are answerable to the Character before deliver'd of his *Consultation about the Peace*, above-mention'd. The last Tract we have to speak of under this Partition, except perhaps a short unprinted *Discourse of the Words Law and Right* also ascribed to him, and to be found in the *Ashmolean Library*, is intitled, *Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander, and other Nations, as it was presented to King James*; wherein is prov'd, that our Sea and Land Commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other Countries against our own. But as there are some Reasons to doubt whether Sir Walter Ralegh was the Author of this Treatise; I need say no more of it in this Place; yet shall throw them into a Corner of the Page, *

where

* Roger Coke, in his *Detection of the Court and State of England during the four last Reigns*, printed 8vo. the third Edition, 1697, speaking of Ralegh, page 83, fixes these *Observations on Trade and Commerce* upon him in these Words: While he was thus
‘ confined, he was the first who made publick the Growth by
‘ Sea of the Dutch, and the Riches they deriv'd from their Fish-
‘ ing upon the Coasts of England and Scotland, and the Conse-
‘ quence which would necessarily follow, not only to the Loss
‘ of the King's Sovereignty of the British Seas, but to the Trade
‘ and Navigation of England otherwise. After that, one Tobias
‘ Gentleman set forth another Treatise of this Nature, and how
‘ this Fishery might be carried on from the Ports of England; and
‘ dedicated it to the King. But the King, wholly giving him-
‘ self up to Pleasure, neither minded one, nor regarded the
‘ other.’ That Gentleman was a Fisherman, or other like Sea-
faring Man, and I have seen his Treatise; but published long
before this, I think, was, which that Historian ascribes thus to

Sir

where they may least interrupt the progressive
View of his remaining Writings:

These

Sir Walter Ralegh. The first Edition of these Observations I could ever meet with in Print, is in 12mo. 1653, and it was bound up with the second Edition of *Ralegh's Remains*, 1656. Its anonymous Publisher appears to be the Bookseller; who had no other Authority for appropriating it to Sir Walter Ralegh, but the Opinion of a Person who recommended it to him as a genuine Piece of his Writing. 'Tis true, our Author has touch'd, after a different Manner, upon the Topick, in some of his Tracts, and particularly at the End of his *Discourse of Shipping*; where he laments, ' That Strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own Commodities, and those of foreign Nations.

But I think no Treatise of his will be found that descends so much into minute Examples, Calculations, &c. However, not to except at this, because a Treatise upon Trade may require Observations suitable to the Subject, it does not appear probable, that the Author of these Observations, whose Project was, as he tells us, " To erect twenty Busses in some Sea-ports Town, so by Degrees to extend a thousand or two over the Nation; who was one that had traced this Business, made his Endeavours known not only to the King, but his Noblemen, Merchants and others, who had made him Subscriptions to disburse large Sums of Money for building up this great and rich Sea-city;" should be a Prisoner all this while in the Tower of London. No, this Protector, further proposing to constitute a State-merchant, for these Purposes; and praying, in the Conclusion, that the King would give him leave to nominate the Commissioners for conferring upon, and making Report thereof to his Majesty, seems to have been some manufacturing or mercantile Man, one ambitious of that Office himself, and consequently none of Sir Walter Ralegh. But if from the Subject whereon, we bend our Consideration to the Time when this Tract was written, we shall find further Objection against entitling our Author to it. For the very first Words of the Dedication are, " According to my Duty, I am embolden'd to put your Majesty in Mind, that, about 14 or 15 Years past, I presented you a Book of such extraordinary Importance for Honour and Profit of your Majesty and Posterity, and doubting it has been laid aside, &c. I am encouraged to present you with one more, &c." Now if we allow the first Book to have been presented in the very first Year of the King's being in England, then this second must have been presented in 1617 or 1618,

These we shall divide but into two Parts, and then perhaps one of them may be best comprehended under the Topic of Philosophy. This Way seems to look, by its Subject, that short *Treatise of the Soul* ascrib'd to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whereof there is a Copy preserved among the *Ashmolean* Manuscripts. It was never publish'd, I think, and I have not yet seen it; therefore can say no more, at present, of it. But we have in Print, another Treatise which may be admitted under this Head, being built on the Doctrine of *Pyrrho the Greek Philosopher*, entitled, *Sir Walter Ralegh's Sceptick or Speculations*. This Doctrine, shewing how much may be said for and against the same Things; such an ingenious Exemplification of it as this little Tract contains, may, if discreetly used, prevent many rash, dogmatical Determinations

1618, when Sir *Walter Ralegh* was out of *England*, or his Thoughts far differently engag'd. But the greatest Object of all is, that there are several Manuscripts of this Treatise in the Libraries of our Nobility and Gentry (more ancient than the earliest Edition in Print) which, as I have observ'd, do entitle it to one *John Keymer*, possibly the Merchant or Vintner of that Name, whom *Ralegh* many Years before had licensed to retail Wine in *Cambridge*, as is related in the foregoing Part of this Life. With one of these Manuscripts (the most ancient I have seen) among the Collections of the late Mr. *Granger*, there was another, written also in the same little neat old Hand, ascribed to the same *Keymer*, and which I take to be that first mentioned in his Dedication last quoted; and also to agree in its Contents with *John Keymer's Observations made upon the Dutch Fishery, about the Year 1601*. Demonstrating there is more Wealth raised out of Herrings and other Fish in his Majesty's Seas and the neighbouring Nations in one Year, than the King of Spain hath from the Indies in four: And that there were twenty thousand Ships and other Vessels, and about four hundred thousand People then set on Workly Sea and Land, and maintained only by Fishing upon the Coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Printed 8vo. Lond. (from the original Manuscript) for Sir *Edward Ford*, in the Year 1664. Whoever has read these two Pieces, will allow that one Hand writ them.

and inure us to a wary or prudent Suspence of Judgment: For the *Sceptick*, as our Author describes him, does neither affirm nor deny any Position, but doubts of it, and opposes Reasons against that which is affirm'd or deny'd, to justify his not consenting; because he may report how Things appear, but whether they are so he knows not. This little Tract, as it is here handled, relates chiefly to our Senses; but another we have, upon a more dignified Topic, as concerning our Manners, or Virtues and Vices; therefore what might be more particularly subdivided under the Distinction of Moral Philosophy; and it is call'd, *Instructions to his Son, and Posterity.* A Treatise well becoming an Author, who had seen the World in so many Climates, and Life in so many Changes. It is written in a perspicuous Style, with forcible Arguments, and on the most practical Subjects. These are interspersed with several memorable Admonitions, the Fruits of his particular Experience, wherefore may claim a Part in his personal History; and being apt to rivet in the Mind, may prove of constant Use and Service; as touching upon the most incidental Engagements in Life. Thus, in his first Chapter upon the *Choice of Friends*, he says: *Tho' I persuade thee to associate with thy Bettters, or at least with thy Peers; yet remember always, that thou venture not thy Estate with any of those Great Ones who shall attempt unlawful Things; for such Men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shall be sure to impart with them in the Danger, but not in the Honour; and to venture a sure Estate at present, in hopes of a better in future, is mere Madness: Besides, 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 Advance-*

ment, than acknowledge it. I could give thee a thousand Examples ; I myself know it, and have tasted it in all the Course of my Life. From his next Chapter, on the *Choice of a Wife*, we have before given Extracts in this Work. His third against Flatterers, ends with this Reflection : *Thou may'st be sure, that he, who in private will tell thee of thy Faults, is thy Friend ; for he adventures thy mislike, and hazards thy hatred : Few can endure it, every Man for the most part delighting in Self praise ; one of the most universal Follies which bewitches Mankind.* From the fourth Chapter of private Quarrels we have already given a Taste and here, the chief Caution he further urges to prevent the Inconveniences thereof, is ever to beware of unadvised Speech. *He that cannot refrain from much speaking, says he, is like a City without Walls.* And a little further, *In all that ever I observe in the course of worldly Things, I ever found, that Mens Fortunes are oftner made by their Tongue than by their Virtues, and more Mens Fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their Vices.* In the fifth Chapter, among the Rules recommended to preserve an Estate, the most pressing is against Suretiship ; advising rather to give a part of what a Man has, than live in continual Apprehension of losing both it and his Friend. *If thou art bound, says he, for a Stranger, thou art a Fool ; if for a Merchant, thou puttest thy Estate to learn to swim ; if for a Churchman, he has no Inheritance ; if for a Lawyer, he will find an Evasion by a Syllable or a Word to abuse thee ; if for a poor Man, thou must pay it thyself, if for a rich one, he needs it not : Therefore from Suretiship as from a Man-slayer 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 shalt chuse to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a Beggar : and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy Thoughts ; that whatever Virtue thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy Qualities shall be despised. In the sixth Chapter, upon Servants, he has this Advice : If thou trust any Servant with thy Purse, be sure thou take his Accompt e'er thou sleep ; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then, afterwards, for Tediousness neglect it ; I myself have thereby lost more than I am worth. Whatever thy Servant gains thereby, he will never bank thee, but laugh thy Simplicity to scorn ; besides, 'tis the Way to make thy Servants Thieves, who else would be honest. The seventh Chapter is only a Word or two against exceeding in the Bravery of gay Garments, as what will soon wear out of Fashion, when Money in the Purse will always be in Fashion. The eighth is upon Riches (and as it seems by the Beginning, should follow the Fifth) herein exhorting against the Attainment of them by base or evil Means, he charges his Son, as, never to destroy any Man for his Wealth, so, by no Means further to impoverish the Poor ; but above all Things, to exercise Compassion towards them, as the best Way to Prosperity and Peace of Mind. Use, says he, thy poor Neighbours and Tenants well ; pine not them and their Children, to add Superfluity and needless Expences to thyself. He that has Pity on another Man's Sorrow, shall be free from it himself ; he that delights in, and scorns the Misery of another, shall, one Time or other fall into it himself. The ninth is against the Inconveniences of delighting in Wine, as being the greatest Enemy to Health, Trust, Honour and Preferment ; and the last Chapter begins thus : Now for the World, I know it too well, to persuade thee to dive into the Practices thereof ; rather stand upon thy own Guard against all that

tempt the 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. So concludes with advising him to make God his Director in all his Actions.

With these Instructions to his Son, which have I think, been oftner printed than most other of our Author's lesser Pieces ; there is usually joined in all the Editions I have seen, *The dutiful Advice of a loving Son to his aged Father.* 'Tis a Religious and Rhetorical Exhortation to prepare for his latte End ; written in a general Manner, but how probably by our Author, or by either of his Sons it is left to the critical and discerning Reader. All the Works I have met with further ascribed to Sir Walter Ralegh, bearing any Affinity with thi Class, are two Manuscripts, which might be distinguished under the Branch of Natural Philosophy.

The first is his Treatise Of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals ; a Subject on which he very probably might write, both from his own Observation in the West-Indies, and those Engagements he might also have in his Native County of Devon, with his Brother Sir Adrian Gilbert, who first, in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, begun to work the long neglected Mines in Comb-Martin (whence King Edward III. had supply'd his Wars against France) and was followed by Sir Beavis Bulmer, who from those Mines recovered a great Quantity of Silver, out of which, he caused two massy Goblets to be made ; one whereof was presented to the Earl of Bath ; and the other, weighing one hundred thirty seven Ounces, to the Lord Mayor of London in the 35th of the Queen's Reign. So that what Cicero says to his Friend of this Island, that it yielded not a Drachm of that Metal, was false in

Ralegh's Time, and what he could not be sure was true in his own. But whether the said Treatise is so particular as to mention any Thing of this I know not, having never seen it. The second Manuscript is Sir Walter Ralegh's *Collection of Chymical and Medicinal Receipts* for fixing *Mercury*, preparing *Antimony*, and for the Cure of several Diseases. His Application to Studies of this Kind, may perhaps be somewhat accountable from the Patronage, which, as in a Note before cited, it appears he had shewn to *John Hester*, the famous Chymist, with the Conversation there might probably pass between them, and the Knowledge he had learn'd from the *Guianians* of curing all manner of Poisons, &c. 'Tis apparent, that he bestowed some portion of his Time upon the Use of Lembicks and Crucibles while he was in the *Tower*, and seems to have had a kind of Laboratory there for his said Operations. A view of him in this light will explain the Expression in a Character of him given by Dr. *Joseph Hall*, the venerable Bishop of *Norwich* (whom Sir *H. Wotton* calls the *English Seneca*) where he speaks (among other Things, which will be hereafter observ'd) of Sir Walter Ralegh's *Philosophical Experiments* in the *Tower*. And other Authors might be produced, who, in their Character of him, also refer to his profound Knowledge in the Mysteries of Nature, or his Investigations thereof, through the Animal, Vegetable, and Mineral World, for the Benefit of his Countrymen, notwithstanding some memorable Attempts to advance their Prosperity in the Political World, had met with much Discouragement: As if, tho' he could not absolutely recover them from some Indispositions or Corruptions of the Mind, he was hereby resolved to try how serviceable and successful he could be against the Maladies of their Body.

How elaborately soever many of these Pieces are allowed by others to have been written, our Author locked upon them but as little Excursions, or Sal lies, as he calls them, from his grand Labour, mean that Ocean of History, wherein he has out done all that went before him, and given such Lights to Futurity as must ever be grateful. A Voyage, which, *If begun even in the Dawn of his Day, when the Light of Knowledge first broke out upon his younger Years, and before any Wound received either from Fortune or Time, he might yet well have doubted (as he observes himself) that the Darkness of Age and Death would have overtaken him long before the Performance.* But being undertaken, as it was in the Evening of a tempestuous Life, a Life so far run out in Travels and Considerations of such opposite Nature; for one under the soul-piercing Privations of Honour, Fortune, Freedom! One buried alive! to attempt such a universal Revival of the Dead! And, while his Body, under all those pressures, was so long incarcerated, for his Brain to be delivered of that *Minerva*, as one calls it, his *History of the World!* is an Example, that might puzzle such an Historian even as Raleigh himself to parallel. For, beginning at the Creation, he has given us the Flower of recorded Story down to the End of the second *Macedonian War*. Thus having reviewed the three first Monarchies of the World, he leaves *Rome* in the fourth, Triumphant, about a Century and a half before the Birth of Christ, comprehending a period of near four thousand Yeas. This Work was divided by our Author into five Books, who annexed to it a very copious and useful Chronological Table; and it was with the further Decorations of Maps, Tables of Genealogy, &c. publish'd in the Month of April, just before the Meeting of the Parliament, in a large

arge Volume, *Folio*, 1614. The Approbation it has met with since the Author's Death has been so universal, that if they are different Editions of the Book to which we may see different Dates printed, we may venture to say, no Work, of any Author in *England*, has been so often reprinted that is of equal Size and Antiquity. The several Characters and Commendations which have been bestow'd on his History as well by miscellaneous Writers, who have frequently quoted it with great Deference and Respect, as by Historians and Criticks, who ave closely traced and throughly examin'd it; and as well in Verse, as Prose; would be too numerous to be here inserted, could they be recover'd. To provide therefore as well against the ignorance as the Satiety of those Readers who have not met with them, a few are presented in the Annotation here directed to. *

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* This may not perhaps be better introduced than in the Relation of Bishop Hall, who in his ingenious Book of *Consolations*, has these Words, " A wise Man, as Laurentius the Presbyter observed well, does much in Solitude. So may'st thou employ the Hours of thy close Retiredness, and bless God for so happy an Opportunity. How memorable an Instance has our Age afforded us of an eminent Person to whose Imprisonment we are all obliged, besides many philosophical Experiments, for that noble History of the World now in our Hands? The Court ad his youthful and freer Years, and the Tower his latter Age; the Tower reformed the Courtier in him, and produced those worthy Monuments of Art and Industry, which we should have vain expected from his Freedom and Jollity. It is observed, that shining Wood, when it is kept within Doors, loses its light: it is otherwise with this, and many other active Wits, which had never shin'd so much, if not for Closeness." Thus in a Treatise call'd, *Balm of Gilead; or, Comforts for the Distress'd, both moral and divine*, by Dr. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, 12mo. 1652; afterwards reprinted under the Title of *The Art of Patience, &c.* 8vo. 1684. In the *Familiar Letters* of James Howell, Esq; speaking of this rare and renowned Knight,

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He took no ordinary Care to deserve these Encomiums; for besides his own Learning, Knowledge

he says, "His Fame shall contend in Longevity with this Island itself, yea with that great World which he Historiseth so gallantly." In another well-known Book of his, call'd *Dodona's Grove* or, *The Vocal Forest*, discoursing of *Ralegh*, and describing him to have been, "A Cavalier of a spacious Understanding, and of no vulgar Reach in Policy, scientifical, and full of abstruse Nations; he adds, "That tho' his Body was under Restraint, an coffin'd up so many Years, yet he never travers'd more Countries than then; for his Brain ran over all the World, as appears by that famous Monument he transmitted to Posterity, and hung up in the Temple of Fame, while he was as it were buried alive. But in the Life of the Lord *Stafford*, written by *Anthony Stafford Esq;* 4to. 1640, this Author goes so far as to say, That if Sir *Walter Ralegh's History of the World* had been written in the India Tongue, we should not have scrupled or avoided the Pain of learning that Language, only to read it. If we consult what Character the Historians give it, we may find many of them who never name it without some Epithet or Sentence in its Praise. Thus Dr. *Heylin* in one Place calls it an *excellent History*; in another, the *first or chief of Histories*. And thus in the Preface of Dr. *William Howell's Universal History*, who must have had continual Occasions of inspecting our Author's, 'tis said, That Sir Walter Ralegh is never to be mentioned without Honour. *Shirley*, in his Life of our Author, gives it as his Judgment of his History "That for the Exactness of its Chronology, Curiousness of its Contexture, and Learning of all Sorts, it seems to be the Work of an Age." And a little further. "That a Man, who had been the greatest Part of his Life taken up in Action, should write so judiciously, so critically, of Times and Actions, is a great a Wonder as the Book itself: and it still remains in Doubt, whether the Age he liv'd in was more oblig'd to his Pen or his Sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old World." And Mr. *Echard*, in the Preface of his *Roman History*, admires that Part of *Ralegh's History* which treats of the *Roman Story*. "Especially the last Hundred Years, which, says he, are written with very much Spirit and Judgment, and all of it with as much Skill and Clearness: yet that all before the first *Panick War* is not proportionably copious to the rest." But how duly it was consider'd by this particular Historian, whether that was not a judicious Disproportion,

edge and Judgment, which many would have hought sufficient for any Undertaking, he with hat Caution, wherewith we have beheld so many thers of his great Enterprizes temper'd, would suffer no Part of this History to pass his own Hand, before some of the most able Scholars, whom he assemhled, it seems, for this Purpose, ad debated the Parts he was most doubtful of, and they most conversant in, before him. Thus in the *Mosaic* and *Oriental Antiquities*, or fainter and more remote Footsteps of Time, he would sometimes consult the learned Dr. *Robert Burhill*. In all Parts of Chronology, Geography, and other ranches of mathematical Science, he wanted not the Opinions of the learned *Hariot*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*'s three *Magi*, long his Neighbours in the Tower; and wherever he scrupled anything in the Phrase or Diction, he would hear the acute and ingenious Sir *John Hoskyns*, sometime so Resident in these Confines; who viewed and reviewed the said History, as we are told, before went to the Press, and whom *Ben Johnson*,

on in our general Historian, may be left to the Examination of others.

To this we may join the Character of Dr. *Henry Felton* in his *Dissertation upon the Classics*, where he says, "Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* is a Work of so vast a Compass, such idles Variety, that no Genius but one adventurous as his own, durst have undertaken that great Design. I do not apprehend any great Difficulty in collecting and common-placing an Universal History from the whole Body of Historians; that is nothing but mechanick Labour. But to digest the several Authors in his Mind; to take in all their Majesty, Strength and Beauty; raise the Spirit of meaner Historians, and to equal all the Excellencies of the best; this is Sir Walter's peculiar Praise. His Style is the most perfect, the happiest, the most beautiful of the ge he wrote in; majestick, clear and manly; and he appears very where so superior rather than unequal to his Subject, that the Spirit of *Rome* and *Athens* seems to be breathed into his Work."

proud of calling others his Sons, could gratify that Humour in calling Father. Thus having spared no Labour, and neglected no Means to bring this Work to the Perfection wherein we behold it, 'tis no Wonder that some Scribbler or other should, upon finding it so universally read, endeavour to raise himself a little Profit or Credit from it, by pretending that the World needed an Abridgment of its History, as if that wherewith Sir *Walter Raleigh* has presented us, either is, or was intended for any Thing more. But this more specious Kind of Detraction meeting with no Countenance, the Author of it threw out another, of Animadversions upon this History; but as insignificant and no less disregarded than the other, being agreeable to that unhappy Spirit of Contradiction which ever harraff'd him to oppose the greatest Writers in his Time.

But that which is more considerable concerning this History is, whether our Author ever continued it down to his own Times; and whether, on some Pretence that this first Part did not meet with Encouragement, he ever destroyed the said Continuation himself, as we have it in the Mouths of every Body when they speak of him, but in the Belief of no-body who knows any Thing of his Story or his Character. All that he says himself, in the least glancing this Way, is first in his Preface, *That he proposed to confine his Discourse with this our renowned Isle of Great-Britain*. And *That he forbears to promise a second or third Volume, which he intends if the first receives Grace and good Acceptance, for that which is already done may be thought enough and too much*. Lastly, in the Conclusion of the History he says, *Whereas this Book by the Title 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 Discou-*

Discouragements persuading my Silence, it has pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the World to whom they were directed; whose unspeakable and never-enough lamented Loss has taught me to say with Job, *Versa est in luctum cithara mea, & organum meum in vocem flentium.* From hence it seems plain enough, that our Author had only some Plan, or perhaps a few rough Draughts of some succeeding Parts of the History at this Time drawn up, and that he was discouraged from making any further Progress in them. Allowing his Mind might change, and that there was Time enough to finish the remaining Volumes between this Year, and that of his Death, which is scarcely allowable; yet as we know how most of that Time was employ'd by him, it will admit of no room for any such Performance. For in 1615, the Year which followed that wherein he publish'd his History, two at least of his most elaborate Tracts beforemention'd were written. The same Year he was also busy in writing Letters, and making other Interest for his Releasement, which he obtain'd before it was quite expired. After this, it will no less appear, that he made himself too eminently the subject of modern History, to be any further an Author of that which is ancient. There is, indeed, a little Intimation of the Design he had upon some ancient Part of our *English* Story, preserved in a Letter of his own, written it seems, tho' undated, before his great Work was publish'd, to that Acquaintance, whose Library was most likely to accommodate him with those uncommon Books which he wanted for his Purpose. This Letter is as follows. *Sir Robert Cotton, If you have any of these old Books, or any Manuscripts wherein I may find any of our British Antiquities; if you please to lend them me for a little while,*

while, I will safely restore them, and think myself
much beholden unto you: Or if you have any o.
French History, wherein our Nation is mentioned
or any else, in what Language soever. (So sub-
scribes himself) Your poor Friend, W. Ralegh. But
this does not sufficiently assure us, whether the
Use of these Books was to continue his *General
History*, or furnish him upon some more particula
Subject, however, we may incline with the Writer of Sir Robert Cotton's Life to the former Opin
ion. And as for the Reasons of one ingeniou
Author, why Sir Walter Ralegh was the most pro
per Person to write the History of his own Time
and the Opinion of another, That his admirabl
Performance, already published, sufficiently shews
that if he had attempted the History of his own
Country, or his own Times, he would have ex
cell'd even Livy or Thucydides; and that the An
nals of Queen Elizabeth by his Pen, without dimi
nishing from the serious and judicious Camden, ha
been the brightest Glory of her Reign; and would
have transmitted his History as the Standard of our
Language, even to the present Age: These are still
no Affirmatives that he did finish such a second
Part. So that his own Intimations in the first
Part, reserv'd and inconclusive as they are, seem
to have been the only Foundation of that formal
Story, How Sir Walter Ralegh, a few Days before
his Death, sent for Walter Burre, the Bookseller
who had printed his first Volume, and taking him by
the Hand, asked him, How that Work of his had
sold? who answer'd, So slowly that it had undone
him; hereupon Ralegh stepping to his Desk, reach'd
out the other Part of his History, which he had
brought down to the Times he liv'd in, then saying,
with a Sigh, Ah Friend! has the first Part undone thee?
the second Volume shall undo no more; this ungrateful
World

World is unworthy of it; so stept to the Fire, threw it in, and set his Foot on it till it was consum'd. But, as we observed before, Raleigh had no Leisure to finish such a Second Part of his History down to his own Time. In the next Place, 'tis no ways probable that he, who, in Regard to the first Part, could follow the Rule of *Seneca*; that he, who having satisfied his own Conscience, could disregard the Censure of others, should sacrifice so great a Part of his Labours, or any Part, in such a rash and inconsiderate Manner, to the sudden Representations of a Bookseller, without ever suspecting any mercenary Ends in him. Further, it does not appear true that the first Part did sell slowly, for there was a second Edition of it set forth by that very Bookseller, within three Years after the first; and lastly, the first Man we can meet with who reports the same, is a trifling and superficial Writer, who produces no Authority for his Assertion.

As to the unfinish'd Parts he might have of such a Continuation, to admit that they were thus destroy'd would, moreover, in no wise agree with an Account we have more satisfactorily attested of that great Quantity there was in Being of Sir Walter Raleigh's unprinted Writings, several Years after his Death. For it is affirm'd to us, *That the famous Mr. Hamden, a little before the Civil Wars, was at the Charge of transcribing 3452 Sheets of Sir Walter Raleigh's Manuscripts, as the Amanuensis himself told me (says my Author) who had his close Chamber, his Fire and Candle, with an Attendant to deliver him the Originals, and take his Copies as fast as he could write them.* Yet what is become of this Treasure now, I have not been able to learn; for, if we suppose that Mr. Hamden would not be at the Trouble and Charge of transcribing any of our

our Author's Writings which had then been printed; and grant that all of his which have been printed since that Time, as well as all we can hear of remaining in MS. which are allow'd to be his were Part of that Collection or Quantity, this will not, both join'd together, as might be computed from what is here observed of them, amount to a fourth Part thereof, tho' we should admit two or three Pieces more, also ascribed to him, which have not yet been named, and happen to fall under his historical Division. The First of them is call'd *A notable and memorable Story of the cruel Warre between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries*: Gather'd out of Polybius and other Authors by that famous Historian Sir Walter Ralegh. The other two Pieces might seem to fall within the intended Continuation of his Universal History; but the first of them, call'd *The Life and Death of Mahomet*; *the Conquest of Spain*; together with the *Rising and Ruin of the Saracen Empire*, ascribed to Sir Walter Ralegh near twenty Years after his Death, by the Bookseller who dedicated it to his Son, is, except a few Leaves about that of *Mahomet*, no more than a Translation of an Epitome made by some ignorant Spanish Author, chiefly from what one of his own fabulous Countrymen had written of a fictitious Prince named *Jacob Almansor*, as I have been assur'd by a Gentleman of great Knowledge both in the Spanish and Oriental Writers. But the Stile itself, so uncouth in some Places, so meagre in others, and incorrect, especially in known Things, Places, and Persons, might of itself exclude our Author from having any hand in it. The other Piece is stiled, *An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England*; with the Reign of King William I. entitled *the Conqueror*, written by Sir Walter Ralegh. It was near four-

ur score Years after his Death before this was published. Yet there are several old manuscript Copies of it in the Libraries of the Curious, which title him the Author of it; but it was written at least two Years before he publish'd his *History of the World*, because it was inscribed to a Person who died so long before the said Publication, these Words: *I intend by the Help of God and our Furtherance, right noble Earl of Salisbury, to write a brief History of England from William the first, entitled the Conqueror, to the End of Queen Elizabeth of perpetual Memory.* But by then his *History of the World* was finish'd, he was, as we have observed, also from his own Words, disengaged from all Continuation. To these Disengagements might be added, the ungrateful treatment which was shewn to this Part he did publish, at its first Appearance: For tho' we have observed what universal Approbation it has met with since the Author's Death; yet how it was receiv'd as soon as it came abroad and made its first Visits at Court, we are yet to relate.

Those, who thought the King must needs be a patron of Authors because he was one of the Number, have been ready to insinuate, that his Favour increased towards *Ralegh* in Proportion to the proofs his Pen had given of his Abilities; therefore, that his many excellent Writings, and especially this *History of the World*, were the most powerful Intercessors for his Releasement out of the Tower; as if his Majesty, in respect to his own Honour, thought it in vain longer to confine his person, since no Condition could confine his Fame; or, in Regard to *Ralegh's* Merit, that he had well deserved no Place should be a Barrier to his Liberty, who had given such extraordinary Testimony that no Age could set a Bound to his Knowledge. San-

derson has describ'd the Freedom which not long after ensu'd, to one of those Motives ; where he says, Sir Walter Ralegh, *wearied with long Imprisonment, and having there spent his Time well in the History of the World, made his Petition more passable to the King ; whose Love to Learning granted him now at last his Liberty* ; and, not long after *Leave to wander after a Design to the Western World where he had been in several Climates before.* But others, who seem to have known the Matter much better, or have more ingenuously imparted it, assure us, that Ralegh's excellent Talents were so far from ingratiating him with the King, *that tho' his Majesty had been intemperately praised by Flatterer for some of the weakest of his own Compositions, yet he could not forbear, out of an impertinent Emulation to affect Sir Walter Ralegh the less, because of the great Repute which followed him for his excellent Pen.* Nay, we are elsewhere told, in Answer to Sanderson above, that Ralegh's *History of the World gave the King so much Displeasure, that at its first Publication it was forbid ; and particularly, for some Passages in it which offended the Spaniard ; also for being too plain with the Faults of Princes in his Preface.* For it is, indeed, replenish'd with many remarkable Examples of divine Vengeance pour'd forth on Princes of many other Nations as well as our own, who strove to establish their Thrones by Oppression and Iniquity. That Passage in Answer to Sanderson, is so far from being deny'd by this Writer, that he afterwards confirm'd it in Contradiction to what himself had written as above, about Ralegh's Petition being made more passable by his History ; where, after his gross Manner of Interpretation, he says, *King James and all other Princes had Cause of Complaint, because his whole Book sets out the Eastern Monarchs with*

with much Glory, and exclaims against Christian Princes as most inhuman; tracing all the English sovereigns from the Conquest, especially Henry the Eighth; whom, for his Daughter's Honour, Sir Valter Raleigh might have spar'd from Gall and bitterness. And a little further, King James might perhaps observe more, to repress the Wickedness of such a Person, who, under Pretence of taxing a Vice in the Father, intended cunningly to stain the whole Race, &c. This Objection against Raleigh's Character of the King, is more particularly ascribed to King James by another Writer also before-cited, who tells us, *That after much Scorn cast upon Raleigh's History, the King, being modestly demanded What Fault he found? answered, as one surprized, that Raleigh had spoken irreverently of King Henry the Eighth!* as if he would have reflected a Breach of Gratitude upon our Historian towards his Benefactress the late Queen, in speaking such Truth when he was to give a Character of her Father as, not only others who read it must concur in, seeing the Historian has so many Proofs at his Finger's End to confirm it; but what that King himself, were he alive, on whom it was written, must also have allowed; since it is only a Paraphrase upon his own dying Confession, that he had been a Prince, who never spared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Lust. But if King James could thus object against Raleigh for one Character, and pay him no Thanks for another which follows in the same Paragraph of that Preface, and in some Parts of the History itself; this may perhaps best shew where lay the Breach of Gratitude. But however his Majesty might think it a Kind of Blasphemy, that any below the Dignity of Princes should be the Censors of them: Yet that Objection aforesaid seems not to be the natural Cause, says our last-

quoted Author, of his Dislike to this History, since none ever exclaim'd more against that Prince than usually King James himself did. And others, more particularly still, are inclin'd to believe, that any Liberty Ralegh may have taken with the Character of other Princes, was not so much the real Cause of such Disgust in King James, as, through the Insinuations of some mischievous Sycophants about him, who knew well what Humour might be most agreeably fed, that several Parts of the History contained an oblique and artful Exposure of himself and his Ministry; as if, truly, the general History of the World was chiefly a secret History or Satire upon his Court; and Scotch Faces were to be seen in it, stuck upon old Jewish, Babylonian, or Assyrian Shoulders. For, as one has observ'd There was a Time, when one of our most renowned Historians could not comment upon a Piece of the Old Testament, without being thought to write a Libel upon his own Times; and the King was almost led by fancy, he saw his own Features in the Face of Ninias the Son of Queen Semiramis; but surely, if he could think his Justice censured in the Story of Ahab's taking away Naboth's Vineyard, and no commendation in that of the French King's Conduct towards his Judge and Admiral of France; he must not only have been a very captious and self-tormenting Reader, but have satiriz'd himself more sharply by engrossing of Application, or acquiescing in Resemblances, than he could have been by that Author, had he really intended any. But the Truth is, that conscious Minds can find in every Example something to chastise themselves; and, to Stomachs vitiated, through foul and unwholsome Administrations, with evil Habits, the most innocent Diet is upbraiding. That Ralegh foresaw his Enemies would make such perverse Construction and Misuse of his History,

History, is evident enough in his own Words ; where, mentioning the Choice he had made, at least exceptionable, of the elder Times to describe, he yet anticipates this Objection, *Against this Choice also : Why may it not be said, that in speaking of the pass'd I point at the present ; and tax the Vices of those who are yet living, in their Persons who are long since dead, and have it laid to my Charge ? But this I cannot help, tho' innocent ; and certainly, if there be any, who, finding themselves spotted like the Tygers of old Time, shall find Fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me falsely.* Yet such Fault there was, we see, found ; and so falsely was he accused. Thus the Honour which should reward a publick Benefit, is stifled by private Prejudice.

We are therefore to seek some other Mediator for *Ralegh's* Deliverance out of Prison than his Merit by this publick Benefit ; and that, we shall at last find to be his Money, tho' other Causes in our common Histories are also suggested, especially that which seemed most effectual, the Offer he made of fitting out an Expedition to secure, and possess for the Crown, a Gold Mine in *Guiana*, which he had himself discover'd when he was formerly in that Country ; and which, since that Time, had been by others so amply testified, that further Confirmation was not now requir'd. So that *Ralegh's* being deceiv'd by *Keymis* with Ore of a golden Complexion, which he brought from thence, or by any chymical Tricks, such as secretly slipping real Gold with the Ore into the Melting-pot, are foolish Untruths. Now that Offer *Ralegh* had made at least three Years before he obtain'd his Liberty, with no unreasonable Expectation of its being accepted, since King *James* had so publickly asserted and confirm'd the Right of *England*

to that Country, through Sir Walter Ralegh's Conquest and Discoveries therein, with the Submission he had gain'd from the chief Lords thereof, as to have given Commissions and Patents for the Possession of the same, that is to say, all from the River of *Amazons* to the *Dessequebe*, and all the Islands for twenty Miles about, in his Majesty's Name which were accordingly executed in all due Form by Captain *Charles Leigh* and Captain *Robert Harcourt*, which last left a Colony there of thirty Persons for three Years, as may be read at large in the Narratives of their several Expeditions. Besides the publick Invitations and Encouragement which afterwards ensued, to all who would again settle and plant in that new discover'd Part of *America* gave the Discoverer himself no doubt, the greater Hopes that his own Propositions, being not for his private, but the publick Benefit (yet at his owr Expence, and that of such Friends as he should engage in the Adventure) could not but be embrac'd Add to this, the Advantages of his further knowing the Riches of this Country, even while he was in Prison, not only by the long Conversation he had with those *Indians*, whom we find here with him in the former Part of his Confinement, but others who from Time to Time came over to him. For during this long Imprisonment, he held constant Intercourse with *Guiana*, and was at the Charge every Year, or every second Year, of sending a Ship or more thither, to keep them in Hopes of being relieved from the *Spaniards*, who had again encroach'd upon them, and cruelly massacred both several of the Natives, and of his own Men. So that the Number of Voyages he set forth for *Guiana*, was at least as many, if not more, than those he is before observed to have fitted out for *Virginia*.

But all this Experience, which should have recommended his Offer, serv'd at first only to render it unacceptable. For the Treasurer *Cecyll* being then alive, he, with two or three others who bore the Sway at Court, were resolved to disown it; not that they so much doubted the Probability that such Treasure might remain unpossess'd, or the Knowledge and Resolution of *Ralegh* to compass it, so much as his Disposition towards themselves, if by a successful Return he should purchase the King's Favour. Therefore, to prevent such a Rival as he might prove to them, the Advantage he propos'd to the State was neglected; nay, so deeply had they rooted Prejudices in the King's Breast towards him in this particular, as well as in others before-mentioned, that when his Majesty was solicited by any Person in *Ralegh*'s Behalf (and Royal Sollicitors he had) he, with that implicit Reliance on other Men's Reports, which those in supreme Station so often bury their own Judgments and their Justice in, would answer, *That his Council knew him better than he did.* But after *Cecyll*'s Death, and now that Sir *Ralph Winwood* was Secretary of State, *Ralegh* reviv'd his Proposal to him, and, in a Letter, told him, with relation to those two or three Earwigs who were ever crawling about the King, and at the Mercy of whose Representations he had so long lain, that it was his only Infelicity the King did not know him as well as those Courtiers pretended to do: *For had his Majesty known me,* says he, *I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing me has been my Ruin, and his misknowing them has been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Estate.* But they are all of them now, some living and some dying,

dying, come to his Majesty's Knowledge. We learn further out of the said Letter, that both Queen Anne, who had inform'd herself from the Beginning of all that Ralegh had been accus'd with, and her Brother the King of Denmark, at both times of his being in England, were thoroughly satisfy'd of his Innocency, otherwise they would never have moved his Majesty in his Behalf. And Prince Henry, who had been curious in searching into the Nature of his Offences, had been frequently a Mediator for him, as we have read before. Here-upon, says Ralegh, *The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for Men suspect; but since they have all done it, and with Reference to me alone, you, strengthned by their Example, may with the more Hardiness do the like.* Towards the End, Ralegh having acknowledged, that all he had remaining was owing to the King, and that he was ready to sacrifice it all in his Majesty's Service, concludes with this noble Distinction, *To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World.*

This and other like Addresses to that new Secretary, advanced not Ralegh's Request so much, but he found it necessary to use stronger Interest than what he was here making, and more substantial Arguments than could flow from a Pen. For whatever Pity of his Sufferings, his Merit, and Fame of Learning now begat in many, or by whatever means of the French Ambassador, with others of our own Lords, it is pretended in our common Accounts of him, that he got Freedom of repairing for his Health to his House at St. James's, a Year or two before he procured his Commission for his Voyage to Guiana, we are more positively and particularly told, That Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, Half-brother to the Lady Villiers, afterwards Duchess of

Buckingham, procured Sir Walter Ralegh's Liberty, and had fifteen hundred Pounds for their Labour. It further appears that these used their Power with Sir George Villiers, the new rising Favourite Court, and so obtained the King's Consent for Ralegh's Enlargement: For there is a Letter of Ralegh's Acknowledgments to that Favourite in these Words, *Sir, You have, by your Mediation, put me again into the World; I can but acknowledge it; for to pay any part of your Favour by any service of mine as yet, it is not in my Power. If I succeed well, a good Part of the Honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceeding ungrateful.* In the mean while, and till God discover the Success, I beseech you to reckon me among the Number of your faithful Servants, tho' the least able. W. Ralegh. This Letter is dated only March 17, but probably written in this Year last mentioned, 1615; because three Days afterwards, as Camden has precisely remember'd, Sir Walter Ralegh was released out of the Tower. So that he thus purchas'd his Liberty in the thirteenth Year of his Confinement; that is to say, after he had been (without Intermission) twelve Years, three Months, and five Days, in the said Tower of London, besides near three Months more at his first Commitment thither, and during his Arraignment at Winchester.

At this Time Carr, Earl of Somerset, had been about four or five Months in the said Tower with his Countess, for the barbarous Imposition of Sir Thomas Overbury about two Years before in the same Place, to which he had treacherously driven him, for only having obstructed the said Earl's vile and scandalous Commerce with that lewd Woman, while she was young Essex's Wife. These two Accidents (at this Time drew great Notice) happening

ing (as 'tis observed in a Tract ascribed to the Lord Brook) so much beyond all Expectation; that the one, being a special Favourite of the King, the other a condemned Man; the one imprison'd, the other set at Liberty; gave great Occasion of Speech and Rumour, and so much the more Wonder and Admiration, because of Raleigh's Wit and Policy. Raleigh is further said by the same Author, to have given Somerset many Quips and Taunts during his said Imprisonment; and it may not be improbable, towards such an undeserving Intruder upon his Estate. But, as this Earl of Somerset was convicted of Felony for the said Murder, whereby the Two hundred thousand Pounds he had heap'd up, and Lands to the Income of Nineteen thousand Pounds per Annum being again dispers'd; and as the King had laid that heavy Curse upon himself and his Posterity which he did, if ever he pardon'd any of the said Murderers, it might have been thought that Raleigh's Comparison of himself and that noble Malefactor, would not have been spoil'd, when he said, *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.* Instead of that, Raleigh is said, by the Relater of this Passage, to have been told, the King should reply upon hearing this Observation, *That Raleigh might die in that Deceit;* and so he did, as this Author truly says: For the King now sav'd the Life of the one, as much to the Astonishment of the World, as he afterwards put the other to Death. But he could do no less, if his Favourite was really a Master of such Secrets as are elsewhere spoken of. And this is enough to resolve why the Misfortunes of that Earl, if they may be called such, which at the Worst were more favourable than

than his Merits in any wife deserved, were not equal to his Crimes.

Ralegh being thus at Liberty, soon appears busy in making Preparation for his Voyage. To this Purpose he called in the 8000 Pounds, which he had lent to the Countess of Bedford, reckon'd in King James his Declaration, a competent Satisfaction for Sherborne; tho' it was afterwards valued by the State at 5000*l. per annum*. But seeing that not sufficient to fit out a Fleet in the Manner he found necessary, his Wife consented also to sell her House and Lands at *Micham* in *Surrey*, for which he received 2500*l.* all which and more he expended in this Expedition. And what Frenzy could possess him, as he says himself, thus to dispose of his whole Substance, and undertake such a toilsome and perilous Voyage, now that his Constitution was impair'd by such a long Confinement, besides Age itself, Sickness and Affliction, were he not assur'd thereby of doing his Prince Service, bettering his Country by Commerce, and restoring his Family to their Estates, all from the Mines of *Guiana*; and, says he, *if I myself had not seen them with my own Eyes*. I have not yet heard who was the Purchaser of that Estate at *Micham*; but there is a Letter of Ralegh's to a Nobleman extant, which possibly relates thereunto. It is to intreat him to make an impartial Valuation of some Lands to a rising Favourite, who was to be the Purchaser, and is penn'd in the following Words: *I humbly beseech your Lordship to give me Leave, and Pardon too, if I need it; for the answering of those Things which you were lately pleas'd to object against me; and that you will charitably also consider both of my Demands, and of the Reasons which embolden me to make them. Those Answers go here; in a Paper which is enclos'd, apart; and my Letter shall say but*

H h h

thus

thus much, that the Gentleman, who is so greatly favour, hath many fair Fortunes before him, and u nothing to look for but Misery ; and that he is bett able to give us above the Worth of the Land, th we in condition to abate any Part thereof. A therefore we humbly beseech your Lordship, that yo Compassion and Care of Honour, may be the Juf between his prosperous Navigation, and our Shi wreck : And that your Charity for us, and your Def of Satisfaction for him, may equal the Ballance b tween us. I hope so heartily to find all just Favo at your Hands, as I will venture, upon this, to assu you, that I will do all my utmost to make my Wi and Son forget themselves, and be ever mindful their Duty towards your Lordship ; to whom I ho they will be, as I am sure myself have been, and an a most faithful humble Servant.

Besides the ten thousand five hundred Poun which it cost Sir Walter Ralegh to put himself Equipage for this long-proposed Voyage, a muc greater Sum than would have paid for his Liber of receding from it, or for a formal Pardon, ha he thought he needed, and had gone about to pu chase it ; there were many Co-adventurers, wh by Contributions to the Expence thereof, intitle themselves to a Share in the Returns. But mo of these are called by Ralegh, a Company of Ve luntiers, who had never seen the Sea nor Wars and, except some forty Gentlemen, a very dissc lute, disorderly, and ungovernable Crew, wh their Friends thought it an exceeding good Gain i be discharged of, at the Hazard of some thirty, for ty, or fifty Pounds, knowing they could not hav lived a whole Year so cheap at Home. There were moreover, several Merchants, not only in England but foreign Parts, who contributed to this Mine Adventure ; so confident were they that it was no

Chimera

Chimera, no supposititious or airy Treasure that was promised or pursued. One of these Merchants, afterwards knighted, and very eminent for his Dealings, was named Peter Vanlore, who so approved of Sir Walter Raleigh's Undertaking, that he ot only sent a Letter to his Brother Sir Adrian bibaut in Amsterdam, requesting him to engage nother Merchant there to communicate something ie knew of the Riches in Guiana to Sir Walter Ralegh ; but made that Request in Ralegh's own Maner of Expression, from a Copy which he drew up or him. This Draught, as I have it from the said Original, is as follows : Brother Tibotes, There is a Merchant in Amsterdam, that for the Love he bears o my honourable Friend Sir Walter Raleigh, is consent to discover somewhat of Importance unto him in Guiana, to which Country Sir Walter Raleigh is now preparing to go ; but he doth require Assarance from Sir Walter Raleigh, that he himself may be assured to enjoy such Part of the Commodity discover'd, as he shall agree upon with Sir Walter Raleigh by his Deputy Mr. Henry Hovenar. I do therefore pray you to speak with the Party which Mr. Hovenar will bring unto you, and to know what Assurances he will require, which to pleasure Sir Walter I shall be willing to give ; that is to say, to give him Assurance that upon Sir Walter's Return into England, the Charges being deducted, the Discoverer shall receive from Sir Walter such Part of the said Merchandise as Sir Walter and he shall agree on ; altho' there needs no such Assurance to be given, because his Majestie doth assure all Sir Walter's Partners by the Great Seal of England, That they shall truly and quietly enjoy all their Parts and Shares of what Goods, Merchandise, or Treasure soever, shall be returned ; out of which Great Seal of England, the Discoverer shall have an Assignment for so much as belongs

unto him, to be deliver'd here in London, to whom soever he shall appoint to receive it." Then in a new Line he concludes thus: *To Mr. Peter Vanlore This is the Letter which I desire you to write to your Brother in Amsterdam; and for any Assurance you shall give, I will again put you in Sureties to save you harmless.* W. Ralegh. This Letter is dated July 1, 1616. And if Ralegh had his Commission for that Voyage before this Time, as it appears he had, by his citing it, then it must be erroneously dated, being near two Months after, in King James's Declaration. Here again, that Commission seems to have been given under the Great Seal of *England*; and also elsewhere: In that Declaration, 'tis said to be under the Privy Seal. But there are other Things observable of this Commission as it is there printed, and in other Places, as we shall see presently.

In the mean while we may here observe a little Opposition that was made to this Voyage. And indeed some Persons at Court, who might remember what Advances Ralegh had formerly made there, by the Means of several Exploits which he underwent at a Distance from it; and others, admonish'd by Conscience, that every friendly Gale in his Navigation would be splitting them upon a Rock, might well be expected to obstruct, as far as they could, his Progress: But none do we hear of so impatient and clamorous against it as the Spaniard. For there had been now in *England*, about three Years, an Agent from *Spain*, named *Diego Sarmiento de Acuna*, better known, but not till about the Time of Ralegh's Death, or perhaps after it, by the Title of Count de Gondomar; a Man, who, if he gain'd that Influence he did over King James purely by Art, must be allowed a good Share of Dexterity in the Mysteries of Negotiation; but as he was

was adapted by Nature to sooth and captivate him, no less than by the Pretensions of his Agency, it diminishes the Wonders of his Success in making that King such a Subject to his Enchantments, and keeping him so many Years a *Prisoner* as it were in the *Tower* he had heap'd up of airy and glittering Promises: Yet what Reward was reserved, for all his Services here, in his own Country, and how his ardent Slave to the Will and Pleasure of his Master, was both Executioner of his Royal Pride as well as other Passions, and Sacrifice also at last to them, must be left for those to display who have more Leisure to dilate upon such Retaliations of Providence. This was the Man who (as he is represented in King James's Declaration) now took great Alarm, and is said to have made loud and vehement Assertions to his Majesty in repeated Audiences, that he knew, and had discover'd the Intention and Enterprize of Sir Walter Ralegh to be but hostile and piratical, tending to the Breach between the two Crowns, and the Danger and Destruction of the King his Master's Subjects in those Parts; protesting in a sort against it: To which that the King shou'd answer, (as it is there said after Ralegh's Death) He would send Sir Walter Ralegh with a limited Commission, (but how limited it was will soon appear) and that he durst not upon Peril of his Head, do any such Matter: and if he did, he would surely do Justice upon him, or send him bound Hand and Foot into Spain, with all the Gold and Goods he should obtain by Robbery, and bring Home, were they never so great. Then the King by Sir Ralph Winwood, got both a solemn Protestation from Ralegh, that he had no other Intention but only to go to those Gold Mines; and also a close Letter to his Majesty (as it is here in his Declaration justly call'd) confirming the same.

This

This close Letter was both written close to the Purpose, or in such expressive Terms as to have laid open the whole Scheme of *Ralegh's Voyage*; and also as a Matter to be kept close, or with the utmost Privacy; for 'tis said, that upon such Communication, his Majesty promised, *on the Word of a King, to keep it secret*: And it would have prevented all Supposition of Disingenuity, if this close Letter had been fairly exhibited in that Declaration, had it been when this was penn'd, in the King's Possession, as it ought according to his Royal Promise. On the contrary, this seems to have been the very Letter, by which, through the *Spanish Ambassador's Means*, his Master the King of *Spain* was pre-admonish'd of *Ralegh's* whole Enterprize, and had sent to *Guiana*, before he left the *British Channel*, to prepare a greater Force than his, to oppose him, as will hereafter appear. Nay, 'tis visible by what immediately follows in the said Declaration, both that this close Letter (how closely soever the Contents of it are with-held) did reveal the Particulars of *Ralegh's* naval Strength, and that the King did divulge it to the *Spanish Ambassador*; because it was so far from making him recede from his former Jealousy, that he is discover'd to have objected thereupon against the Number of Ships *Ralegh* had prepared for the said Voyage, to which *Ralegh* then doubtless made as proper Answer, as we shall find he did hereafter. But in short such a Proposal, by one carrying the Reputation of such an active, witty and valiant Gentleman, especially of so great a Commander at Sea, as his Enemies allow he had; one who must be thought most wary above all others of incurring King *James's* Displeasure, under which he had so long suffer'd; one who had given such publick Attestations of his Sincerity

ty in the Prosecution of this Proposal ; and one who, as the greatest Proof he could give thereof, was actually embarking his whole Fortune as well as Credit, together with those of his Friends and Relations, all finding Security for their good Behaviour, without any Charge to the Crown if they fail'd, and with Prospect of great Advantage if they succeeded, was so far from being overthrown by any Remonstrances of the Ambassador himself, or from being thought a most noble and generous Overture by all other Men, that even the King's Honour is acknowledged, in his own Declaration, to have been engag'd, *not to deny his People the Adventure and Hope of so great Riches.* And yet what Character of that King's Honour towards his People, is exposed in the same Leaf of that very Declaration, where it is pretended, that *in his own Princely Judgment he gave no Belief to it*, as being persuaded that in Nature there were no such Mines entire, or that the Spaniards, so industrious in the Chace of Treasure, would have so long neglected the same ; is left to the Reader's Distinction. But it may be best discover'd by the Care taken to secure his Majesty's Dividend so clearly, and to express many other Articles so doubtfully, in the Commission itself, of which we shall now give an impartial Abstract, whether it was from a magnanimous Principle or a mercenary one, from upright Policy or downright Prevarication, that the same was granted ; being as follows.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, &c. Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, intendeth to undertake a Voyage by Sea and Shipping, to the South Parts of America or elsewhere within America, possess'd and inhabited by heathen and savage People, to discover some Commodities and Merchandise profitable for the Subjects

Subjects of our Kingdoms, whereof the Inhabitants make little or no Use; whence may ensue, by Commerce, some Propagation of the Christian Faith and reformed Religion among those idolatrous People: And whereas there are divers Merchants, &c. well disposed to assist Sir Walter Raleigh, had they Assurance to enjoy their due Share of the Profits returned, Sir Walter Raleigh being under the Peril of the Law and whereas divers other Gentlemen, his Kinsmen and Friends, with several Captains and Commanders, are also desirous to follow and venture their Lives with him, if they might be commanded by none but himself We, upon deliberate Consideration, desiring the Benefit of our Subjects, also to give our princely Favourance to the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Friends, as well as to encourage others in the lik laudable Enterprises, advance the Conversion of Savages, and encrease Traffic by our Subjects of this Kingdom, have of our special Grace, &c. granted Sir Walter Raleigh full Power to carry for the said Voyage, so many of our Subjects, or others who will become our Subjects, as shall willingly accompany him; with sufficient Shipping, Armour, Weapons, Ordnance, Munition, Powder, Shot, &c and all other Things as he shall think necessary for the Use and Defence of him and his Company; besides Liberty to exchange or otherwise dispose of his Goods or Merchandise; also to return into this or other of our Dominions with such Gold, Silver, Bullion, or any other Wares, and they to be converted to the proper Use of the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his Company; paying to us, our Heirs, &c. the full fifth Part of all such Gold and Silver, Bullion and Ore of Gold or Silver, Pearl or precious Stones, as shall be imported; with all such Customs, &c. as shall be due for any other Goods whatever. Further to encourage Sir Walter Raleigh and the Adventurers,

we promise in verbo Regio, that no Gold, Silver or
ther Wares by them imported from those Parts so
possess'd and inhabited, shall be seiz'd by us, our
Heirs, or any of our Officers, but that it shall remain
the fifth Part of the said Gold, Silver, Bullion, &c.
s before, with all other Customs and Duties being
uly paid) to the sole Use of Sir Walter Raleigh and
is Company. Further of our most special Grace, &c.
e constitute the said Sir Walter Raleigh to be the
le Governor and Commander of all Persons who shall
avel or be with him in the said Voyage or in their
return. And give him full Power to correct, punish,
ardon, and rule them according to such Orders and
structions as the said Sir Walter Raleigh shall esta-
ish, as well in Cases capital and criminal as civil,
ith marine and other; so that the said Proceedings,
s near as conveniently as may be, are agreeable to
e Laws of this Realm, and to the Christian Faith
w profess'd in the Church of England. And be-
use in such Enterprizes great Inconveniences have
rown by Mutinies and Disorders for Want of suffi-
ent Authority, we give full Power to Sir Walter
alegh, in Case of Rebellion or Mutiny by Sea or
and, to exercise martial Law upon just and apparent
ecessity, in as ample a Manner as our Lieutenant-
eneral by Sea or Land, or our Lieutenants in the
ounties of England. And we give Sir Walter Ra-
gh full Power to appoint such Captains, and other
ommanders and Ministers under him, as shall be re-
quisite for the better ordering and governing his Com-
any. We further command the Wardens of the
inque Ports, Customers and other Officers, quietly
permit Sir Walter Raleigh, and all who shall ad-
venture with him, to pass to the said South or other
parts of America, possess'd and inhabited as afore-
iid, and to return with any Goods whatever, and
sell or otherwise dispose of the same to the only Use

of him and his Company; paying the fifth Part of Gold, Silver, Bullion, &c. as before, importe and other Customs and Duties aforesaid. And the Presents, &c. shall be to the said Wardens, & sufficient Warrant. And we grant to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, that these our Letters Patents or the Rollment thereof, with all the Grants, Clauses, & therein, shall be sufficient and effectual in Law, a Law, Statute, &c. notwithstanding. Witness ourselves, the 26th Day of August, in the 14th Year our Reign of England, France, and Ireland; a of Scotland, the 50th. Per breve de privato sigil

This Abstract is made from the said Commission, as it is printed in King James's Declaration and may agree with that which seems also to have been given us from the Records. Whether there was, originally, any Preamble to it we cannot say. But there are Authors who affirm, that in this Commission King James called him his Trusty and Well-beloved Sir Walter Ralegh. Tho' these may be Words of Course in such like Instruments, if some Words were thus taken out in that Recital aforesaid, it might give Reason of inferring that the same Liberty others have been squeez'd. Yet even as it is suffer'd there to appear, 'tis surely far from being so clearly penn'd in point of the Limitations it is said in his Majesty's Declaration promis'd the Spanish Ambassador: For here is a Limitation to any Part of America, not only the South Parts but elsewhere being authoriz'd, and that are habitable, inhabited in some Degree other by Heathen and Savage People: So vague and equivocal, and disputable is that Distinction. Not one Word of Guiana, no owning of his own Right, or the Power he had lately given to plant there, no Privilege for working any Mine there, nor Prohibition to meddle with the King of Spain.

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Subjects there or elsewhere, as another Writer has well observ'd. On the contrary, full Liberty to carry what Arms and Ammunition they pleas'd for Defence, if they should need it; and lastly, the Royal Assurance of enjoying unmolested whatever they returned with. In short, this Commission must easily be observed to have been penn'd, how clearly soever pretended, as if King James did neither know of Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Intention for and at *Guiana*; tho' a little before, he had the whole Particulars thereof from *Ralegh's* own Hand, or that there were any *Spaniards* planted there; tho' he appears to have known that also from the *Spanish* Ambassador himself, whose own Kinsman, as we shall hear, was sent, during *Ralegh's* Restraint, from *Spain*, to build and colonize upon that very Spot to which *Ralegh* had now this unlimited Commission, as we may rather term it, to go. For 'tis so much the Reverse of that close penn'd Letter wherein *Ralegh* had, so expressively, and so unreservedly, placed his whole Trust of this Voyage in King *James*, that it seems contriv'd, both to hoodwink the *Spaniard* till the Action was over, tho' the King betray'd it himself, and to secure Loop-holes sufficient for the Royal Authority against his Exceptions; but they proved so large, that it was thought expedient, in the End, as we shall find, that the Commission should not be insisted on to limit or restrain any body.

Whether this indistinct Power in that Commission made *Ralegh* more or less importunate for his Pardon, we cannot say. Some indeed write, that he laboured mainly to obtain it; but they are led into that Belief by the Declaration aforesaid: Whereas we find it expressly asserted in a Letter of *Carew Ralegh's*; that his Father had Overtures made him of procuring his Pardon for 1500*l.* by

Sir William St. John, one of the Persons of whom he purchas'd his Freedom, therefore one whose Interest was the less to be doubted in this Particular; but that Sir Walter Ralegh conferring, a little before his Departure from England, with Sir Francis Bacon (newly made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and not long after Lord Chancellor) upon this pecuniary Pardon, he positively advised Ralegh against it in these Words: *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 pass'd already, 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.* But we are elsewhere told, that even for less than half that Money beforemention'd, that is to say, for 700*l.* the said Sir William St. John, and also Sir Edward Villiers (before spoken of) offer'd Sir Walter Ralegh not only his full Pardon, but Liberty not to go his Voyage if he pleas'd; and that he refus'd both; the rather because he was told by Sir Francis Bacon (as above) that his said Commission was as good as a Pardon for all former Offences, as the Law of England could afford him.

And now, near seven Months after the Date of his Commission, began his Fleet to appear, or rather that Part of it which lay in the Thames, and consisted of seven Sail. From the Survey which was taken thereof by the Appointment of Charles Earl of Nottingham the Lord Admiral, on the 15th of March in the Year last named, it appears, that the first of them, or Admiral, a brave Ship, as described by one who might probably have seen it, and built by Ralegh himself, was named the *Destiny*, of 440 Tons, and 36 Pieces (or more) of Ordnance; Sir Walter Ralegh General, and his

Son

Son *Walter Captain*: Besides two hundred Men, whereof fourscore were Gentlemen-Volunteers and Adventurers, most of them Sir *Walter's Relations*; which Number was afterwards increas'd. Second, The *Jason of London*, 240 Tons, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance; Captain *John Pennington Vice-Admiral*, fourscore Men, one Gentleman and no more. Third, The *Encounter*, 160 Tons, 17 Pieces of Ordnance; *Edward Hastings Captain*: (no Men more, except the Master, mentioned) but he dying in the *Indies*, was succeeded in the Command by Capt. *Whitney*. Fourth, The *Thunder*, 150 Tons, 20 Pieces of Ordnance; Sir *Warham Sentelegier Captain*, six Gentlemen, sixty Soldiers, ten Land-men. Fifth, The *Flying Joan*, 120 Tons, 14 Pieces of Ordnance; *John Chidley Captain*, twenty-five Men. Sixth, The *Southampton* 80 Tons, six Pieces of Ordnance; *John Bayley Captain*, twenty-five Mariners, two Gentlemen. Seventh, The *Page*, a Pinnace, 25 Tons, three Rabnets of Brass; *James Barker Captain*, eight Sailors. But before *Ralegh* left the Coast of *England*, he was joined by as many Ships more; so that his whole Fleet consisted of thirteen Sail, besides his own Ship. And tho' we cannot be so particular in the remaining Part, we may yet learn thus much of it, that one Ship, named the *Convertine*, was commanded by Capt. *Keymis*; another, called the *Confidence*, was under the Charge of Capt. *Woolaston*; there was a Shallop, named the *Flying Hart*, under Sir *John Ferne*; two Flyboats under Capt. *Sam. King*, and Capt. *Robert Smith*; and a Carvel, with perhaps another named the *Chudleigh*, besides.

With the former Part of the Fleet *Ralegh* set sail from the *Thames* on the 28th of *March* aforesaid, which was in the Year 1617, and was soon after ready to proceed at the *Isle of Wight*, when several

several little Accidents fell out to retard his Progress; for he stay'd there some Days for Sir *Warham Sentleger*, whose Ship, the *Thunder*, by the Negligence of her Master, was at Lee in the *Thames*: Also after *Ralegh* was got to *Plymouth*, Capt. *Pennington* was not come to the *Isle of Wight*, and when he did arrive, was forced to ride back to *London* to engage the Lady *Ralegh* to pass her Word for the Money which was to redeem the Bread for his Ship, amounting to thirty Pounds, without which he could not have gone forward; nor could Sir *John Ferne* proceed till *Ralegh* had supply'd him with a hundred Pounds by his Cousin *Herbert*, and procur'd him another hundred Pounds of his Friend Dr. *Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*, having furnish'd himself with a third hundred before he came from *Wales*. *Ralegh* tarried also for Capt. *Whitney*, who had a third Part of his Victuals to provide; and to assist him, *Ralegh* generously sold his Plate at *Plymouth*, notwithstanding which, and *Ralegh's* having given him more Countenance than any other of his Officers, *Whitney* ran away from him at the *Granadoes*, and drew Capt. *Woolaston* with his Ship after him: *Ralegh* had further the Patience to wait ten or twelve Days for Captain *Bayley*, which he afterwards ungratefully requited by deserting also the Fleet at the *Canaries*, for no apparent Reason but *Ralegh's* refusing him a *French* Shallop he took in the Bay of *Portugal*; and yet after *Ralegh* had bought her for fifty Crowns, that the *French* might have no Cause of Complaint, *Bayley* might have had her if he had desired it.

For these Reasons he was forced to linger some Months at *Plymouth*, losing thereby a fair Wind, and indeed the Season of the Year. The meanwhile he published in *May* following, such Orders throughout his Fleet, as gained him great Applause,

Applause, for the Regularity and Instruction they establish'd therein. A Gentleman of his Company, in a Tract he wrote of this Voyage, having express'd how many Ways Sir Walter Raleigh was moved to Enterprizes of this Nature more than any other Englishman whatsoever ; by his Wisdom and Learning, Variety of Conference, and Experience of Places he had formerly held ; also how much greater his noble Ends have been than any Man's whatsoever of our Nation who had attempted the like Courses ; he proceeds to the particular Government of his Fleet ; which tho' others (says he) have in some Measure observed, yet in all the great Volumes which have been written, touching Voyages, there is no Precedent of so godly, severe, and martial Government ; fit to be engraved in every Man's Soul that covets to do Honour to his King and Country in the like Attemptis : Then exhibits a Copy of the said Laws, Articles and Commandments, which, we at this present (says he) observe ; and of which, it may not therefore be unacceptable hereunder to present the Heads.*

It

* Bearing this Title; *Orders to be observ'd by the Commanders of the Fleet, and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, bound for the South Parts of America or elsewhere. Given at Plymouth in Devon. 3 May 1617.* They first enjoin, That Divine Service should be read Morning and Evening, or, if interrupted by foul Weather, once a Day. That all Swearing and Blasphemy shall, after Admonition, be fined. That no Man refuse obeying his Officer in all Things commanded for the Benefit of the Journey, or refuse to wait his Turn as directed, the Sailors by the Master and Boatswain, the Landmen by their Captains, Lieutenants and others. Two Captains of the Watch in every Ship to choose two Soldiers every Night to search between Decks, that no Fire nor Candle-light be carried about after the Watch set, nor burning in any Cabbin without a Lanthorn : Tobacco forbidden all Men but upon the upper Deck. Landmen to learn the Names and Places

It was the End of June or the Beginning of July, before all his Company join'd him and he
fail'd

of the Ropes, to assist the Sailors upon Deck. Sailors to be trained as they do Landmen, so that all may be esteemed Sailors or Soldiers, as there is Occasion : Not to chase or board any Ship without Order of the General. To take nothing from any in League with his Majesty ; but, in Extremity, to agree for the Price. Every Night to fall astern the General's Ship and follow his Light, and receive Instructions of the Course to be held, every Morning. If separated by Storms, to open their sealed Billets, first on this Side the *North Cape* if needful ; secondly, at the *South Cape* ; third, after 23 Degrees ; and fourth from the Height of *Cape de Vert*. Upon discovering any Sail at Sea, either to windward or leeward of the Admiral which he cannot discern, if she be large and single, to strike main Top-sail, and hoise it again so often as they judge it to be 100 Tons Burthen, as if 200, to strike and hoise twice, &c. Upon discovering a small Ship, to do the like with Fore-top-sail ; but if many great Ships appear, both to strike the main-top Sail often, and hang out the Ensign in the Main-top. If they go large before Wind, to stand as they do, till it may be judg'd the Admiral had seen the said Signs and Standing. But if you went large at the Discovery, to hale the Sheets after a while, then go large again ; so if they have their Tacks aboard, and you yours aboard at the Discovery, bear up a little and hale your Sheet off again, to shew us what Course they hold. If you discover a Sail by Night to windward of you, and you windward of the Admiral, bear up to acquaint us : If you think you might speak with her, keep aloof, and fire a Piece to give us Knowledge. None to fire any Ordnance but in discovering a Sail by Night, in Danger of Enemies, Fire, or sinking. If you fire by Day we shall know 'tis to make a Ship strike, if by Night we shall know you see more Sail than your own ; if you think we hear not, in a Quarter of an Hour fire again. If you are in present Danger by a Leak. shoot two Pieces soon after one another ; if by Fire, three in like Manner. In foul Weather every Ship to fit her Sails to keep Company with the rest, and not to run so far a-head by Day, but it may fall astern the Admiral at Night. If attack'd by Sea, the Captain to appoint sufficient Assistance to the Gunner, and, if needful, the Cabbins between Decks to be taken down ; all Beds and Sacks employ'd for Bulwarks. Musketeers of every Ship to be divided under Captains for the Forecastle, the Wast and the Poop. Guaners not to shoot great Ordnance at other Distance than

ail'd from Plymouth ; then being encounter'd with
violent Storm some eight Leagues to the West of
K k k Scilly,

ian point blank : Officers to see no loose Powder be carried
between Decks near Linstock, or Match in Hand. Hogsheads
swed in two, filled with Water ready on the Decks, and wet
lankets against Fire. Carpenters to be divided, in the Hold
and between Decks, with Leaden Plates, Plugs, &c. at hand.
proper Number of Sailors to be appointed to every Sail under
proper Commanders : So that all knowing their Charge and
Places, may do their Duty without Confusion or Noise, none
being to speak but the Officers. No Man to board a Ship of
the Enemy without Order. Every Ship under Lee of the Ene-
y, must labour to recover the Wind, if the Admiral endea-
our it ; or if the Enemy be to Leeward, the whole Fleet to
llow the Admiral, or other leading Ship, witnin Musket-
ot of the Enemy, giving so much Liberty to the leading Ship
ter her Broad-side deliver'd and her Sail trimm'd : Then the
cond Ship to give her Side ; so the third and fourth all
king as the first, and giving the Enemy the other Side, shall
eep him under a perpetual Volley : And thus to the winder-
ost Ship of the Enemy, till it be batter'd to Pieces, or forced
to intangle the rest. If the Admiral chace and is headmost,
e next Ship to take up his Boat, unless otherwise order'd ;
e like to be done by those that follow other chasing Ships.
he divided Musketeers not to deliver their Shot but at such Di-
ances as their Commander directs. Ships to be kept clean
between Decks. Ordnance not cloy'd with Trunks and Chests.
ovision to be delivered to the Steward. Apparel to be in
loak-Bags, except some few Chests that will not pester the
hips. Fire-arms to be kept clean ; if out of Order, the Officer
order the Armorer to amend them. No Feasting or Drink-
g between Meals ; or drinking Healths on the Ship's Provi-
on. Every Captain, by his Purser or other Officer, to take
eekly Accounts of the Victuals. No Candles to be delivered
the Steward to any private Man or private Use. Whoever
eals Apparel, Victuals, &c. to be punished as a Thief and a
lurderer. No Man to strike any Officer on Pajn of Death :
ivate Men striking one another to be punished by Court Mar-
al. Players at Cards or Dice for Apparel, Arms, &c. to be
farm'd and made Swabbers. Cowards upon any Landing or
herwise, to be disarmed and made Labourers to carry Victuals
or the rest. None to land in foreign Parts without Order
om some chief Commander ; and where they land, none to
force

Scilly, in which Capt. Chidley's Pinnace was sunk and Capt. King driven into Bristol, Ralegh held it from Experience as well as Reason, the Office of a Commander of many Ships, and those of different Sailings and Conditions, rather to take Port, and keep his Fleet together, than to endanger the Loss of his Masts and Rigging, or the Advantage which Enemies might take, or the Loss of more Time in attending another rendezvous, by the Danger of a Separation. There fore he put into Ireland, and was obliged to stay seven Weeks there; so that the Winds only were to be accused now (as he observes) for their Delay. And here, tho' by his Credit he procured fifty Oxen, which he distributed among his Fleet some of the Crew spared not, at his Return, to defame him with having taken Care to revictual himself and none of the rest. On the 19th of August he set forward from Cork.

When he arriv'd at the Isle of Lancerota, on the 6th of September, Ralegh sent a Request to the Governor, that he might be admitted to treat for some Provisions: The Governor sent back Word that he would confer with Ralegh himself, if he would come attended but by one Gentleman, and armed only with their Rapiers. Ralegh taking with him Lieutenant Bradshaw, met the Governor, who

force either Christian or Heathen Woman on Pain of Death When landed in the Indies, not to eat Fruits unknown, and such not eaten by Birds on the Tree, or Beasts under it. Not to sleep on the Ground, or eat new Flesh till salted two or three Hours. To swim in no Rivers but where the Indians do, and to use them with Courtesy. Other Orders on the Land to be established by general Consent when they should arrive there. A Flag on the Mizen Shrouds of the Admiral, was to be the Signal for summoning the Officers to Council. See a Traſt call'd, *News of Sir Walter Ralegh, &c.* 4to, 1618; from Page 19 to 28.

agreed

agreed, that if he would send up an *English* Factor, whose Ship then rode in the Road, whatever the Island afforded should be deliver'd at a reasonable Rate. *Ralegh* sent the Factor, but the Governor procrastinated, and at last sent Word, that unless he would embark his Men which lay on the Sea Shore, the Islanders were so jealous they durst not divide from one another to supply him. *Ralegh* comply'd, but when half his Men were got aboard, the Islanders began to offer Violence upon the rest. They slew one, and sent the Factor to tell *Ralegh*, they would part with nothing to him, for that they believed his Company to be the *Turkish* Fleet which had lately destroy'd *Puerto Sancto*. The *English* hereupon would have gone and helped themselves, but *Ralegh* considering what Displeasure it might give at home, how the Merchants might suffer, and the poor *English* Factor be ruin'd, complained to the Governor of the *Grand Canaries*; of whom he also desired Leave to take Water undisturb'd; but instead of Answer, when he landed some hundred Men in the Desart Part of the Island where they found fresh Water, there Ambush was laid, by which one of his Men was wounded to Death, and more had been slain, had not Captain *Thornhurst* and Lieutenant *Hayman*, two valiant Gentlemen, seconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and young Captain *Ralegh*, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away. From this unavoidable Fray, *Bayley* found Pretence to turn Tail and go home again.

In Want of Water they sail'd to *Gomera*, one of the strongest and best defended of all these Islands, and the best Port. The *Spaniards*, being seated upon the very Wash of the Sea, roughly saluted the Fleet at its first Entrance with their Cannon, and the *English* returned their Salutation. But as

soon as *Ralegh* recover'd the Harbour, and commanded there should be no more firing, he sent a *Spaniard* he had with him ashore, to assure the Governor he had no Intention to make War with any of the *Spanish* King's Subjects ; and if any Harm had been done by his great Ordnance to the Town it was their Fault, who, by shooting first, gave the Occasion. The Governor answer'd, he thought they had been the *Turkish* Fleet aforesaid ; but having been certified they were Christians and *Englishmen*, and sought nothing but Water, he was willing to let them take what they pleas'd, if he might be assur'd they would make no Attempt upon the Town Houses, or their Gardens and Fruits. *Ralegh* reply'd, that he would give him his Faith, and the Word of the King of *Great Britain*, his Sovereign, that if the People of the Town or Island should lose so much as an Orange or a Grape by any of his Men without paying for it, he would hang him up in the Market-place. And *Ralegh* kept his Men in such good Discipline, that the Governor in divers Letters (for he wrote to him every Day) acknowledg'd how punctually *Ralegh* kept his Faith with him, in Regard to the inoffensive Behaviour of his Company ; and also how much himself was beholden to him for his particular Civilities. For his Countess, who was of *English* Extract, being a *Stafford* by the Mother's Side, and of the House of *Horne* by the Father, having sent *Ralegh* some Presents of Fruit, Sugar and Rusk, he return'd others of greater Value.*

* Tho' the Presents *Ralegh* return'd to this Governor's Lady are not mentioned in his *Apology*, whence his Progress hitherto is chiefly extracted, I find in his own Journal aforesaid of this Voyage, that they consisted of an Extract of Amber, Ambergreese, a fine cut-work Ruff, a very excellent Picture of *Mary Magdalen*, and a good Quantity of Rose-Water, which was of great Value and Esteem in these Parts.

The Earl moreover gave him, at his Departure, on the 21st of September, a Letter to *Don Diego Sarmiento* the Spanish Ambassador in England, testifying how honourably *Ralegh* had comported himself to the *Morisco's* in these *Canary Islands* during the fourteen Days that he was among them. Before he set Sail, he discharg'd a Bark of the *Grand Canaries*, taken by one of his Pinnaces, coming from *Cape Blanc* in *Africa*; who complaining that his Men had eaten of their Fish to the Value of six Ducats, *Ralegh* gave them eight.

After having weather'd through a violent Hurricane and some vast Showers of Rain, besides Dangers no less fearful within; Sickness now beginning to visit his Ship, he arriv'd on the 2d of October at the Isle of *Bravo*: And here underwent great Hazards and Hardships; beside the Sickness daily spreading among his Men. For whereas all those who navigated even between *Cape de Vert* and *America*, were wont to pass between fifteen and twenty Days at most, he found the Wind so contrary to him, and indeed to Nature, so many Storms and Showers, that he spent near six Weeks in the Passage from hence; by reason whereof, and the burning Heat of the Climate, he was in great Distress for Water. Here losing Anchors, Cables and Water-cask, besides two more of his Company, he was driven after two Days, by a Kind of *Turnado*, from this Island; which, as well as the others he touch'd at, before mention'd, he has well describ'd in his Journal of this unfortunate Voyage. After his Return home, Detraction did not spare to give out, that he went to *Cape de Vert* knowing it to be infected, and thereby lost many of his Men; whereas he was 160 Leagues from that *Cape*, according to his own Account, in his Apology; and had threescore Men ill in his own Ship

Ship before he came to *Bravo*, as we find it in his Journal ; tho' if he had gone to that *Cape* now, after the Rains which had fallen, there had been little Danger of any such Infection. All Places that lie near great Rivers, in low and moorish Grounds, do indeed, as he rightly observes, subject their Inhabitants to Fevers and Agues ; at even along both Sides of our own River *Thames* ; and other Infection is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Africa*, except when the easterly Wind or Breezes are excluded and kept off by some high Mountains from the Valleys, whereby the Air wanting Motion, stagnates, and becomes exceedingly unhealthful, as at *Nombre de Dios*, and some other Places. But, says he, *as good Success admit. of no Examination, so the contrary allows of no Excuse.*

Hence they proceeded, on the 4th of October, towards *Guiana*. But the Sicknes revisited and destroy'd many of those whom the Storms spared, carrying off Numbers of his ablest Men both for Sea and Land, no less than forty-two of his own Ship ending their Voyage with their Lives, mostly in this Month, at least before they reach'd the Coast. About the 12th of the same Month, when their Sickness began to be at the Height, and they at the greatest Distance from any Shore, they were many other Ways also distress'd ; for when they began to be in Scarcity of Water, they were also becalm'd ; yet ever threatned with Extremity of tempestuous Weather, from the strange and unusual Alterations in the Atmosphere. One while the Horizon muffled as it were in such thick and fearful Darkness, that they were forced to steer a Day or two by Candle-light. At other Times, arched and overshot with gloomy Discolorations ; so that watery Rainbows were continually invading their

Eyes, or heavy Showers their Bodies, and dead Calms retarding their Ships. Afterwards at *Trinidad*, *Ralegh* observ'd, besides two Water-galls, no less than fifteen Rainbows in one Day, and one of them bent as it were both Ends together, making a perfect Circle; and these were ever followed with wet Weather; for as he also noted, especially of the Morning Rainbow, it did not here produce a fair Day, as in *England*. But one good Effect ensu'd, that when their Water was so scarce, near the latter End of this Month, that the Ship's Crew was reduced to half Allowance, they saved some Hogheads, which fell from the Clouds, and all quenched their Thirst with great Cans of this bitter Draught, as *Ralegh* describes that Rain Water to have been. On the last Day of this Month, as he was raised abruptly out of his Bed in a Sweat, by the Noise which a sudden great Gust had occasion'd in his Ship, he got a Cold, which turned to a burning Fever, and cast him down for twenty Days together; in which Time he receiv'd no other Sustenance than a few stew'd Prunes, but Drink, every Hour, both Day and Night; and sweated so excessively, that he was forced to shift three Times every Day, and as often at Night. At last the Violence of his Disease was abated, by the Oranges and other Fruits he had received at *Gomera* of the Governor's Lady; which he had carefully preserved in Sand to his great Refreshment; and without which, as he owns himself, he could not have lived: But it was double the Time before he could recover in any tollerable Degree from this sharp Visitation.

In this slow and sickly Manner they arrived at last, on the 11th of November, at the North Cape of *Wiapoco*. And here *Ralegh* sent for his old Servant, *Leonard the Indian*, who had been in *England*

land three or four Years with him ; but he was remov'd so far up in the Country, there was no pursuing him. Therefore he stood away for Caliana, which is in 5 Degrees on the Coasts of Guiana, at the first Discovery call'd Port Howard, where the Cassique was also his Servant, and had lived with him in the Tower of London two Years. There he arrived in a Day or two, having passed the Island noted for its Multitude of Birds and Silk-bearing Trees, and from thence sent for his Servant Harry, the Indian, who, with other Cassiques, came and brought him great Store of Caffavi Bread and roasted Mullets, with Plantanes, Pinas, Pistacias, &c. But Ralegh ventured not to eat of the Pinas, which tempted him exceedingly, till after a Day or two's airing on the Shore in a Tent which was there pitch'd for him ; then he also eat some Armadillo and a little Pork, and began to gather Strength. Here also he landed his sick Men, and recovered many ; and here he buried Captain Edward Hastings (the Lord Huntington's Brother) who died ten Days or more before, and with him his Serjeant Major, Hart, and Captain Henry Snedale ; the Charge of whose Ship Ralegh gave to his Servant Captain Robert Smith of Cornwall. Here he also set up his Barges and Shallops which they brought from England, in Quarters, cleansed his Ships, trim'd up his Casks, and supply'd them with Water ; fix'd up a Forge, and made such Iron Works as they wanted. Thus on that Shore, and this River they employed and refresh'd themselves for about three Weeks ; during which Time, Ralegh was very much caref's'd by the Indians of his old Acquaintance aforesaid, and the other Natives of this Place, who cherished him daily with the best Provisions that the Country yielded, and offer'd him all Kind of Obedience, even to the making him their Sovereign

vereign Prince and Ruler, if he wou'd abide and ttle among them ; so fresh continued his Memory, and such unanimous Impressions of Homage and Respect had his former Behaviour still left upon them ; which Offer he mentions with the greatest Modesty and Indifference in the Dispatch he now sent to *England*. For in this Interval, Captain Peter Alley, one of his Company, who was much roubled with a vertiginous Disorder in his Head, having got Leave to return home, and the Opportunity of a Dutch Vessel which lay there, *Ralegh* among other Letters, sent one by him to his Lady, dated from *Caliana* the 14th of November. Herein, says he, *I cannot write to you but with a weak Hand, for I have suffered the most violent Calenture or fifteen Days that ever Man did, and lived ; but God that gave me a strong Heart in all my Adversities, has also now strengthned me in the Hell-fire of Heat.* We had two most grievous Sickneses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick ; but having recover'd the Land of *Guiana* this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred Men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonably strong, strong enough to 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, has not aught 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, in hundred as valiant Gentlemen as England hath in t. Then having spoken of *Bayley's* running away from him, the unnatural Weather they had labour'd through, and their tedious Passage, with the Present of Fruits which had so much relieved him, as is before observed, besides the Death of

some principal Officers, and Recommendation himself to some Friends in London, especially his Son Carew, he concludes thus: *To tell you that might be here King of the Indians were a Vanity but my Name bath still liv'd among them; here th feed me with fresh Meat, and all that the Count yields.*: All offer to obey me. At this Time also, Gentleman of his Company having drawn up Discourse in Praise of Guiana, and in Honour this Adventure; especially of the principal Discoverer, Raleigh himself, it being dated from Cali-
na November the 17th, sent it also into England by the same Bearer, and it was printed the following Year.

On the 4th of December they left this River and came next Day to the Triangle Islands; but were all in Danger of leaving their Bones upon the Sholes before they got thither. For they were laid aground, especially Raleigh's larger Ship, for the Space of twenty-four Hours or more; and had not been fair Weather, would never have got clear the Coast, having not above two Fathom of Water. Here, after a few Days, when all the Fleet was gather'd together, it being consider'd in a general Consultation, that Raleigh himself who had grappled with the Sickness for six Weeks, and was now rather so much relaps'd than recover'd, that he could not move otherwise than as he was carried in a Chair, they resolved that there was no Thought of his undertaking the Passage up the Orenque in Person. And further, though they could never understand by Keymis, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the main Mouth of the River, nor by any of their Mariners, who had traded there many Years for Tobacco, what Certainty the Water was of; yet having found by Experience, that Ships at eleven Foot Water, lay a-

ground

ground three Days in passing up ; therefore there was no attempting it with *Ralegh's Ship*, which being heavier, and charged with near forty Pieces of Ordnance, drew seventeen Foot. Nor would his Son with the rest have ventured, with the Provisions they had, through any other Person's Assurance or Resolution of staying to relieve them at Place appointed, against the Forces expected to approach, but that of his Father and their General. So it was resolved by all, that the five larger Ships should ride at *Punta de Gallo* in *Trinidad* under *Ralegh* to secure their Retreat, and the five lesser (for this was now the whole Number of his Fleet) with five or six Foot Companies of fifty Men each, should enter the River. According to his Determination, the Fleet was here divided ; that is to say, Captain *Whitney* in the *Encounter* ; *Voolaston* in the *Confidence* ; *King* in the *Supply* ; *Smith* in a *Pink*, and *Hall* in a *Carvel*. The Companies had for their Leaders, Captain *Charles Parier*, and Captain *North* (Brothers to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*;) young *Ralegh* ; Captain *Thornburst* of *Kent* ; Captain *Pennington's* Lieutenant, who seems to be another *Hall*, and Captain *Chidley's* Lieutenant, *Prideux*. Sir *Warbam St. Leger*, *Ralegh's* Lieutenant, who had the Charge of these Companies, fell sick at *Caliana* ; so it was confer'd on *George Ralegh*, Sir *Walter's* Nephew, who had served with great Commendation in the *Low Countries* ; and Captain *Keymis* had the chief Charge for their Guidance and landing within the River. But *Keymis* having laid down the Plan of his intended Attempt upon the Mine, and undertaken to discover it with six or eight Persons in Sir *John Ferne's* Shallop, *Ralegh*, upon Consideration, disliking that Method of Procedure,

cedure, determined to alter it, and therefore gave him his Instructions in the following Words.

Keymis, Whereas you were resolv'd, after your Arrival into the Oronoque, to pass to the Mine with my Cousin Herbert and six Musketeers. and to that End desired to have Sir John Ferne's Shallop I do not allow of that Course; because you cannot land so secretly, but that some Indians on the River side may discover you, who giving Knowledge thereof to the Spaniard, you may be cut off before you recover your Boat. I therefore advise you to suffer the Captains and Companies of the English to pass up westward of the Mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three Miles to the Mine, and to encamp between the Spanish Town and you, if there is any Town near it; that being so secured, you may make Trial what Depth and Breadth the Mine holds: and whether or no it will answer our Hopes. And if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to wait upon you, then let the Serjeant-major repel them, if it is in his Power, and drive them as far as he can but if you find the Mine is not so rich as to persuad the holding of it, and it requires a second Supply then shall you bring but a Basket or two to satisfy his Majesty that my Design was not imaginary but true, though not answerable to his Majesty's Expectation; for the Quantity of which I never gave Assurance, nor could. On the other Side, if you shall find any great Number of Soldiers are newly sent into the Orenoque, as the Cassique of Caliana told us there were, and that the Passages are already enforc'd, so as without manifest Peril of my Son, yourself and the other Captains, you cannot pass towards the Mine: then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scum of Men you have, and I would not for all the World, receive a Blow from the Spaniard to the Dishonour of the Nation.

tion. I myself, for my Weakness, cannot be present, neither will the Company land except I abide by the Ships, the Galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot the Serjeant major is dead, Sir Warham St. Leger, my Lieutenant, without Hope of Life, and my Nephew, George Raleigh, your Serjeant-major, now, but a young Man : it is therefore on your Judgment that I rely ; who, I trust, God will direct for the best. Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Punta de Gallo dead or alive ; and if you find not my Ships there, yet there you shall find their Ashes ; for I will fire with the Galleons if it come to Extremity, but run away I will never.

With these Instructions those five Ships set forward, parting from *Raleigh* and the rest of the Fleet at the Islands aforesaid, with a Month's Provision, on the 10th of December. But when they found a new Spanish Town, called *St. Thome*, consisting of about 140 Houses ; though lightly built, with a Chapel, a Convent of *Franciscans*, and a Garrison erected on the main Channel of the *Orénoque*, about Twenty Miles distant from the Place where *Antonio Berreo*, the Governor taken by *Raleigh* in his first Discovery and Conquest here, attempted to plant ; Keymis and the rest thought themselves oblig'd, through Fear of leaving the Enemy's Garrison between them and their Boats, to deviate from their Instructions, which enjoin'd them, first to carry a little Party to make Trial of the Mine, under a Shelter of their own Camp ; and then to deal with the Spanish Town as it should give Cause, by permitting or offering to prevent them. So they concluded to land in one Body, and encamp between the Mine and the Town ; whereby, though themselves were something stronger, their Boats were subject to the same Exposure,

posure, and the Mine left untry'd contrary to Ralegh's Order. For, about three Weeks after their Departure, landing, by Night, it seems, nearer the Town than they suspected, and meaning to rest themselves on the River-side till morning, they were, in the Night-time, set upon by the Spanish Troops, appriz'd of, and forearm'd for their coming; as we shall see. This Charge was so unexpected, and struck the common Soldiers with such Amazement and Confusion, that had not the Captains and some other valiant Gentlemen made head, and animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces. But the rest, by their Example, soon rallying, made such a vigorous Defence against the Spaniards, that they drove them to a Retreat, till in the Warmth of their Pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish Town before they knew where they were. Here the Battle was renewed afresh upon them, being assaulted by the Governor himself *Don Diego Palameca*, and four or five Captains at the Head of their Companies; against whom, Captain *Walter Ralegh*, a brave and sprightly young Man, now twenty-three Years of Age, but fonder of Glory than Safety, not tarrying for the Musketeers, rush'd foremost, at the Head of a Company of Pikes, and having killed one of the Spanish Captains, was himself shot by another; but pressing still forward, with his Sword upon *Erinetta*, probably the Captain who had shot him, this Spaniard with the Butt-end of his Musket fell'd him to the Ground, and after these Words, * *Lord have mercy upon me, and prosper*

* 'Tis said in King James's Declaration, p. 34, that young Ralegh, likeliest to know his Father's Secret, when he led his Soldiers upon this Town us'd these or the like Words, *Come on my Hearts, here is the Mine that we must expect, they that look for*

per your Enterprize, young *Ralegh* spoke no more. Hereupon *John Plessington*, his Serjeant, thrust the said *Spanish* Captain through the Body with his Halbert. Two Commanders more of the *Spaniards* were at the same Time slain, one by *John of Morocco*, another of young *Ralegh's* Company: And lastly the Governor himself also lost his Life in the said Engagement; which happened, as *Camden* reckons, the second of *January*.

The Leaders being thus all dispatch'd, and many of their Soldiers, the rest fled and were dispers'd, some to shelter about the Market place, from whence they kill'd and wounded the *English* at Pleasure; so as they saw no Way left to be safe, but by firing the Town about their Ears, and driving them to the Woods and Mountains, whence they still kept the *English* waking with perpetual Alarms. Others were more careful to defend the Passages to their Mines, of which they had three or four not far distant, than they had been to defend the Town itself. But for the Magazine of Tobacco, which one Writer, among other erroneous Representations of this Voyage, thought might countervail the Charge of it, could it with some other Things have been preserved, it seems not to have been consumed by the *English*; because *Ralegh* had enough thereof soon after to have paid for the victualling of his Fleet, if there had been Occasion, as himself has related.

for any other Mine are Fools. As if *Ralegh* was at so much Toil, Hazard and Expence only to break the Peace, and drive a Pack of poor *Spaniards* out of a worthless Town. Nor does it seem likely, that if young *Ralegh* knew this to be his Father's Secret, that he would thus disclose it; but rather if he did utter such an Expression, that he suddenly invented it to give his Men Hopes of Booty, knowing that would best excite them to Bravery.

All Obstructions seeming thus removed, Capt. Keymis had now a fair Opportunity to make what Trial he pleas'd at the Mine ; and that he did attempt the Discovery will appear by the Consequence, as his Preparations do in the Letter he wrote to Ralegh six Days after the Action aforesaid, tho' it came not long after to his Hands. Herein having open'd, in as gradual and discreet a Manner as he could, how gallantly his Son fell in this Exploit, and observed, that if his extraordinary Valour and Vigour of Mind had not led them all on, it had never been attempted, nor performed as it was, to his surviving Honour ; having also observ'd, that, four of the best Houses in Town belonged to Refiners ; tho' he had seen no Coin or Bullion, but only a little Plate ; he adds, Now I propose, God willing, to visit the Mine, not eight Miles from the Town ; sooner I could not go by Reason of the Murmurings, the Discords and Vexations where-with the Serjeant-Major is perpetually tormented. Concluding with these Words, I have sent your Lordship a Parcel of scatter'd Papers, and reserve a Cart-load ; one Roll of Tobacco, one Tortoise, with some Oranges and Lemons ; praying God to give you Strength and Health of Body, and a Mind armed against all Extremities. I rest ever to be commanded, this 8th of January, 1617, your Lordship's, Keymis.

Indeed Ralegh had need of those Prayers, on his own Part, at this Time, not only in his Sickness, but even in the Intervals he had of Recovery ; for here to give some Account of him in this Time of Separation, we may observe, that he lay with the five larger Ships under himself, Capt. John Pennington, his Vice-Admiral, one of the most sufficient Gentlemen for the Sea, that England has, says he ; Sir Warham St. Leger, another valiant

valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir John Ferne, and Captain Chidley of Devon, mostly at Punta de Gallo, and other Ports about Trinidad, no less than a hundred and fifty Miles from the rest of his Fleet, making the Adventure up the Oronoque, yet in daily Apprehensions of meeting with the Spanish Armada, sent purposely to lay wait for and destroy him; which it would probably have done, after the great Sickness which had so much weakned his Men, and under this disadvantageous Division of his Ships, but that the Enemy luckily waited for him in a wrong Place. Besides, it having been alſly rumour'd in his Fleet, that he brought out of England twenty-two thousand Broad-pieces of Gold with him, ſome of his Crew traiterously conspir'd to ſail away, while he was gone ashore in his Barge, to take Views and make Discoveries of the Country, which he was ſometimes wont to do, as at *terra de Brea*, or the *Pitch-land*, as he calls it, from the bitumenous Substance which ſo remarkably iſſues there, as he has well describ'd; and when he travers'd ſome Woods to ſeek the Trees that yield that precious Balsam whereof he got a ſmall quantity, which ſmelt like Angelica; ſo to have left him a Prey to Famine, wild Beasts, or the no less unmerciful Spaniards, by whom he might have been flea'd alive, as other Englishmen, who came out to traffick, had formerly been. Add to this the many Provocations he received from the Spaniards, who were in any of the Ports where his Men landed, only to exchange a few Commodities for Tobacco or other Products of the Country, not only by the moſt opprobrious Language, but diſcharging ſometimes a Volley of twenty Muskets at a Time upon them, whereby Sir John Ferne had ſome of his Men kill'd. And laſtly, the Uneaſiſſeſs he was continually in, that he could hear no

Tidings of the rest of his Fleet thus detach'd upon the Adventure. And tho' some *Indian* Spies were brought to him in the Beginning of February, one of whom, who could speak the *Spanish* Tongue, he was first informed, that the *English* in Orencoque, were reported, by some *Tivitivas* he had spoken with, to have taken St. Thome, and slain *Diego de Palameca* the Governor, with Captain *Erinetta*, and Captain *John Rues*; that, the rebels fled, and that two *English* Captains were likewise kill'd: Tho' the same was soon after also asserted with other Particulars, by another *Indian*; yet *Relegb* would not set them down, till he knew the Truth; which afterwards endeavouring to compare with other *Indians*, said to have been at the Taking of that Town, whom he sent in Pursuit of, they escaped, and he was not certified in the Report even near the middle of this Month, for so his own Journal extends.

In the mean while *Keymis* made an Attempt on the Mine, and had set forward with Captain *Thornhurst*, Mr. *W. Herbert*, Sir *John Hamden* and others; but at their first Approach, near the Bank where they intended to land, he received, from an Ambuscade of *Spaniards* in the Woods (who had probably gather'd there with Expectation of his coming that Way to the Mine) a Volley of shot which slew two of his Company, hurt six others, and wounded Captain *Thornhurst* so dangerously in the Head, that he languish'd thereof three Months after. This Blow first stagger'd the Resolution of *Keymis*, who then, as he reflected more upon the State of their Condition, was more over-powered with Doubts and Discouragements; insomuch that though the *English* under him might have been formed of two or three Mines more, beside which *Keymis* had undertaken to lead them to,

a Mulatto, who had waited on the late Governor in his Chamber, and, as he has written in his Letter beforemention'd, knew all Things that concern'd his Master. This Servant, afterwards, by no other Means than courteous Usage, discover'd the same to *Ralegh* himself; and not only the Places where those Mines lay, but more particularly, that two of them, Gold ones, were in the Possession of *Don Pedro Rodrigo de Parama*, and *Hermian Frontino*; and a Silver one, in the Possession of *Francisco Fasardo*; and that the Cause of their remaining unwrought was, that they wanted Negroes to work them: for, by a Law of *Charles the Emperor*, the *Indians* could not be constrain'd, and the *Spaniards* neither would nor could endure the Labour. Yet did the *English* now decline all Endeavour, either to be directed to these, though but few Miles distant from the Town, or proceed to possess that which *Keymis* was to conduct them to, though within a few Hours March. Nay, when the Ships were upon their Return, and they had sailed down the River as far as the Country of *Carapana*, one of the natural Lords, who had reserved that Part of *Guiana* to the late Queen; and, having heard that the *English* had abandon'd *St. Thome*, and left no Forces, as he hop'd they would have done, had sent a great Canoe, laden with Store of Fruits and Provisions, to the Captains; also by one of his Men, who had learn'd the *Spaniſh* Tongue during his long Slavery under the *Spaniards*, had offer'd them a rich Gold Mine in his own Country, to engage their Stay; further proffering to leave sufficient Pledge for any *English* Person they should send to examine it; and, when Captain *Leak* with another of the Company, named *Molineux*, offer'd themselves to go, the greater Part nevertheless refus'd to suffer them. This Declension

clension of his Offer, so heightned *Carapana's* Desire to make it acceptable, that he sent again, leaving one of his Men still aboard, who entreated to detain them but two Days, and *Carapana* would himself, aged as he was, bring them a Sample of the Ore; who, though still rejected, and the Ships under Sail, yet sent once more a Boat after them up to the Mouth of the River, in hopes to the very last of retrieving them, as the said Captain *Leak*, *Parker*, *Molineux*, and half a dozen Officers more, are, by *Ralegh*, nominated to attest. But the Adventurers, among other Dissuasives from all Temptation to continue there any longer, harbour'd a Notion that the *Spaniards* had secretly agreed with, and employ'd those *Indians* only to trepan the *English*; which appear'd but a weak and ill-grounded Apprehension to *Ralegh*; for such Treachery might have been easily prevented, had they waited the Arrival of the old *Indian* Chief, who would have brought the Ore to their very Ships. And what Advantage in betraying them, says he, could there be, when the *Guianians* offered to leave Hostages, six for one? Moreover, one of the *Indians*, whom the *English* found in Fetters when they took *St. Thome*, and brought with them aboard, could have told them, that the very *Cassique*, who sent to shew them the Gold Mine in his Country, was unconquer'd and at Enmity with the *Spaniard*; and could have assur'd them withal, that such Mines were in that Country possess'd by the said *Cassique*. But no Intreaty or Invitation would retain them, and so they return'd, about the middle of February, to *Punta de Gallo*, after the Fleet had been thus divided, and they absent above two Months from Sir *Walter Ralegh*, as himself has informed us; whereby it appears. that the Fleet united at, or very soon after, the Time he discontinued

discontinued his Journal ; and it appears no where, in that Journal, that any inhuman Offer was made to remove from *Punta de Gallo* to the *Charibees*, many Leagues off, where he knew Famine must over-take the Land Soldiers before they could over-take him, as his Enemies suggested : besides, he cleared himself in such a solemn Manner of this Asperion at his Death, as leaves not the least Stain of Cruelty any where but upon their Characters who slander'd him with it.

'Tis possible that *Keymis* might, at his first Return, be favourably received, and ss familiarly admitted to *Ralegh's* Table as before ; for a Disappointment of this Consequence was not to be too readily broach'd on one Side, nor reprehended on the other. Besides, as some Mitigation of their ill Success, and Inducement to further Hopes, *Keymis* produced two Ingots of Gold which had been reserved at *St. Thome*, as the King of *Spain's* Quota, or Proportion ; together with several other valuable Spoils of the Governor. *Keymis* also brought with him a large Quantity of Papers, Letters, Memorials, Schemes, Plans and Maps found in the said Governor's Study ; which gave some singular Lights into the State and Condition of *Spain*, with Respect to many of the *American* Plantations. Among these Papers were found four Letters, which plainly discover'd, not only *Ralegh's* whole Enterprize to have been betray'd, but his Life thereby put into the Power of the *Spaniards* themselves ; * and

* The King of *Spain's* first Letter, sent to *Guiana* by a Bark of *Avizo*, to arm the *Indians* against *Ralegh's* Coming, was dated 19 March 1616, at *Madrid* (which Letter, says *Ralegh*, in his to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, I have, here enclosed, sent you, the rest I reserve ; not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not.) The second of that King's was dated 2d of May 1617, sent also by a Caravel to *Diego de Palameca*, Governpr of *Guia-*

and by whom, even to the Breaking of that Peace, if any was broken, for which he was afterwards exclaim'd against. *Ralegh* himself has related : * for he thought this such black and cruel Usage, that he forbore not, in a Letter which he wrote, about a Month after this Time, from the Isle of St. Christopher's, to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, the Secretary of State, to shew his Sense of it in these Words : *It pleased his Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me, upon my Allegiance, to set down under my Hand, the Country and the very River by which I was to enter it ; to set down the Number of my Men, and Burden of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carried ; which being made known to the Spanish Ambassador, and by him sent to the King of Spain, a Dispatch was made and Letters*

na, El Dorado and Trinidad. The third of his Majesty's, was sent by the Bishop of Puerto Rico, and delivered to ihat Governor the 15th of July following : and the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the Indies at the same Time. Thus *Ralegh's* Letter to *Winwood* (from St. Christopher's) in his *Remains* (last Edition) p. 172. compared with some Manuscript Copies of it in the *Harleyan Library*, &c. Others tell us, these Advertisements and Preparations were the Cause of all the Resistance that was made at St. Thome ; that *Ralegh's* whole Design, under his own Hand was delivered by King *James* to *Gondomar* ; and that his own Letter (thereof to King *James*) was found in the Governor of St. Thome's Closet ; which Letter he brought back, and shewed to the Lords of the Council. See *Observations on Sanderson's History*, p. 13. Thus also in the *State-Trials*, Vol. I. p. 219 ; and in Dr. *Welwood's* Memoirs, it is said, *Ralegh's* Plan, which King *James* promised to keep secret, was sent by *Gondomar* to *Spain*, and thence to the Indies, before *Ralegh* left the *Thames* ; and the very original Paper was found in the *Spanish Governor's* Closet.

* Though *Ralegh* has charged this Matter of betraying him to the *Spaniards* in plain Terms, both in his Letter to the Secretary of State, which follows as above, and in his *Apology* ; one, or both of which King *James* had certainly read, it is yet observable, that this Topic is not so much as touch'd upon in his Majesty's Declaration, but entirely sunk in Silence.

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sent from Madrid before my Departure out of the Thames. By the Contents of those Spanish Letters it further appears, that three hundred Spanish Soldiers, and ten Pieces of Ordnance, were commission'd to be sent from their respective Garrisons, against the Adventurers up the Orenoque ; that is, a hundred and fifty Men from *Nuevo Reyno de Granada*, under the Command of Captain *Antonio Musica* ; and another hundred and fifty from *Puerto Rico*, to be conducted under *Francisco Zanchio*. There was also prepared an *Armada* by Sea, to set upon Ralegh himself and the Ships with him ; by which, says he, we had not only been torn to pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, they being of no force for the Sea Fight ; for we had resolved to have burnt by their Sides, and to have died there, had the Armada arriv'd ; but, belike, they stay'd for us at Margarita, by which they knew we must pass towards the Indies. In another Letter, which he wrote the next Day from the same Island to his Wife, Ralegh says, Never was poor Man exposed to Slaughter as I was. Then having related the Particulars of the Forces beforemention'd, sent to destroy him, through the Communication of his Scheme to the Court of Spain by the Spanish Ambassador, he concludes this Part with these Words : It were too long to tell you how we were preserved ; if I live, I shall make it known.

But the Indignation which Ralegh must have conceived at the Sight of these Letters, was not a little heightned, when he came to hear that Keymis had made no actual Trial at the Mine, and the Reasons he gave for having relinquish'd it. He alledg'd indeed, that after the Salley of the Spaniards upon them from the woody Banks, which had disabled several of his Men at their first Attempt to land, he began to consider, they had not then

then able Men enough left to work the Mine ; though indeed, it lay not so deep, as to need all those Pioneers and Implements, which, in King James's Declaration, *Ralegh* is objected against for not carrying with him, as may appear by the first Discovery of this Mine, in the former Part of these Sheets. *Keymis* also argued, they had not Men enough to keep this Mine, though they should escape further Danger in the difficult Passage to it, which he feared much they should not ; the Spaniards being more careful to preserve it, as was said, than the Town ; and the Ways to it, *Aspera y Fragosa*, as *Ralegh* has observed ; agreeable to that Infertility and Unaptness for Cultivation, which *Acosta* and other Naturalists, have describ'd in those Grounds which are impregnate with such Treasures. *Keymis* urged further, that they wanted sufficient Provisions for the Number remaining, having been much longer up the River than they expected ; and that they could not carry enough from the Town up the Mountain, their Company being divided, the greater Part, in the Town itself, and those too weak to defend it. That he further found all Regard to Order and Obedience broke through, as soon as Capt. *Ralegh* was dead ; and feared the fatal News of his Death, would either not find his sick Father alive, or hasten his End ; that to attempt the Discovery, and fail through any of these Discouragements, he thought would be more detrimental than wholly at this Time to decline it : that to discover it for a Pack of Profligates and Mutineers, was more than they deserv'd ; and to discover it for *Ralegh* himself, not likely to live, and unpardon'd, was, as whisper'd in the Company, for a Man *non ens* in the Law. Above all that, it would therefore be a greater Error to find it for the Spaniards, than to pretend it could no-where be

be found. Lastly, that these Arguments approv'd of by the Majority, were confirmed by the Alarm they received at the Discovery of the Letters aforesaid, in the Governor's Closet; whereby they were led, every Moment, to expect a fresh Enforcement of the Enemy against them from each End of the River; therefore separate as the Fleet was, and not able to make Resistance, they all agreed to return.

However specious these Arguments, or some of them, might be, *Raleigh* was in no wise pacify'd with them. He utterly disavowed the whole Conduct of *Keymis* before several of his Company, and the Ignorance he had pretended to them; told him, that a blind Man might have found the Place, by the Marks and Directions himself had set down under his own Hand; and that his Care of losing more Men in passing the Woods was but feigned; for after his Son's Death, it was known he had no Care for any Man surviving, and therefore, had he brought Home but one hundred Weight of Ore, tho' with the Loss of as many Men, it would have given the King Satisfaction, preserved his Reputation, and encouraged a Return the next Year, with greater Force, to have held the Country for his Majesty, to whom it belonged; for the Riches and Fruitfulness whereof, himself had formerly so largely attested. But since he had suffered his Wilfulness, in spite of his Knowledge, to defeat their whole Undertaking, he should indeed be glad if *Keymis* could make those Reasons, for not opening the Mine, passable with the State, but that he himself could not justify the Neglect. *Keymis* grew deeply discontented hereat, and continued so several Days. *Afterwards he came to me in my Cabbin* (says *Raleigh*) *and shew'd me a Letter he had written to the Earl of Arundel, excusing him-*

self for not discovering of the Mine, using the same Arguments, and many others, which he had done before ; and prayed me to allow thereof. But Ralegh, no Way satisfied, declared that as Keymis could plead no Ignorance, he could admit of no Excuse, being wounded in his Credit with the King past all Recovery, and that this could admit of no Reparation. Keymis, seeing Ralegh resolved not to favour his Folly, retired as one knowing not what Course to take, yet expressing, perhaps, also some Design of giving further Satisfaction ; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, says Ralegh, where having shut himself in, Ralegh soon after heard a Pistol go off, and sending up to know who discharged it, Keymis made Answer, he fired it himself, because it had been long charg'd. About half an Hour after, his Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, with much Blood by him, having a long Knife thrust through his Left Pap into his Heart, and his Pistol lying by him, with whicht it appeared that he had shot himself ; but the Bullet being small, and having only crack'd a Rib, he dispatch'd effectually with the Knife.* And this

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* The Letters in the *Remains* aforesaid, p. 178, 181. And the *Apology*, p. 39. James Howel says, that Captain Keymis, the main Instrument for the Discovery of the Mine, pistol'd himself in a desperate Mood of Discontent in his Cabbin in the *Covertine* ; which not being Ralegh's Ship, would remove Keymis' Death still farther from all Surmise that he had any such foul Play done him to prevent telling of Tales, as Sanderson and other prejudiced Writers have maliciously insinuated. The *Observator* on his History of King James, calls it a base Aspersion and Sanderson, in his Answer, instead of producing any Authority in his own Justification, is for meddling no further with it so refers to his History, as a Matter too large to be inserted again. But what entirely clears the Affair, is King James' Declaration ; for had there been the least Shadow of Suspicio; that Ralegh had been any Way concerned in Keymis's untimely

End.

as I compute, happen'd about the latter End of *Februari* aforesaid, or perhaps the former Part of *March*, because *Ralegh* mentions it in the Letters he wrote this Month into *England*, before referr'd to; therefore the Death of *Keymis* could not happen in the following Summer, as one Author mistakes. And whereas some had given it out, that *Keymis* flew himself through Remorse that he had seduced and deluded so many Gentlemen with an imaginary Mine, *Ralegh* will not allow that to have been the Cause, but ascribes it entirely to his own positive and passionate Temper, and says, that he would not have laid violent Hands on himself for any *Man's Opinion*; nor when he did, adds *Ralegh*, could he have said unto me that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew of no such Mine; for what Cause had I then to have rejected his Excuses, or to have laid his *Obstinacy* to his Charge. Further urging, that several Captains, whom *Ralegh* names, might be put to their Oaths, whether or no, *Keymis* did not confess to them, coming down the River, at a Place where they cast Anchor, that he could, from thence, have gone to the Mine in two Hours.

After this Accident it was determined, in a Council of the Officers, to make for *Newfoundland*, to repair and refresh their Ships; but before, as well as after, they arrived there, great Disorders arose: Some took to Courses of their own Head, and ran away from him, as was before-mentioned; and many others proved so refractory and ungovernable, that, when he came to the Isle of *St. Christopher's*, he was forced, under the Conduct of his Cousin, Mr. *Herbert*, to ship them Home. Of whom, tho' he had

End, we may be well persuaded, that Declaration would not have been silent thereof, which has amass'd and aggravated so many frivolous Circumstances in this Voyage against him.

shewed some uncommon Generosity to some of them, he says, in the Letter he wrote from thence to his Wife on the 22d of March, *I know they will not spare to wound me*; and further declares, *There is never a base Slave in all the Fleet that hath taken the Pains and Care that I have done; that hath slept so little, and travell'd so much: My Friends will not believe them, and for the Rest I care not.* In another Letter he sent from hence at the same Time to Sir Ralph Winwood, he writes to the same Sense, and further adds: *But these being gone, I shall, says he, be able, if I live, to keep the Sea till the End of August, with some four reasonable good Ships;* for to that Number was his Fleet now reduced. By the Time here proposed of continuing at Sea, there might have now been Thoughts of some Course to qualify the Misadventure of the Mine, and enable them to re-attempt it; perhaps by some little trading Voyages: But how probable that he should design any Thing so far as the *East-Indies*, or that with such small Force he intended to go for the Western Islands, to attack the *Mexico Fleet*, and surprize the Carracks, as in the King's Declaration is laid to Ralegh's Charge, we shall leave for others to decide. 'Tis plain that nothing of this was put in Practice; for when they came to *Newfoundland*, the Company in his own Ship mutiny'd, and those who were for staying aboard, whom Wilson calls the major Part, made Ralegh, says he, take an Oath not to go Home but by their Allowance. But the Declaration says, that the greater Number were for returning to *England*; and that Ralegh getting on the Sea-bank put it to the Question; whereupon the Voices divided, starboard and larboard; and that when he perceived the greater Number voted for their Return, he went to that Side and voted so too; but manifestly to the Hazard of his Life

Life was his voting on either Side. In the same Declaration we are further led to believe, he afterwards offered his own Ship, which was of great Value, to his Company, if they would only set him aboard a French Bark; and that he made the same Offer to some of his Officers when he was come back to Ireland, as not knowing how Things would be construed, and being loth to put his Head under the King's Girdle; but he did, and we shall see the Consequence of it.

By the Time that *Ralegh* arrived on the Coast of *Ireland*, the sacking of *St. Thome*, the firing of the Town, and the Slaughter of the Spaniards, to the Number of four or five hundred Men, were largely descanted on by his Enemies, as by his Friends were his own more particular Misfortunes in the long and dangerous Sicknes he had endur'd; his Disappointment in the Mine; the Consumption of so much Treasure; the Loss of his gallant Son; the violent End of his old Servant Captain *Keymis*; and above all the general Disorder, Defection, and Dispersion of his own Fleet. All together, it became not so much a national as a universal Topic of Discourse and Attention; every one censuring or commiserating as their Interest or Affections mov'd. It is remember'd by *Camden*, that Captain *John North*, Brother to the Lord *North*, a valiant Gentleman, and who was much esteemed by *Ralegh* for his faithful Conduct under him throughout this Voyage, was the first who related the deplorable News of this unfortunate Expedition to King *James*, on the 13th of *May*, 1618. He seems to have done it in a very just and pathetical Manner; and it might have had a good Effect, had that King's Pity been as easily touch'd as his Fear. Among Authors, some, who had been for registering this Commission of King *James* with that granted

granted by *Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, to *Bertram* his Captive *Moor*, whom he intrusted both with his Liberty, and a large Sum of Money to buy him some fine Horses in *Barbary*, for which his Jester gave him a prime Place in his Fool's Chronicle ; were now, upon the Expectation of a Return, ready, with the same Jester, to blot out the King, and enroll the Captive for a Fool : But others look'd upon this Action of *Ralegh*'s in a nobler and more elevated Light, and as what, for the Integrity of acquitting his fiduciary Pledges, was rather to be compared with the generous Act of that brave *Roman Consul*, *Attilius Regulus* ; who, to keep his Promise and his Faith, returned to his Enemies, the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had been a Prisoner ; tho' he knew that he went to inevitable Death.

And now the *Spanish Ambassador* having, by special Advertisements, gain'd the earliest Intelligence of all that had passed at *Guiana* ; and how, among the Rest, his own Kinsman, the Governor, had been slain, broke into the King's Presence in a turbulent Manner, and bawling out for his Majesty's Audience, only of one Word, assaulted him with the abrupt and repeated Exclamation of *Piratas ! Piratas ! Piratas !* At last he found Breath and Words to enlarge upon the Matter so effectually, as what tended not only to the Infringement of his Majesty's Promise, but that happy Union between the two Crowns in their Royal Progeny ; now the Match between Prince *Charles* and *Dona Maria*, with all the Advantages it was pregnant with, was in such a hopeful Degree of Maturity, even to the involving of both Nations in the most durable, and dreadful Hostilities, that the pacifick King of *Great Britain* was ready to do any Thing in the World to appease him, and hush it up. To this Purpose,

Purpose, his Royal Proclamation was forthwith publish'd on the 11th of June, setting forth, that *Whereas we gave Liberty to Sir Walter Ralegh and others, to undertake a Voyage to Guiana, where they had pretended a Probability of discovering Gold Mines, &c. We did, by express Limitation and Caution, restrain and forbid them from attempting any Act of Hostility upon any Territories or Subjects of foreign Princes with whom we are in Amity; and more particularly, those of our dear Brother the King of Spain, in Respect of his Dominions in that Continent, which, notwithstanding, they have, by hostile Invasion of the Town of St. Thome, &c. broken and infringed.* We have therefore held fit to make publick Declaration of our utter Mislike and Detestation of the said Insolencies; and for the better Detection and clearing up of the Truth, we charge all our Subjects, that have any Understanding or Notice thereof, to repair to any of our Privy Council, and make known their whole Knowledge, that we may thereupon proceed to the Exemplary Punishment and Coercion of all such as are found guilty of so scandalous and enormous Outrages.

The next Thing to be thought of was, a proper and plausible Instrument for the Apprehension of Sir Walter Ralegh when he should come ashore; such a one was Sir Lewis Stucley soon found to be (and not Sir John, as one Writer erroneously christens him) who was Vice-Admiral of Devon (not Lieutenant of the Tower, as the same negligent Author mistakes again.) One who, though Ralegh's Countryman, and, as all others but Stucley say, his Kinsman too, yet most officiously undertook that Charge, through the sordid Prospect of Profit; so unnatural, says Wilson, and servile is the Spirit when it bath an Allay of Baseness; there being many others fitter for that Employment. However,

ever, his Orders were to bring up this great Malefactor in a fair and courteous Manner, according to his Majesty's gracious and mild Course, as it is call'd in his Declaration. And though we are told by one, otherwise misguided in his Account of this Expedition, by some distorted Representations of it in those Times, *That the World much wonder'd, so great a wise Man as Sir Walter Ralegh, would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a Rock as it was feared he would;* nevertheless, as we are assured, by Captain Samuel King, an old Officer of *Ralegh's*, who bore him Company all this while, and has left us a particular Narrative of whatsoever occur'd in their Journey from their landing now at *Plymouth*, to their final Arrival at *London*, that he no sooner put into the Harbour, and heard of the Proclamation aforesaid against him, than he resolved to surrender himself voluntarily into his Majesty's Hands; and to that Intent, both moor'd his Ship and sent his Sails ashore the first Day he landed; which I take to have been in the Beginning of *July*, and after he had been absent upon this Voyage a full Twelve-month. Moreover, though he soon met here with several discouraging Reports also, concerning the *Spanish Ambassador's Stay at London* only for his coming up, to prosecute him, as my said Manuscript Author has it; *Ralegh* still continued firm in that Resolution. The said Ambassador is, in some common Memoirs, said to have been sent for over to *Spain* at this Time; and in some again, that his Commission was expir'd; but others think, that Impatience to deliver the Success of his Negotiations spur'd him away, according to Instruction, when he had got full Assurance that *Ralegh* should be dispatch'd at some Rate or other, whatever he could say for himself: for he departed for *Spain* three

three Weeks before *Ralegh* came to *London*, having left the Remainder of his Business in the Hands of some *espanioliz'd* Partisans at Court, whom he had made sure. * However, before he left *England*,

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* Here, since we are to take our Leave of this *Don Diego Sarmiento*, the following Remarks upon him may not be thought very digressory, since they mostly tend to the further Illustration of Sir *Walter Ralegh's Story*. His first coming into *England* is remember'd by Sir *John Finet*, in his Observations touching Foreign Ambassadors, to have been in 1613; being aged then, as compute, from a Date upon one of his Pictures, 45 Years. Some have intimated, that the *Spanish Ambassador* could not with all his worrying and baiting of King *James*, prevail so effectually for the Destruction of Sir *Walter Ralegh* (how easy and tempting soever it might be to trample over the Fence that is already broken down) but that he was forced to belabour the Point with *Spanish Gold*, among those Creatures who had the greatest Influence at Court. For, as one writes, *The Bargain was made, and Ralegh was devoted for a Sacrifice before they knew whether he was successful or not; and if we may believe the Accounts that are left upon Record of that Part of History, the King of Spain gave a good Sum of Money for his Head.* Some have gone so far, as to tell us who had the Money, at least a good Part of it. If this be true, the English Court had in it, at that Time, some of the most infamous People that were ever concerned in any Administration. As to those who reprove the King himself with it, I shall say no more than this, they ought to have been very sure of the Truth of it, before they recorded a Thing of a British King so much beneath the Character of any Monarch in the World, viz. to take Money of an Enemy for the Blood of their own Subjects, and of such Subjects as were most dangerous to the very Enemy they were sold to; which is neither less nor more, than selling their own Safety, as well as innocent Blood. See *An Historical Account of the Voyages and Adventures of Sir Walter Ralegh*, 8vo. 1719, p. 38. However it was, the *Spanish Ambassador* seems to have left the English Court well satisfied on the 16th, and embark'd for Spain on the 20th of July 1618, having first emptied all the Prisons in *England* of *Romish Priests*, many of whom he carried with him home, further to grace his Triumphs. But this Ambassador return'd to *England* in the Beginning of March 1619, under Pretence of pursuing that delusive Negotiation, and was lodg'd

not

an excellent Letter seems to have been written by
Ralegh in his own Defence, and conveyed to the
King;

not without Murmurs at the Bishop of Ely's House in Holborne. He was also trick'd out with titular Honours, the usual Reward of such Services as his were; being newly made *Conde de Gondomar*, as Sir John Finet observes; otherwise in the whole not so substantially rewarded at Home, as the slyish Pains he took abroad to please his Prince was thought to deserve. As for the pernicious Practices of this Spanish Ambassador in England which might gain him those airy Gratuities, they are unfolded in a Tract, entitled *Vox Populi*, or *News from Spain*; translated according to the Spanish Copy; which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how far to trust to Spanish Pretences.

In this Treatise Gondomar is represented in a Spanish Council lately held at Aragon, and delivering his chief Services to have been, 1st, His working a Dislike between King James and his House of Commons, persuading him to rule by his Prerogative; and as for Money, to furnish himself by the Marriage with Spain and by domestick Projects, without any Subsidy. Also that he hereby kept England from furnishing its Navy 2dly, His shewing only a colourable Resistance of our East-India Trade, as being rather hurtful than helpful to the State, by carrying out our solid Treasures, and bringing Home Spice, Silk Feathers and Toys; besides wasting our Mariners. 3dly, His opposing our West-Indian Voyages most strenuously, as who would raise another England to withstand their New Spain in America; therefore that he cross'd all the Undertakings for Virginia and the Bermudas, causing the Recusants, who were Sharers, to withdraw their Ventures and discourage the Work 4thly, That by this Means likewise, he kept the voluntary Forces from Venice, till it was almost too late to succour them 5thly, That he stickled hard for the Cautionary Towns, which the late King Philip called the Keys of the Low Countries. And 6thly, That the last, and not the least Service he did was, in overthrowing Sir Walter Ralegh's Voyage, and pursuing him, need not say almost to Death, says he, if all Things hit right, and all Strings hold. Further, that his Commission would not let him tarry to be a Spectre or of his Execution, which I desired the rather, says he, that by Concession I might have wrung from the inconsiderate English an Acknowledgment of my Master's Right in those Places, punishing him for attempting there, tho' they might prescribe for the first Foot. And this I did to stop their Mouths hereaf-

King; which, as we have it in Print, runs thus: *My it please your most excellent Majesty, If in my Journey outward bound I had my Men murdered at the Islands, and yet spared to take Revenge; if I*

er, and because I would quench the Heat and Valour of that Nation, that none shoulde ever dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to look out at Sea or breathe upon our Coast: and lastly, because I would bring to ignominious Death that old Pirate, who is one of the last, now living, bred under that English Virago, and by her fash'd in our Blood and Ruin. To do this I had many Agents; first, divers Courtiers, who were hungry and gaped wide for Spanish Gold: Secondly, some who bare him at Heart for inveterate Quarrels: Thirdly, some Foreigners, who having in vain sought the Elizir heretofore, hope to find it in his Head: Fourthly, all Men of the Komish Faith, who are of the Spanish Faction, and would have been my Blood bounds to hunt him or any such to Death willingly. And lastly, I left behind me such an Instrument, composed artificially, of a secular Understanding and a religious Profession, as he is every Way adapted to screw himself into the Closet of the Heart, and to work upon feminine Levity, who in that Country have masculine Spirits to command, and pursue their Plots unto Death. How much soever this may be called a fictitious Speech, it is founded on such Matters of Fact, that Rushworth, and others of our most serious Historians, have admitted the Substance thereof as perfect History.

In 1622, about Easter, Gondomar committed a gross Solecism in Politicks, by suffering his ungovernable Passion so to expose his leiger Honour, by striking William Lithgow, the Scotch Traveller, whom he had long deceived with Promises of Reparation for the Imprisonment, Tortures, and Robberies committed on him by the Inquisition at Malaga, as may be read in the Book of his Travels; that the said Ambassador got his Ears soundly box'd by him before a numerous Crowd of noble Witnesses. "His Fistula, says Lithgow, (meaning, I think, his Cane, tho' alluding to his Disease) was contrabanded by a Fist; and for Victory, Favour lent me Authority." He was imprisoned for it nine Weeks in the Marshalsea: "Whence I returned (says he) with more Credit, than he left England with Honesty." In June following, as Camden tells us, Gondomar was reported to be imprisoned in Spain, for so much promoting the Match; and that the Infanta was to be married to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

did discharge some Spanish Barks taken without Spoil; if I did forbear all Parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for Guiana, where, without any Directions from me, a Spanish Village was burnt, which was new set up within three Miles of the Mine: by your Majesty's Favour, I find no Reason why the Spanish Ambassador should complain of me.

If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as one Sword; and it may not be lawful for your Majesty's Subjects, being charged first by them, to repel Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable English!

If Parker and Mecham took Campeachy and other Places in the Honduras, seated in the Heart of the Spanish Indies; burnt Towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their Return; and myself, who forbore to look into the Indies, because I would not offend, must be accus'd; I may as justly say, O miserable Ralegh!

If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffer'd by Sickness, and otherwise a World of Hardships; if I have resisted with manifest Hazard of my Life, the Robberies and Spoils with which my Companions would have made me rich: if when I was poor, I could have made myself rich: if when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men and Nature itself do much prize, I voluntarily lost it: if when I was sure of my Life, I rendered it again: if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put five or six thousand Pounds in my Purse, and yet brought her into England; I beseech your Majesty to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said,

that

that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man, whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betrayed your Majesty's Trust.

My Mutineers told me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I believed in your Majesty's Goodness, more than in all their Arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced Poverty and Peril; and as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the last. But your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges; who have ever been, and shall ever be, your Majesty's most humble Vassal, Walter Ralegh.

When Ralegh had settled his Affairs in the west of England, he began his Journey to London, pursuant to his first Resolution; but before he came to Ashburton, twenty Miles from Plymouth, he was met by Sir Lewis Stucley; who said, he had Orders for arresting him and his Ship. Ralegh answer'd, he had saved him the Labour, and done it to his Hands. And though at that Time Stucley had no Warrant, as our MS Author aforesaid goes on, for such Arrest, either from the King, or the Lords of the Council, for it seems that his Haste was so great, and his Heart so set upon some supposed Purchase, that he could not stay for a Warrant; yet Ralegh, being told by him, that he had such a verbal Commission from the Secretary, did in no wise resist even that Authority. So they went back together to Plymouth, and lay at Sir Christopher Harris his House; where Sir Walter Ralegh was so little watch'd, that he was sometimes two or three Days without seeing Sir Lewis Stucley. And Ralegh himself says, that Stucley left him nine or ten Days to go where he listed, while he rode about the Country. However, as we learn from Captain King, it did, at last, come into Ralegh's Mind (whether upon some private Advices, how insuperably

ably the Prejudice of his Enemies was working against him; or any Suggestions of his own, how he might work a Reconciliation more successfully from abroad, it is not said, but contrive he did) to convey himself out of the Kingdom. Therefore, while they were at *Plymouth*, he employ'd our Author, the said Captain *King*, to provide him a Bark that would carry him over into *France*. King *James's* Declaration says, *Ralegh* dealt with for a Bark, as for a Friend, and proffered twelve Crowns for the Passage: *Stucley* says, he dealt with two Captains of *French* Barks: the Declaration says, *Ralegh* was then under no Guard, and *Stucley*, that he was then under his keeping. But leaving these Inconformities to others, I here follow Captain *King*, who informs us, that himself procur'd the Vessel, which is most likely, and that he detain'd it nigh four Days, riding at Anchor beyond command of the Fort. The first Night, about one of the Clock, they secretly took Boat to have gone Aboard, but before they reach'd the Bark, *Ralegh*, whether through some more prevailing Thought that might arise of a generous Reliance upon the King, or a more confident Dependance upon the Justice of his Cause, or for any thing he left behind, or would have first left either in Writing or otherwise, does not yet appear; but certain it is he changed his Resolution, and returned to his Lodging unsuspected by any one. The next Day, he sent Money to the Master of the Bark, to retain him one Night more; and yet *Ralegh* never went nigh him afterwards.

It has been objected, as Captain *King* goes on, (who does not say by whom, but I find it in the King's Declaration) that *Ralegh* was obliged to return, because the Night was so Dark that he could not find the Vessel: But I (says the Captain) who was

was with him, will take my Oath, that if he had been only willing to have rowed a quarter of a Mile further, he might have seen her. Besides, if that Night would not have served, one of the other three would, the Wind being fair, and the Tide falling out conveniently.

After this, says Captain King, Stucley received a Warrant to bring up Sir Walter Ralegh, but with no more speed than his Health would permit; and he took to his Assistance, one Mancourie, a French Quack, upon what Occasion (says King) I here willingly omit, as well because I would not medale with any Instrument of State, as because I, little suspecting what followed, was somewhat careless in the Observance of their Carriage.

In their Journey they baited and lodg'd at divers Gentlemens Houses of Ralegh's Acquaintance upon the Road, from some of whom hearing, more distinctly the nearer he approach'd it, what a storm his Enemies had brew'd at Court, he began to regret his having neglected the Opportunity he had at Plymouth of retiring; which he discoursed of to his Lady and to Me, says Captain King, who told him, *He could blame none but himself.* But after that peremptory Warrant, which a Pursuivant brought down for the speedy bringing up of his Person, he began again to meditate upon a Retreat; tho', as he grew more desirous, it grew more difficult. Therefore, when he had made such inland Advancement on his Journey as to have no Means left that would favour him by Water, *He once more employed me (says Captain King) who was always ready to do any thing that might procure his Safety; being well assur'd in my own Conscience, tho' he sought to absent himself till the Spanish Fury was over, yet, as he always said, That no Misery should make him Disloyal to his King or Country.* And al-

tho' Manourie, in his Declaration, sets down that Sir Walter Ralegh should, to him in private, speak ill of his Majesty ; yet I must protest till my last Hour, that in all the Years I followed him, I never beard him name his Majesty but with Reverence : I am sorry the Assertion of that Man should prevail so much against the Dead.

The particulars of Captain King's Employment for this second Escape, we shall respite a while, to make way for those, which, according to the due Course of Time, must now be recur'd to out of that Frenchman's Declaration, as Captain King calls it above, and shall do it with such Justice as not to omit or disguise any of the ill Words, against his Majesty, ascribed to *Ralegh* therein. But can only do it from that which was suffer'd to appear after *Ralegh's* Death, annexed to King James's Declaration ; and thereby chuse rather to hazard a Trespass upon the Patience of some Readers, who may think it a Detail of improbable, at least insignificant Objections, than incur the Censure of Partiality from others in omitting it ; since King James, and consequently his Council, thought it would pass for Matter of such Importance, by their making it so great a Part of what was hoped would justify his Proceedings against *Ralegh* ; and of such Authority, as to need no other Evidence : not that it is there too expressively or positively call'd *Manourie's* Declarations, or his Confession or Examination upon Oath, but by a pretty, light, pliable Phrase, 'tis said, *The Story himself reporteth to have passed in this Manner.*

Upon Saturday, the 25th of July, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Lewis Stucley, and the said Manourie went to lie at Mr. Drake's, where the Letters of Commission from the Privy Council were brought to Sir Lewis Stucley, and that *Ralegh* hereat chang-

ing Countenance, exclaimed with an Oath, Is it possible my Fortune should return upon me thus again? This hastening their Departure, they advanc'd on Sunday Morning nearer to London about four Miles, and baited at Mr. Horsey's. That here Raleigh first caused Manourie to be sounded what was in his Heart (suspecting, apparently, that he was designed as a Spy over him) by his Old Domestick, Captain King; who, discoursing Manourie upon Raleigh's Calamities, said, *I wish we were all at Paris.* Manourie answer'd, *I would we were all at London; what should we do at Paris?* Because, said King, *as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter to the Tower, and cut off his Head.* Manourie said, he hoped better Things, and that, according to his Ability, he was ready to do him all honest Service. After Dinner they set forward for Sherborne; and here Raleigh is said to tell Manourie, *All that was his, and the King had unjustly taken it from him.* Manourie, and Raleigh's Retinue lay in the Town that Night; but Raleigh himself and Stucley, at old Mr. Parham's. On Monday they got to Salisbury, where as Raleigh was walking on foot down the Hill, and had found, by Enquiry, that Manourie had got some Physick about him, he desired him to prepare a Vomit against Morning. *For I know,* said he; (as he is here represented, with a surprizing Faith already in such a Man) *'twill be good to evacuate bad Humours; and by this Means, I shall gain Time to work my Friends, order my Affairs, and perhaps pacify his Majesty: otherwise, as soon as I come to London, they'll have me to the Tower, and cut off my Head, which I cannot escape without counterfeiting Sickness, which your Vomits will effect without Suspicion.* Accordingly that, at Salisbury, he complained of a Dimness of Sight, with a Dizziness in his Head; and,

when he was conducted towards his Chamber, tha
he stagger'd, and struck himself with such Vic
tence against a Pillar in the Gallery, as made *Stuc
ley* think he was sick indeed ; and in that Belief
Manourie left him for that Time. On Tuesda
Morning, *Ralegh* sent his Lady with the greatest
Number of his Servants forwards to *London* ; and
now it was he also sent Captain *King* thither, o
the Expedition aforesaid (whom we shall meet wit
there, prepared for the same, as soon as *Manouri*
is brought to an End of this same Story.) The
comes a Servant of *Ralegh*'s, into *Stucley*'s Cham
ber, and declares his Maister was out of his Wits
that he left him in his Shirt, upon all four, scratch
ing and gnawing the Rushes on the Planks. *Stuc
ley* sent *Manourie*, who found him in Bed ; and
asking what he ail'd ? he answer'd, *Nothing* ; bu
that he did it on Purpose. That then *Ralegh* aske
for the Vomit, and took it without any Hesitation
At *Stucley*'s Entrance, that he fell a raving ; and
before his Vomit operated, had such strong Con
vulsions upon him, that *Stucley*, and all the Hel
he could get, were not strong enough to preven
the Contraction of his Sinews as fast as the Compa
ny could draw them straight, insomuch that *Stuc
ley* caused him to be chaf'd and fomented, but that
Ralegh, truly, afterwards laugh'd at it to *Manourie*,
and said (such a Confident is he now grown) he
had made *Stucley* a perfect Physician.

In the next Place, *Ralegh* must be observed to
take some Repose ; so *Manourie* is shut into the
Room with him, and having dissuaded him from a
more violent Vomit, because his first did not yet
work, *Ralegh* ask'd, if he knew not of some Pre
paration which would make him look ghastly and
icksome outwardly, and not affect the Vitals, or
make him inwardly sick : After a Pause, *Manourie*
assur'd

assur'd him he could furnish him with an harmless Ointment, which would yet soon make him all over like a Leper. *Whereby, we are told, Raleigh said, the Lords would be afraid to approach him, and that it would move their Pity besides.* Soon after he had been thus anointed on the Brows, Arms and Breast, the Blisters rose successfully, and soon ripen'd to their full Discolourations, that Stucley, at his next Visit, perceiving Raleigh's Body all broke out in purple Spots with yellow Heads, and the rest of his Skin so inflamed with Heat, concluded he was struck over with the Plague, and that it was highly contagious. But asking Manourie's Opinion, he truly concealed all, for that, as yet, he knew nothing of Raleigh's intended Flight; but thought it was only to gain Time to satisfy his Majesty. However, away went Stucley to the grave Bishop Andrews, then upon the Point of his Translation to Winchester, and soon made known what a frightful Figure Sir Walter Raleigh was become; described all the Tokens upon him, and, in the End, return'd with two Doctors, and one Bachelor of Physick. All their Skill could not enlighten them with one Spark of Knowledge in the Nature of his Distemper; but they gave their Opinion in Writing, that the Patient could not be removed into the Air without manifest Hazard of his Life; and Manourie set his Hand to it.

Here, Raleigh is describ'd to have been much delighted that Matters went on so prosperously, especially that the Vomit worked so thoroughly in the presence of these learned Doctors. But having apprehended they would inspect his Water, he directed Manourie to rub the Urinal with a certain Drug, which turned all to such a dismal Colour, and such a disagreeable Scent, that if Heaven did not prescribe, the Patient must perish; for nothing

could the Physicians do but pronounce the Disease mortal. Further, that he then made *Manourie* bind his Arm about with the black Silk Ribband which he took from his Poniard ; but that not di-stempering his Pulse agreeable to Expectation, he had more Blisters raised the next Day. By this Time his Physick having opened his Stomach and made him hungry, he got *Manourie* secretly to buy a Leg of Mutton and three Loaves, which he fed upon in private, and by this Subtilty, was thought to have fasted three Days, that is to *Friday* the last of *July*, ever feigning great Indisposition and Uneasiness in Company ; but when alone, for to get the Opportunity of being so was the chief Source of all the Artifice he did here really put in Practice, he wrote his Declaration or Apology, and is said to have got *Manourie* to make him a Transcript of it ; which was, as the Penman of this Story further says, since presented to his Majesty. But by an Expression of that Ambiguity and Latitude, whether we are designed to understand it was before or after *Ralegh's* Death ; that Penman, intelligent enough in other Parts of *Manourie's* said Story, and the rest of the King's Declaration (for they were both of them visibly cast in one Mould) might think it not necessary to be so here. It was surely a most vexatious Stratagem, that *Ralegh* should unexpectedly make such a provoking Vindication of his Voyage, and thereby defeat the Preparations that were making to cut him off for it : but however it may, in the Opinion of Posterity, have cleared his Innocence ; among his Cotemporaries, it could not secure his Safety.

The same Night, as the Story goes on, apparently to raise Inflammations beyond his own Person, he insinuated to *Stucley*, that he thought he had taken Poisou at Mr. *Parham's*, for that he was a Pa-

pist, and kept a Priest in his House; but desired, and particularly to *Monsieur*, that it might not be spoken of. A while after, being in his Bed-Chamber undress'd, and no Body present but his Friend *Manourie*, he is said to have taken a Looking-glass in his Hand to admire his spotted Face, and to have merrily observed to his said Confident, *how they should one Day laugh for having thus cozen'd the King, Council, Physicians, and Spaniards and all.*

On the first of *August*, being the Day that the King arrived in his Progress at *Salisbury*, *Ralegh* is said to have taken *Manourie* in private, and having open'd a red Leather Trunk, put into his Hand nine Pieces of *Spanish Gold*, saying, *There is twenty Crowns in Pistoles, which I give you for your Physical Receipts, and the Victuals you bought me: and I will give you fifty Pounds a Year if you will do what I tell you: and if Sir Lewis Stucley asks what Conference you have had with me, tell him that you comfort me in my Adversity, and that I make you no other Answer than what is here written*, giving him a Piece of Paper containing these Words, *Ve la, M. Manourie, l'acceptance de tous mes travaux; perte de mon Estate, et de mon fils; mes maladies et douleurs: Ve la, c'est effect de ma Confidence au Roy.* Which Paper of *Ralegh's* own Hand-Writing, was afterwards produced by *Manourie*.*

* As much as to say, *Behold there, M. Manourie, the Fruit of all my Toils; the Loss of my Fortune and of my Son, the Sickness I have endured and the Sorrows: behold there, the Effect of that Faith I repesed in his Majesty. But behold where? — for that ve la or voila, repeated as it is, plainly points at some more copious or convincing Evidence which accompanied this Expression, and more particularly demonstrated those Losses and Afflictions to have been the Fruit of *Ralegh's* Trust or Faith in the King; to which these Words appear but a bare Direction; and which therefore seems here to have been suppress'd.*

And now *Ralegh* is pretended to practise more unreservedly still about the Escape with *Manourie*, as being all in his Power to aid him, and he the only Person trusted by *Stucley*. Whereupon he proposes, that *Ralegh*, at his coming to *London*, should lie *perdue* at a Friend of *Manourie's* in *Shire-Lane*, which did not long engage his Approbation, for *Ralegh* resolved otherwise ; telling this only Person trusted by *Stucley* (through an incredible Profuseness of Communication) that he had sent *Captain King* to hire him a Bark below *Gravesend*, which would go with all *Winds*, and another little Boat to carry him to it. Adding, that to bide himself in *London*, he should be always apprehensive of a Discovery by the general Searchers that are there ; but that to escape, he must get Leave to go to his own *House*, and being there, he would so handle the Matter, as to slip from *Stucley* through a Back-door into the Boat with Ease ; for no Body would dream he could go on Foot, seeing him so feeble as he seemed to be. Then that *Manourie* should say, *Why would you fly ? your Apology and your last Declaration, do they not sufficiently justify you ?* and that *Ralegh* should silence him with, *Tell me no more ; a man that fears, is never secure.*

In the next Place, *Ralegh* is said to have procur'd the King's Licence to be at his own *House* when he should come to *London* : and that when *Manourie* hereupon observed, his Majesty seem'd not inclin'd to take away his Life, since he suffer'd him to repair to his own Habitation for the Recovery of his Health ; that *Ralegh* should reply, *They used all these Kinds of Flatteries to the Duke of Biron, to draw him fairly into Prison, and then they cut off his Head.* Adding, *I know they have concluded among them, it is expedient that a Man should die to re-assure the Traffick which I have brcken with Spain.*

Spain. Thereupon, says our Story, he broke forth into the most hateful and traiterous Words against the King's own Person (but it surprisingly omits them all to object only his) ending with this improbable Rant, *that if he could but save himself for this Time, he would plot such Plots as should make the King think himself happy to send for him again, and restore him to his Estate with Advantage; yea, and would force the King of Spain to write into England in his Favour.*

Nay, when *Manourie* (as we are further persuaded) shewed such Care and Concern for *Stucley* as to ask, what would become of him if *Ralegh* escap'd? Whether he would be put to Death, or lose his Office and Estate? *Ralegh* is said to answer, *Not to Death; but he would be imprison'd for a while, yet his Lands were assured to his eldest Son, and for the rest it was no Part of his Care.* Then *Manourie* asks, if it were not Treason in himself to be aiding to his Escape? No; answers *Ralegh*, you are a Foreigner. However, if you pretend to know any Thing, they'll put you in Prison. But what if I am discover'd to have a Hand in your Escape? says t'other. Why follow me into France, your own Country, replies *Ralegh*; quit all and I will make amends for all.

As they travell'd, between *Andover* and *Stains*, *Manourie*, as this Story that is ascrib'd to him acknowledges, discovered *Ralegh*'s intended Escape to *Stucley*, who thenceforth used extraordinary Diligence in Guards and Watches upon him, which *Ralegh* perceiving, as it is also own'd, nevertheless trusts *Manourie* with a new Proposal at *Stains* in these Words; *I see it is not possible to escape by our two Means alone, Stucley is so watchful, and sets such strict Guard upon me, and will be too hard for us with all our Cunning; therefore there is no Way but*

to make him of our Council; and if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in Hand the Worth of two hundred Pounds Sterling. Upon these Words, he drew forth and shewed Manourie a Jewel made in the Fashion of Hail, powder'd with Diamonds, having a Ruby in the middle, valued at a hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling; and putting it into his Hands said, Besides this Jewel, he shall have fifty Pounds in Money; pray tell him as much from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you.

This Overture being made by Manourie, Stucley, after some Parley, sent back Word by him to Raleigh, that he would accept of his Offer, and bad him tell Raleigh he was content to do as he had desired: but would chuse rather to go with him than tarry behind with Shame and Reproach; directing Manourie further to ask, how this could be done without losing his Office of Vice-Admiral, which cost him six hundred Pounds; also to what Place they should go, how they should live afterwards, and what Means he would carry with him to furnish this intended Escape? Raleigh obviates all this with praying him to tell Stucley, that if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would tell him his whole Intent; and that for the first Point, though Stucley were to lose his Office, he should yet be no loser; that as soon as he was got into France or Holland, his Wife was to send him a thousand Pounds; and that he should carry with him only a thousand Crowns in Money and Jewels to serve at present. After Supper, Raleigh is further represented so open, so contrary to all his former Character, and beyond all Manner of Belief, as to say, O if I could escape without Stucley, I should do bravely; but it's no Matter, I'll carry him along, and afterwards dispatch myself of him well enough. Then Manourie having apprised Stucley

ley of all that pass'd, brought them together. *Ralegh* shewed the Jewel, and, probably, deliver'd it, for *Stucley* shewed himself content, and it was probably upon the Acceptance of it, but desired a little Respite to dispose of his Office. *Manourie*, having thus seen the Agreement made, took his Leave of them for *London* (the Part design'd for him ending here) after having said to *Ralegh*, *he did not think of seeing him again, while he was in England.* *Ralegh*, at parting, gave him, by a Letter to a Person at *Radford*, an Iron Furnace, with a Distillatory of Copper belonging to it; and charged him to tell every Body he met, *how sick he was, and that he left him in an extreme Looseness that very Night.*

But as *Ralegh* had dispatch'd Captain *King* to *London* with Instructions to be in Readiness for him, he kept moving on; when there fell out an Accident which gave him fresh Hopes to facilitate his Escape. For when he came to his Inn at *Brentford*, he was met by a *Frenchman*, named *La Chesnay*, a Follower of *Le Clerc*, Agent from the *French King*; who told *Ralegh*, the said *French Agent* was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as he got to *London*, about some Affairs which highly concerned his Safety. Accordingly the next Night after *Ralegh* was at *London*, the said *Le Clerc* and *La Chesnay* came to visit him at his House: and there *Le Clerc* offer'd him a *French Bark*, which he had prepared for him to escape in; and withal, his Letters recommendatory for his safe Conduct and Reception, to the Governor of *Calais*; and to send a Gentleman exprefly that should attend and meet him there. But *Ralegh*, understanding the *French Bark* not to be so ready nor so fit as that he had already proposed for himself, gave him Thanks, and told him, that he would

make use of his own Bark, but for his Letters, and the rest of his Offer, that he should be beholden to him, because his Acquaintance in *France* was worn out.* With this Passage, and a Word or two only of *Ralegh's* Attempt to escape, after he came to *London*, it not being thought proper here to expatiate upon the Arts used in betraying it, ends the tedious Fardel of Objections accumulated to render him unworthy of Mercy in the King's Declaration, and the Story ascribed to the obscure *Frenchman* aforesaid in it, but unconfirmed by any Affidavit or Evidence upon Oath, which, in other such Cases, have been thought necessary Vouchers: therefore how far to be call'd heinous Offences, Acts of Hostility, Depredations; Abuses of his Charge, Impostures and Declensions of Justice, the Reader

* *Ralegh* might say this to get his Recommendation the stronger, but indeed his Fame was now in high Request at the *French Court*. For one of the noblest Scholars in *France*, *Nicholas Claudius Fabricius*, Lord of *Pereſk*, writing, soon after, a Letter over to *Camden*, concludes it with these Words highly in his Favour.

The French Agent having form'd a Design of conveying Sir *Walter Ralegh* to *France*, *Monsieur de la Chefnaye* was examined before the Lords of the Council, who confess'd that *Le Clerc* had employ'd him for that Purpose. *Le Clerc* was then cited to appear before them; but as Punctilio often arise in Relation to Ambassadors, so here a Dispute sprung up, which seem'd to add to the Indignation already conceiv'd against Sir *Walter*; for *Le Clerc* refus'd to answer any Interrogatories, till the Lords of the Council should stand up and be uncovered as he was, insisting that Sir *W. Becker*, when Agent for King *James* in *France*, had claimed a Right to the same Privilege, and was granted it: To which the Lords reply'd, that different Countries had different Forms; but in Order to set all Objections aside, they remov'd out of the Council-Chamber into a private Room, where no Ceremony was observ'd; and *Le Clerc* being confronted by *Le Chefnaye*, confess'd the whole Affair. King *James* being inform'd thereof, *Le Clerc* was forbid all further Exercise of his Charge, and ordered not to appear at Court, till it was known whether or no the *French King* approv'd of his Conduct.

may now first give his own Judgment, and then compare it with what has been before said of these Accusations by others. †

And now comes on the Remainder of Captain King's Narrative ; wherein he tells us, that from *Salisbury* he was sent before to *London* to provide a Boat, and to lay her as low as *Tilbury* : and that he was also advised to put one *Cotterell* in Trust, who had been *Ralegh's* Servant, for the Provision of a Wherry. As soon as *King* came to *London*, he dealt with *Cotterell*, who seem'd as willing to do Sir *Walter* Service as himself ; but telling him of one *Hart*, who had been Boatswain to the said Captain's Ship, and had a Ketch of his own ; with him the Captain therefore agreed, and gave him Money to get it in Readiness, having vowed Secrecy upon the Reward which the Captain further promised him. But he had no sooner received the thirty *Pieces of Silver*, than he betray'd the Design to Mr. *William Herbert*, who as suddenly divulg'd it ; but *King* not suspecting any Discovery, still fed *Hart* with Money to keep the Ketch at *Tilbury*.

On Friday Night, which was the 7th of *August*, Sir *Walter Ralegh* came to *London*, when Captain *King* attended on him at his Lodgings, but was told by *Ralegh* that he could in no wise get ready to go off that Night. It seems to be the next Day that *Stucley* got his Warrant to indemnify him for any Contract he should enter into with Sir *Walter Ralegh*, or to authorize his Compliance with any

† Upon the great Murmurs which arose at the putting Sir *Walter Ralegh* to Death, King *James* publish'd a Declaration, which instead of mitigating the Affair, only aggravated it in the Eye of the World : And an Author writing on this Subject, says, that his Crime was, in having more Merit than such a Prince knew how to value ; for his Attempt at *Guiana* was, even by his very Enemies, judg'd reasonable.

Offer he should make him for his Escape; or in short, as others have not spared to call it, a Licence to betray him; for tho' *Ralegh* might now have been secur'd in a direct and undisguised Manner, yet the Glory was to do it insidiously, and under the Vizor of Friendship; being not more suitable to the Genius of predominant Power, than necessary on the present Occasion, to give Room for so many more little Circumstances of Objection, as might occur to supply the Place of one wanting, that should have been capital. And this Night it was that the *French Ambassador* aforesaid, came to *Ralegh's House*, and made the Proposal before recited. But when Capt. *King* came to him again the same Night, *Ralegh* said there was no going now without *Stucley*, whom he doubted not but he should engage to go along with him, and that the next Night, without Failure, he would meet the Captain at the *Tower-Dock*. As for Mr. *Herbert* aforesaid, he was employ'd in garrowing Sir *Walter Ralegh's House*, as the Captain phrases it, while *Ralegh*, being thus drawn out of it by *Stucley*, under Pretence of bearing him Company, might be the more unexpectedly seiz'd with all such private Papers as he should have about him; in Hopes, no doubt, that by one means or other, something might turn out to make a Charge of sufficient Weight against him. But, in the Conclusion, says our said Author, all the Papers which were found, prov'd to be no other, than what might, without any Discredit, have been laid open to all the World.

Capt. *King* went, as he further tells us, on *Sunday* Night to the Place appointed with two Wherries; and Sir *Walter Ralegh* also came thither; having put on a false Beard, and a Hat with a green Hatband. He was accompany'd with Sir *Lewis Stucley*,

Stucley, young Stucley, and his own Page. Then asking Captain King, if all Things were ready? he answer'd, they were, and that the Cloak-bag and the four Pistols were in the Boat. *Stucley then saluted Captain King, and ask'd, whether thus far he had not distinguished himself an honest Man?* to which King answer'd, that he hop'd he would continue so.

After they enter'd the Boats and divided the Pistols, they had not rowed above twenty Strokes before the Watermen told them, that Mr. Herbert had lately taken Boat, and made as if he would have gone through Bridge, but return'd down the River after them. This rais'd some Apprehension in *Ralegh*, but upon *Stucley's* Encouragement they row'd on; yet *Ralegh*, not well satisfy'd, call'd Captain King near to him, who was in the other Boat with young *Stucley* and *Hart*, and intimated, that he could not go forward unless he was sure of the Watermen, whom he then also spake to, asking, whether if any should come to arrest them in the King's Name, they would row forwards or return. At this, the great Boobies were so frighten'd that they cry'd, and answer'd, they knew no body there but Captain King, who had hired them to *Gravesend*; and that they neither dared, nor would go any further. *Ralegh* said, that a brabbling Matter with the *Spanish* Ambassador, was the Cause that of Necessity he must go to *Tilbury* to embark for the *Low Countries*; and that he would give them ten Pieces of Gold for their Pains.

Then began *Stucley's* Part, cursing and damning himself that he should be so unfortunate as to venture his Life and Fortune 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 suspected;

suspected ; of which Opinion Capt. King also still was. Thus the Time pass'd till they drew near Greenwich, when a Wherry cross'd them, which Ralegh said came to discover them. King sought to dissuade him from this Supposition, and told him 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. Hereupon Ralegh would have landed at Purfleet, and Hart would have possess'd him, that tho' it was Night he could procure him Horses to Tilbury. Stucley appear'd very zealous for this Proposal, and said, that upon that Condition he could be content to carry the Cloak-bag on his own Shoulders half a Mile ; 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 Time they had rowed as far as Woolwich, or rather about a Mile beyond, which might be to a Reach call'd the Gallions near Plumstead. Here, approaching two or three Ketches, Hart began to doubt, whether any one of them was his. Upon this, Ralegh concluded they were all betray'd, and bid the Watermen turn back, hoping to have got to his own House before Morning ; and began to examine Hart very strictly, who pretended he had given his Men express Charge not to stir from Tilbury till he came down ; but this would not induce Ralegh to proceed. Before they had rowed back a Furlong, they espied another Wherry, and hailing her, they said they were for the King. Ralegh perceiving they were some of Mr. Herbert's Crew, proposed to Stucley, seeing they were discover'd, and in Respect to his Safety, that he might remain still in his Custody, and that Stucley should openly declare to the Watermen he was his Prisoner,

somer, which he did. Here Stucley and he fell into private Discourse, contriving how *Ralegh* might reach his House; and how *Stucley* might save himself harmless by saying, that he only pretended to go along with *Ralegh*, in order to discover his Intentions, and seize upon his private Papers. Then they whisper'd some Time together, and *Ralegh* taking some Things out of his Pockets (whether more Rubies powder'd with Diamonds) our Author does not say) and gave them to *Stucley*, who all this while not only hugg'd and embrac'd him, as it seem'd with the greatest Tenderness, but made the utmost Protestations of Love, Friendship, and Fidelity. When they were got back to Greenwich, *Stucley* said, that he durst not carry *Ralegh* to his House, but persuaded him to land, which they did; the other strange Boat landing at the same Time, in which the Men, they perceived, belong'd to Mr. *W. Herbert* and Sir *William St. John*, the same who had made good Profit of *Ralegh* before, as we have read. Upon Greenwich Bridge *Stucley* told Capt. *King* it would be for Sir *Walter's* Good, that he should pretend he was consenting with him to betray his Master. *King*, not able to fathom the Depth of this Policy, as he tells us, refus'd it, thinking he should not only thereby bely his own Conscience; but make himself odious to the World; therefore, tho' *Ralegh* himself made some Motion of it to him, he could not, how serviceable soever it might prove, be guilty of so much Insincerity towards him. Then *Stucley* arrested the Captain in his Majesty's Name, and committed him to the Charge of two of Mr. *Herbert's* Men. After this they all went to a Tavern, and by the way, Captain *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

enter'd into the Tower, *Ralegh* said to him, *Stucley* and *Cotterell* have betray'd me ; adding, 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 Captain *King*, being forced to take his leave, left *Ralegh*, to his Tuition, with whom I do not doubt (*says he*) but his Soul resteth. And so concludes his Narrative.

Here the curious Reader would probably be willing to know what *Stucley* had to say for himself upon this Business ; and this I have some Opportunity of relating from the Tract he publish'd at *Ralegh's* Death in his own Defence ; which tho', for its Author's Behaviour aforesaid, it has been so much disregarded, that of all the Historians general and particular, who have written of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, and some few of them, whose Characters are pretty well known, to his Disparagement ; I never met with one who has shewn it so much Credit as to quote it : Yet, as I have found some few Passages not altogether useless in explaining other Parts of this Life, so those, which concern this Part, I have thought proper more particularly here to insert, in observance to a good biographical Maxim, which enjoins us, as far as the Parts they bear in our Narrative will permit, to shew a due Respect to the Characters of all Men, and consequently not, in Favour of any, to prostitute our own.

In this Tract, which is properly enough address'd to the King, one of the earliest Motives to Revenge, in that poor Instrument of State, as *Stucley* no less properly calls himself, against *Ralegh*, appears to be a Pretence, that *Ralegh* had abridg'd *Stucley's* Father of an incredible dividend in a Prize many Years before taken at Sea, whereof a more particular Account has been before given

in its proper Place; as the last Motive will appear to be what *Ralegh* said of this *Stucley* in his dying Speech. But the Arguments *Stucley* makes Use of for having betray'd him, are drawn first from *Ralegh's* having pretended to be poison'd at Sir *Edward Parham's* House who was *Stucley's* Kinsman. For he reports *Ralegh* to have said, *Tho' the Gentleman would not hurt me, yet there might be Priests that did it: for I remember, after my Morning's Draught of a Cup of Ale, which Sir Edward Parham offer'd me in the Hall, I felt presently a kind of Excoriation in my Bowels, as if some Jesuit had been the Butler.* Now, says *Stucley*, *when I saw the Pustles break out upon him at Salisbury, my Compassion, I confess, was too credulous to report it.* But that being thus deceived himself, and thereby wronging his Kinsman, it moved his Indignation against *Ralegh* for abusing both: so that in short, he drew *Ralegh* to his Destruction by a Lie, because he had induced *Stucley* to asperse his Kinsman with one. And tho' Divinity would not, as *Stucley* owns, yet Reason of State would hold it lawful to lie for the Discovery of Treason, in service to the Commonwealth. Then he endeavours to reconcile himself to the Commonwealth, by answering the Objection of his being so Instrumental to the depriving it of so sufficient a Member as had not left his Equal behind him, in these Words: *No Man denies but he had many Sufficiencies in him: But what were these but so many Weapons of Practice and Danger against the State, if he escaped? being so deeply tainted in so many Points of Discontent, Dishonesty, and Disloyalty.* He knew, as he had written, that as in Nature, so in Policy, a privatione ad habitum not fit regressio. And therefore being desperate of any Fortune here, agreeable to the Height of his Mind, who can doubt but he would have made up his Fortune elsewhere,

elsewhere, upon any Terms against his Sovereign and Country? In another Place, which relates to Raleigh's last Endeavours of escaping, he tells the King, On the Saturday when I received your Majesty's Commission by my Cousin Herbert, I received also Intelligence by him, that at that Instant Raleigh was flying from my Custody without my Privity, not having, as yet, made him any Semblance of Condescnt: so that I almost came upon him unawares, even, as he was putting on his false Beard, and other Disguisements; which declares he did still distrust your Goodness, doubtless out of the Conscience of his Guiltiness, whatever he writ or said to the contrary. And is it any marvel then, that he was angry with me at his Death for bringing him back? Besides, being a Man, as he was thought, of so great a Wit, it was no small Grief that a Man of so mean Wit as I should be thought to go beyond him. Yea, but you should not have used such Craft to go beyond him. No? Sic ait deluditur arte. Neque enim lex justior ulla est quam necis artifices arte perire sua. But why did you not execute your Commission bravely to his Apprehension on him in his House? Why? my Commission was to the contrary, to discover his Intentions, and to seize his secret Papers, &c. And can any honest Subject question my Honesty in the Performance of such a Commission, which tended to discover the secret Intentions of an ill-affected Heart to my Sovereign? How can any dislike this in me, and not bewray his own dishonest Heart unto the State? Yea, but tho' another might have done this, yet how might you do it, being his Kinsman and his Friend? Surely if I had been so; yet in a publick Employment and Trust laid upon me, I was not to refuse it, much less to prefer private Kindness and Amity before my publick Duty and Loyalty: for what did I know the dangerous Consequence of these Matters which were to be

be discovered ? or who knows them yet, of those that make themselves my competent Judges ? But if there were no Kindred or Amity between us, as I avow there never was, what Bond then might tie me to him, but the Tie of Compassion to his Miseries ? which was in my Sovereign's Heart to distribute, when he saw Time, that did command me, and not in the Dispensation of me, nor of any other Instrument's Power that is to be commanded. These are his Arguments ; and he concludes his Pamphlet with making two humble Petitions to his most excellent Majesty ; First, seeing that I, your poor loyal Subject, am burdened and oppressed with the Testimony of a bitter Enemy, of a perjured and condemned Man, against all Reason, Conscience and Law ; that I may have your Majesty's Leave, to the Confirmation of the Truth, which I have avowed to be sufficient ; to receive the Sacrament upon it in your Majesty's Chapel. But if he did receive the Sacrament, to confirm the Truth of his Assertions, for this seems to be the Meaning of his Words, if they have, or were intended to have any ; how that would justify the Falshood of his Actions ; and how, his taking of the Sacrament would be of any Credit to him, who has own'd, that Divinity would not hold his Practices lawful ; or how clear him for the Violation of that Trust and Fidelity he had before taken the Sacrament, as we shall hear presently, to maintain, he was not thought a Casuist, or even Instrument of State enough to resolve ; the last Petition is, That his Majesty would be so gracious as to suffer a Declaration to come forth from the State, for the clearing of these Matters, and further Satisfaction of the World ; which plainly discovers, that this Pamphlet, sent out under the Name of this Instrument, was a mere concerted Preparative to the said Declaration which so observantly followed it ; like a

Fomentation to supple the Minds of the uneasy People, that the sovereign Unguent might enter more effectually. But how little Satisfaction the said Declaration gave, we have already noted ; and for Stucley's Performance, it made not so much as himself easy ; being, in his own Opinion, so insufficient to deface the black and odious Stains of his Conduct, that he was forced to write an Apology besides ; and that was so little regarded, as never to have been thought worthy of the Press. Whether his Life was more successful than his Writings, and how it fared with him after this Piece of Court-service, may be gathered from several Authors. Some historical Compurgators of this Reign, and consequently no Friend to Ralegh's Memory, yet own, that Stucley's Destiny was suitable to his Dealings, being afterwards hang'd, say they, for clipping of Gold. But those who had better Intelligence, and knew the Truth more particularly, have delivered it more perfectly ; where they affirm, *That Stucley having, for a Bag of Money, falsified his Faith, which he had confirmed by the Tie of the Holy Sacrament, he was, before the Year came about, caught clipping the same Coin, in the King's own House at Whitehall, which he had received as the Reward of his Perfidiousness ; for which being condemned to be hang'd, he was driven to sell himself to his Shirt, to purchase his Pardon of two Knights. Then (to avoid the Sight and Scorn of Mankind) withdrew himself to a little Island in the Severn Sea, called the Isle of Lundy, and there died a poor distracted Beggar :* Which, as we find it elsewhere sufficiently confirmed, was in less than two Years after Ralegh's Death. Thus horribly did the Deceiver's Reward prove his Punishment ; and thus we leave this notable Monument of unprosperous Treachery.

Ralegh, as was before mentioned, was now Prisoner again in the Tower of London, being brought thither on Monday Morning the 10th of August. About two or three Days after, a Committee was selected to examine into the aforesaid Escape, it being a Matter luckily capable, and highly necessary to be enlarged upon, in order to fill up the Measure of Accusation. Such a premeditated Flight was therefore declaim'd against as a Crime so heavy and so heinous, such a Disdain or Despair of his Majesty's Mercy, as was greatly to be expected could never obtain his Forgiveness. Then again, for Sir Walter Ralegh to alienate himself thus from his native Country by Means of a foreign Power, was stretch'd out to the Idea of a Separation as horrid as the Breach of some huge Rock or Promontory from the main Land, when its Foundation was sap'd and wash'd away by undermining Waves.

The Arguments *Ralegh* now returned to extenuate this mighty Transgression, having been by no Author transmitted to us, it is not impossible but they were, with the rest of his Justification before those Commissioners, during the Time of this his last Imprisonment, industriously stifled. There is, notwithstanding, one of his own Letters on this Subject descended, by Means of the Press, to us. It is directed, by the Error of the Editor it seems to the Duke, tho' as yet, no more than Marquis of Buckingham, and dated the 14th of October. Herein, says *Ralegh*, with Relation to his late attempted Escape, *That which doth comfort my Soul in this Offence is, that even in the Offence it self, I had no other Intent than his Majesty's Service, and to make his Majesty know that my late Enterprize was grounded upon a Truth, and which with one Ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured*

or

or to have died ; being resolved, as it is well known, to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped, not only to recover his Majesty's gracious Opinion, but have destroyed all those malignant Reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that Gentleman, whom I so much trusted, my Keeper, and to whom I opened my Heart, cannot but testify ; and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my Death shall witness. Yea, that Gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards London, I desired to save no other Treasure than the exact Description of those Places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented Man, God, I trust, and my own Actions will dissuade his Majesty ; whom neither the Loss of my Estate, thirteen Years Imprisonment, and the Denial of my Pardon, could beat from his Service ; nor had the Opinion of being counted a Fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, ballanc'd with my Love to his Majesty's Person and Estate, any Place at all in my Heart.

It was that last severe Letter from the Lords for the speedy bringing of me up, and the Impatience of Dishonour, that first put me in Fear of my Life, or enjoying it in a perpetual Imprisonment, never to recover my Reputation lost, which strengthned me in my late, and too lamented Resolution, if his Majesty's Mercy do not abound ; if his Majesty do not pity my Age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost Advantage of my Errors ; if his Majesty, in his Charity, do not make a Difference between Offences proceeding from a Life-saving natural Impulsion, without all ill Intent, and those of an ill Heart ; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the World for the Nobleness of your Disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my Intercessor ; whereby your Lordship shall bind

an hundred Gentlemen of my Kindred to honour your Memory, and bind me, for all the Time of that Life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper; and over-bind me to remain your most humble Servant, W. Raleigh.

Though all other Events and Motions in this Expedition were now also rack'd and tenter'd by his Adversaries; though the Commissioners (who were perhaps the same, mention'd in a Kind of oblique Manner, at the End of the King's Declaration, as Witnesses thereof) came now constantly to the Tower, to pick out or catch hold of any Thing that might contribute some plausible Matter to condemn him; yet after the Examinations, Re-examinations, and Confrontments of the most discontented Persons in the late Voyage, none of all the Depositions upon Oath, that are pretended to have been taken, or were really worm'd out of them, were ever thought so material by the said Commissioners, as to have been distinctly brought to Light, either in that Declaration or elsewhere, against Sir Walter Raleigh. Much less may we expect to meet with any of the Arguments urged by himself in his own Defence during this Inquisition, or close and private Manner of sifting him from so many Quarters. And yet, if they had been fairly presented to the publick, it is not thought they could have given the World greater Satisfaction, or have cleared him better, than what he had just before written, both in his Letter to the Lord Carew and at the End of his Apology, to prove the Authority he had for the late Action at Guiana, the Integrity of his Conduct in it, with the Reason and Necessity thereof. Wherein it appears, he absolutely depended on the Honour of King James to continue now, as he had begun, the Maintenance of his Right to that Country which Raleigh had lawfully

lawfully possessed for the Crown ; at least, so far, as not to renounce or circumvent his own Commission : otherwise, how well he knew that if he made the least Opposition to any Resistance of his Attempt, he was liable to be pursued as an Invader ; or if he returned with any Gold, to be persecuted as a Plunderer by the *Spaniards* ; and if he did neither, that he was still no less liable to be accus'd as an Impostor by his Co-adventurers. But in this latter Respect, all Suspicion was clearly removed, even from those who by their Losses in this Voyage would have been most readily prompted to make such Reproach, when they found *Ralegh* prove himself as in these Writings, to the Face of Mankind, such a far greater Loser than any of the rest hereby, as was before observed : And as for the other two Objections, *Ralegh* has also made it no less amply evident in the same Pieces, how glaringly he must appear to the World, a mere premeditated or designed Sacrifice to one of them, if King *James* should maim his Sovereignty of its Title to *Guiana*, or now disclaimed the Undertaking there which he had before authorized. For therein he has shewed, that his Majesty was well resolved of his Right in those Parts bordering the *Orenoque* to the South, as far as the *Amazons*, by having formerly given the *English* Leave to plant and inhabit there ; and that his own Proposal to go thither, was not accounted of as what would endanger the Peace, even by the *Spanish* Ambassador, who pretended it to be needless that *Ralegh* should carry such Strength with him, if he intended no other Enterprize, for that he should work any Mine there without Disturbance ; but had a good Reason returned by *Ralegh* for that Strength, from the Example of Sir *John Hawkins*. Further shewing, that for the *Spaniards* to set up a Town upon the

Ore-

Orenoque, was such a Usurpation, and that their King should thereupon call himself King of *Guiana*, was as unreasonable as if he were to call himself King of *Ireland*, because he took Possession at *Smerwick*, and built a Fort there. Having also shewn, that no Peace could be broken there by him, where no Peace was maintain'd by the *Spaniards*, both from their bloody Usage of the *English*, who had lately been to trade there, and from the Words in the King of *Spain's* late Letters to the Governor; *who first call'd us Enemies, when he hoped to cut us in Pieces*, says *Ralegh*, and having fail'd, *Peace-breakers; when to be an Enemy and a Peace-breaker in one and the same Action, is impossible*. Moreover, that here the *Spaniards* began the first Slaughter; that their Town was not burnt by any Knowledge or Permission of his, nor his Directions to the Mine followed. Lastly, having observ'd how little the *Spaniards* can endure that the *English* Nation should look upon any Part of *America*, being above a fourth Part of the whole known World, tho' the hundredth Part was never possessed by the *Spaniards*; and withal, the many ill Consequences of acknowledging, that we have offended the King of *Spain* by landing in *Guiana*, even to the Ruin of our Navigation, Trade, Power and Dominion in this Quarter of the Globe, where there was as much Room and Reason for advancing the Honour and Riches of *England* as of any State in Christendom; he concludes his Apology with these Words, *I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not his Majesty's, the working of a Mine there, and the taking of a Town there, had been equally perilous; for, by doing the one, I had robb'd the King of Spain, and been a Thief; and, by the other, a Disturber or Breaker of the Peace.*

Now it is plain, that King *James* so much waved his right to *Guiana*, at least till *Ralegh* was put to Death (for then he assum'd it again, by the Power he gave for another Expedition to those Parts, * however, irresolutely according to Custom, he revok'd it) that as we observe in his *Declaration*, not only the place which *Ralegh* went to is pretended to be out of his Commission, but the Title he stood upon, to be no ways compatible with it. Yet so incontestably did *Ralegh* make it appear, no doubt in his Examinations at Present, no les than in the Writings abovemention'd, that if any Peace could be broken where no Peace had been maintain'd, it must either be by King *James* himself, in first granting a Commission to plunder another Prince (for he knew where *Ralegh* was going, and no where declines his Knowledge that the *Spaniards* were settled there) and then betraying it to procure a Defeat of the very Attempt he had empower'd ; or else by the *Spaniards* themselves, in resisting his Endeavours to put it in Execution ; that after all this questioning, canvasing, and heaping up of Allegations against him, the Council could not think it justifiable to take away Sir *Walter Ralegh's* Life for all that had passed at *Guiana*. Yet, as he must be put to Death, they found a Way to appease the *Spaniards* with his Blood, by making this last Action at *St. Thome* the efficient Cause, but the obsolete Condemnation at *Winchester*, fifteen Years past, the nominal Cause of his Destruction : as a

* About a Year after the Death of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, King *James* granted Captain *Roger North*, a Commission to inhabit and sett'e a Colony near the River *Amazons* in *Guiana* ; but was soon aw'd by *Gondomar* so much, that, on the 15th of May 1620, he issued a Proclamation to recall that Gentleman from the said Undertaking, and committed his Brother, the Lord *North*, to the Fleet Prison for hastning the said Voyage.

Course whereby both the Law would be judicially satisfied, and the Title be left, for fear of Displeasure, undecided. So in the whole, it was resolved there should be room enough to revoke the King's former Mercy, as it appears in his Declaration; and that *Ralegh* might lose his Head upon his former Attainder; † notwithstanding the Repugnancies apparent in such a Conclusion to Men of Penetration; among whom, *Carew Ralegh* has very well observ'd thereupon, that his Father was condemn'd for being a Friend to the Spaniards, and lost his Life by the same Sentence for being their Enemy.*

A Method,

† King *James*, (says *Osborne*) gave up this incomparable Jewel to the Will of this Monster in Ambition (*the Spaniard*) under the pretence of a superannuated Transgression, contrary to the Opinion of the most Honest sort of Gownmen; who maintain'd, that his Majesty's Pardon lay inclusively in the Commission he gave him upon his setting out to Sea; It being incongruous that he, who remain'd under the Notion of one dead in the Law, should, as a General, dispose of the Lives of others, not being himself Master of his own. But the *Spaniard* Faction, then absolute at Court, and sole Managers of the King's Power no less than his Justice, did so far tender his Catholick Majesty's full Satisfaction in the procuring of his Death, the only Man of Note left alive who had helped to beat them in the Year 1588; that no Absurdity lying in the way of his Prosecution, could deter them from making Use of his former Condemnation; rememb'ring, withal, how far his Wit had puzzled them at *Winchester*, and how much the Jury, who condemn'd him there, were touch'd in their Consciences; which made it the less probable they should be able to Impannel one so wicked as would do it then. Besides, *No Peace beyond the Line*, was a Belief so rivetted in the Opinion of all, as he could not have been indicted anew, without the King's producing the original Articles, by which his Accusers would have been convinced of Malice, or his Prince of Folly. *Memoirs of King James*, p. 103.

† See *Hirwel's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 371; and the Tract entitled, *A brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, &c.* where *Carew Ralegh's* Words are, p. 9. as follows. *Here Justice was indeed Blind! Blinely executing one and the same Person, upon one and the same Condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Ralegh was condemn'd for being a Friend to the Spaniard,*

A Method, however, of dispatching him being thus piec'd out, the King, or those with whom he left the Management of this Affair when he went upon his Progress, appear'd very eager for bringing it to a Period. Therefore, as the shortest way, a privy Seal was sent to the Judges, forthwith to order Execution. But they considering there ought to be some Face of Regularity in the Matter, and a little Finger in the Court of Justice to slide it off with as much Decency and Smoothness as the Business would allow of, demur'd upon that extrajudicial Manner of Proceeding. Therefore, on Friday the 23d of October, there was a Conference held upon the Form or Manner how Prisoners, who have been attainted of Treason and set at Liberty, should be brought to Execution, between all the Justices of England; as one of them, Judge Hatton tells us: wherein the Question being put, *Whether a privy Seal was sufficient, it being directed to the Justices of the King's-Bench, to command them to award Execution against Sir Walter Ralegh; or how they should proceed before Execution be awarded?* It was resolv'd by all, *That he ought to be brought to the Bar, by Habeas Corpus to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and then demanded, if he could say any thing why Execution should not be awarded?* For the Proceedings against him being before Commissioners, they are deliver'd only into the Court of King's-Bench, or they might have remain'd in a Bag or a Chest, and no Roll made thereof; and so long Time passing, it is not a legal Course that he should be commanded by a privy Seal or great Seal to be Executed, without being demanded, what he bath to say? For he might

and lost his Life for being their utter Enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and having made their Power subservient to their Will, deprive themselves of that just Power whereby others are subservient to them.

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have a Pardon, or he might say that he was not the same Person : as if one be outlawed of Felony, and taken, he shall not be presently hang'd, but he shall be brought to Bar, and so demanded, &c. Upon this Resolution, a privy Seal came to the Justices of the King's-Bench, commanding them to proceed against him according to Law. In what Sense he was so proceeded against may be better understood by that Notice, which on the 24th of October, being the next Day, Ralegh received from the Commissioners to prepare for Death ; and by his not being suffer'd, when he soon after appear'd, in Court, before the Judges, according to Law, to make any Defence of himself for what had been the Occasion of his coming thither ; as may be seen by the following Abstract of the said Proceedings, which I have been favour'd with from authentick Copies.

On Wednesday, the 28th of October, Sir Walter Ralegh, 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. The Writ being deliver'd to the Judges by Sir Walter Apsley, and Sir Walter Ralegh's Conviction at Winchester read, the Attorney, Mr. Henry Yelverton, set forth, That the Prisoner having been fifteen Years since convicted of High-Treason, and then received the Judgment of Death, his Majesty, of his abundant Grace, had been pleased to shew Mercy unto him, till now, that Justice calls to him for Execution. Sir Walter Ralegh (continued he) hath been a Statesman, and a Man, who, in regard to his Parts and Quality, is to be pitied : He hath been as a Star at which the World have gazed ; but Stars may fall, nay they must fall when they trouble the Sphere wherein they abide. It is therefore his Majesty's Pleasure

Pleasure now to call for Execution of the former Judgment, and I now require Order for the same. Then the Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Fanshaw, having read the Record of the Conviction and Judgment, the Prisoner, holding up his Hand, was ask'd, what he could say, why Execution should not be awarded against him. Ralegh told the Lords, his Voice was grown weak by his late Sickness, and an Ague he had at that Instant upon him, in which he was brought thither; therefore (as it appears in another Copy of these Proceedings before referr'd to) desired the Relief of a Pen and Ink. But the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Henry Montague, telling him he spake audibly enough, he went on to this Effect: 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 imply'd to be restor'd, in giving him Power as Marshal on the Life and Death of others; and since he undertook the same to honour his Sovereign, and enrich his Kingdom with Gold, of the Ore whereof, this Hand; said he, hath found and taken in Guiana. Then beginning to mention by what unavoidable and unblameable Means the said Enterprize miscarried, the Lord Chief Justice interrupted and told him, whatever he spoke touching his Voyage was not to the Purpose; also that his Commission could be of no Service to him; that Treason was not pardon'd by Implication, and that he must say something else to the Purpose, otherwise they must proceed to give Execution. Ralegh then finding whatever he should offer in his own Justification would be no Way to the Purpose, put himself upon the King's Mercy; yet gave some Reasons why he hoped the King would take Compassion upon him concerning that Judgment which was so long past, in which both his Majesty was of Opinion, and there were some present who could

could witness, that he had hard Usage. The Lord Chief Justice advised him to the Wisdom of Submission, and told him, he was called to grant Execution upon the Judgment given fifteen Years since; all which Time he had been as a Man dead in the Law; but the King, in Mercy, spared him; that he might think it heavy if this were done in cold Blood; but it was not so, for new Offences had stirr'd up his Majesty's Justice to revive what the Law had formerly cast upon him. I know, continued he, that 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 with the good Neighbour in the Gospel, he was for pouring some Oil into his Wounds; tho' far was it from yielding the Refreshment he promised, by Reason of the Severity wherewith he so sharpened the Infusion. I give you the Oil of Comfort, said he, though in Respect that I am a Minister of the Law, mixed with Vinegar. Nay, the Judge further gave him, how unnecessary soever he just before own'd it to be, one Lecture upon Sorrow. Sorrow, said he, 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. Then another also upon Death. You must do as that valiant Captain did, said he, who, perceiving himself in Danger, said, in Defiance of Death, 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 Hope ; nor too little, lest you die presumptuously : and here I must conclude my Prayers to God for it, and that he would have Mercy on your Soul. So he ended with saying , Execution is granted.

Ralegh then desir'd, 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, and something the World in : he desir'd further, that he might be heard at the Day of his Death ; and concluded with calling on God to be his Judge, before whom he should shortly appear, that he was never disloyal to his Majesty ; which I will justify, said he, where I shall not fear the Face of any King on Earth. Thus the Manuscripts here chiefly followed, conclude ; but in the more ancient Copy of these Proceedings, Ralegh's Conclusion, to the same Sense, is thus more copiously express'd : *I most humbly beseech your Lordships, that you will grant me some Time before my Execution, that I may settle my Affairs and my Mind more than they yet are ; for I have much to do, both for my Reputation, Conscience, and Loyalty ; and I would beseech the Favour of Pen, Ink, and Paper, to express myself something thereby, and to discharge myself of some Trust of worldly Matters that were put in me ; which Leisure, I beseech you think, that I crave not for to gain one Minute of Life ; for now being old, sickly, in Disgrace, and certain to go to it, Life is wearisome to me. And I do lastly beseech your Lordships, that, when I come to die, I may have Leave to speak freely at my Farewell, to satisfy the World only, that I was ever loyal to the King, and a true Lover of this Commonwealth ; for this I will seal with my Blood.* So craving their Prayers, he was led away to the Gate-house, near the Palace-yard.

The King was all this while retir'd as it were, or at some Remotenesse from this tragical Scene, and, as I have receiv'd it from particular Tradition, in *Hertfordshire*; as if he would have diverted himself not only from the Sight or Report, but even the Thoughts of it: yet what an effectual and expeditious Hand he had in it, may further appear by his special Warrant for the Execution; which was produced ready sign'd, as if it at *Westminster*, in a Manner as soon as the Sentence was over, being dated the same Day, and directed to his Chancellor *Verulam*. Herein, his gracious Majesty, dispensing with the Manner of Execution according to his former Judgment, and releasing him of the same to be drawn, hang'd and quarter'd, says, our Pleasure is, instead thereof, to have the Head only of the said Sir Walter Ralegh cut off, at or within our Palace of Westminster: commanding the said Chancellor hereupon to direct two several Writs under the Great Seal; one to the Lieutenant of the Tower, or his Deputy, for the Delivery of Sir Walter Ralegh to the Sheriffs of Middlesex at the said Palace; and the other to the said Sheriffs for the receiving the said Sir Walter Ralegh from the said Lieutenant, and for executing him there; for which this to be his Warrant and Discharge against us our Heirs and Successors for ever.

We find about the same Time some Petitions presented to the King in Behalf of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, which were strengthened with the Solicitations of some Persons in great Power and Esteem with his Majesty; but shall not wonder at their having no Effect with him, to mitigate this peremptory and rigorous Doom, if it be true as an Author, who had Opportunity enough of observing his Disposition, and Abilities sufficient to give a clear

Judgment of it, has said thereof, with Relation to Sir Walter Ralegh, that King James so far participated of the Humour of a pusillanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner that those injur'd by himself. As for Ralegh, we find not that he harbour'd the least Expectation or Desire of a Reprieve; for that all the Oppressions of Age, Sickness, Obloquy, Spoil and Loss of all his Means, besides the other Indignities he now lay under, banish'd every Wish of Redress in this World, but by that Dissolution which puts an End to all worldly Miseries, appears pretty evident in the Letter he seems to have written but a short Time before his Death to the King; in which, he rather acknowledges some former Tendencies to Favour and Compassion, than desires any Repetition of them, and gives a very good Reason for having no further Prospect of any Thing substantial therein, where he says, *I have not spared my Labour, my poor Estate, and the hourly Hazard of my Life; but God hath otherwise disposed of all, and now end the Days of my Hope.* But if the Days of his Hope had ended when he landed at Plymouth, the Days of his Life had probably been augmented to a much greater Number. Not, if it had been prolonged into many other Acts, that they might have adorn'd it with such unfading Renown, as that one whereby with such universal Admiration he finished it. That Letter aforesaid he concludes with the generous Profession of being in nothing so miserable, as in that I could never meet with an Occasion, says he, wherein to be torn in Pieces for your Majesty's Service. But his Majesty chose rather to let his own Name and Memory be torn in Pieces for Ralegh's Honour, and not only by all indifferent or impartial Judges,

but

but by his own Countrymen ; * and even by Antagonists to one another in other Parts of History, than suffer any Mercy to interfere with that sordid but deceitful, and soon after derided Pursuit of a profitable Alliance with the Crown of Spain.

Whether any such Conditions were offer'd him at this Time to lengthen the short Line of an uncomfortable Existence, which were either so extortionate as *Ralegh* could not comply with them, or so base and detestable as to be worse than Death, the Particulars are not come to Light ; unless some Glimpses thereof may be discerned in that Epigram he wrote a little while before his End, in Allusion to the Light of a Candle, which is as follows :

Cowards may fear to die, but Courage stout,
Rather than live in *Snuff*, will be *put out*.

Moreover, how sublimely his Thoughts were sequester'd or elevated from all worldly Considerations, and with what Serenity, what Steadiness, he did in a Manner possess the Joys of a better State before he could be driven to it, is visible in that Poem he wrote about the same Time, on the Pilgrimage his Soul was suddenly to make to

* Bishop *Burnet* speaking of some great Errors in King *James's* Reign, goes on thus : *Besides these publick Actings, King James suffer'd much in the Opinion of all People, by his strange Way of using one of the greatest Men of that Age, Sir Walter Ralegh, against whom the Proceedings at first were much censured, but the last Part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal.* A little further, speaking of the same King, he says, *His Reign in England was a continual Course of mean Practices : The first Condemnation of Sir Walter Ralegh was very black ; but the executing him after so many Yrs, and after an Employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the Spaniards.* History of his own Times. Vol. 1. 1724, fol. 16. and 17.

the Regions of Eternity, which he concludes with this Distich :

Of Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell,
Who often thinks, must needs die well.

And that his Faith was no less stedfast in the Hopes of a Resurrection, we are as convincingly assured by those Verses which, this last Night of his Life, he probably wrote also here, in the *Gate-house*, they being found there in his Bible; and, according to the most ancient Copies I can meet with, penn'd in these Words.

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.

The next Morning, being *Thursday* the 29th of *October*, and the *Lord-Mayor's-Day*, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was conducted, by the Sheriffs of *Middlesex*, to the Old *Palace-yard* in *Westminster*, where there was a large Scaffold erected before the *Parliament-house* for his Execution. He had on a wrought Night-cap under his Hat, a Ruff Band, a black wrought Velvet Night-Gown over a Hair-colour'd Sattin Doublet, and a black wrought Waistcoat, a Pair of black cut Taffety Breeches, and Ash-colour'd Silk Stockings. He mounted the Scaffold with a chearful Countenance, and saluted the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of his Acquaintance there present. Then Proclamation being

being made by an Officer for Silence, he introduc'd his Speech with informing them, that as he was yesterday taken out of his Bed in a strong Fit of a Fever, which much weaken'd him, and whose Untimeliness forbearing no Occasion or Place, he expected it again To-day ; therefore did first implore God, that he would preserve him from the Interruptions thereof at this Time, and next desired the Audience, if any Disability of Voice or Dejection of Countenance should appear in him, that they would impute it rather to the Disorder of his Body than any Dismay of Mind. Then pausing a little, he sat down, and directed himself towards a Window, where the Lords *Arundel, Northampton, Doncaster*, with other Nobles were sitting, and begun his Speech. But they being at some Distance from the Scaffold, he apprehended they did not plainly distinguish his Words, therefore said, he would strain his Voice, for that he would willingly have them hear him. To which the Lord *Arundel* answer'd, they would rather come down to the Scaffold ; which he and some others did. Then Sir *Walter Ralegh* having saluted them severally, began again, as follows :

I thank God, that he has sent me to die in the Light and not in Darkness. I likewise thank God, that he has suffer'd me to die before such an Assembly of honourable Witnesses, and not obscurely in the Tower ; where, for the Space of thirteen Years together, I have been oppress'd 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.

There

There are two main Points of Suspicion that his Majesty hath conceived against me, and which, I conceive, have specially hastned my coming hither ; therefore I desire to clear them to your Lordships, and resolve you in the Truth thereof. The first is, that his Majesty hath been inform'd, I have had some Plot or Confederacy with France, for which he had some reasons, tho' grounded upon a weak Foundation. One was, that when I return'd to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Rochel, which was because I would fain have made my Peace before I came to England. Another Reason was, that again I would have bent my Course to France, upon my last intended Escape from London, being the Place where I might have the best Means of making such Peace, and the best Safeguard during that Terror from above. These, join'd with the coming of the French Agent to my House here in London, only to confer about my said Voyage, together with the report of my having a Commission from the King of France, might occasion my being so suspected in this particular, and his Majesty to be so displeased with me. But this I say ; for a Man to call God to Witness at any Time to a Falshood, is a grievous Sin. To call him as Witness to a Falshood 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 without 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 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 unlook'd for.

for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never inter into thy Kingdom.

The second Suspicion or Imputation was, that his Majesty bath been informed, I had spoken disloyally of him. The only Witness of this was, a base Frenchman, a Renegade, a chymical Fellow, whom I soon knew to be perfidious ; for being drawn by him into the Action of freeing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my Hand was touch'd, he, being sworn to Secrecy over-night, revealed it the next Morning. 'Tis strange, that so mean a Fellow could so far incroach himself into the Favour of the Lords ; and, gaping after some great Reward, could so falsely accuse me of seditious Speeches against his Majesty, and be so credited. But this I here speak, it is no Time for me to flatter or to fear Princes, I, who am subject only unto Death ; and for me, who have now to do with God alone, to tell a Lye to get the Favour of the King were in vain : And yet, if ever I spake disloyally or dishonestly of the King, either to this Frenchman or any other ; ever intimated the least Thought hurtful or prejudicial of him, the Lord blot me out of the Book of Life.

I confess, I did attempt to escape, and 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 suffer'd Spittle to fall upon his Beard to escape from the Hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed unto him as a Sin : what I did, was only to prolong Time, till his Majesty came, in Hopes of some Commiseration from him.

But I forgive that Frenchman ; and likewise Sir Lewis Stucley, the Wrongs he hath done me with all my Heart ; for I have received the Sacrament thi Morning of Mr. Dean, and I have forgiven all Men's

but, in Charity to others, am bound to caution them against him; and such as he is. For Sir Lewis Stucley, my Keeper and Kinsman, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, my Lord Carew and my Lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape; but I protest before God, I never told him any such Thing; neither did these Lords advise me to any such Matter. It is not likely I should acquaint two Privy Counsellors of my Escape; or that I should tell him, my Keeper, it was their Advice; neither was there any Reason to tell it him, or he to report it; for it was well known, he left me six, eight, or ten Days together alone, to go whither I listed, while he rode about the Country. He further accus'd me, that I should shew him a Letter, whereby I did signify, that I would give him ten thousand Pounds to escape; but God cast my Soul into everlasting Fire if ever I made such Proffer of ten thousand Pounds, or one thousand Pounds; but indeed, I shewed him a Letter, that if he would go with me, there should be Order taken for the Discharge of his Debts when he was gone; neither had I one thousand Pounds, for, if I had, I could have made my Peace better with it otherwise than by giving it Stucley. Further, he gave out, when I came to Sir Edward Parham's House, who had been a Follower of mine, and gave me good Entertainement, I had there received some Dram of Poison. When I answer'd that I feared no such Thing, for I was well assur'd of those in the House; and therefore wished him to have no such Thought. Now I will not only say, that God is the God of Revenge, but also of Mercy; and I desire God to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven. Then casting his Eye upon his Note of Remembrance, he went on thus:

It was told the King, that I was brought perforce into England; and that I did not intend to return again. Whereas Captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tre-

Tresham, Mr. Leak, and divers others that knew how I was dealt with by the common Soldiers, will witness to the contrary. They were an hundred and fifty of them who mutiny'd against me, and sent for me to come to them; for unto me they would not come. They kept me close Prisoner in my Cabbin, and forced me to take an Oath, that I would not go into England without their Consent, otherwise they would have cast me into the Sea. After I had taken this Oath, I did, by Wine, Gifts, and fair Words, so work upon the Master-gunner, and ten or twelve of the Faction, that I won them to desist from their Purposes, and intended, when I returned home, to procure their Pardon; in the mean while proposed, that I would dispose of some of them in Ireland; to which they agreed, and would have gone into the North Parts, from which I dissuaded them, and told them, they were Red-shanks who inhabited there, so drew them to the South; and the better to clear myself of them, was forced to get them an hundred and fifty Pounds at Kingsale, otherwise I had never got from them.

There was a Report also, that I meant not to go to Guiana at all; and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any such Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full Intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majesty, myself, and those who went with me, with the Rest of my Countrymen: that he that knew the Head of the Mine, would not discover it when he saw my Son was slain, but made himself easy. Then 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 into England; which I then promised, and gave you

my Faith I would. So you did, said his Lordship, 'tis true, and they were the last Words I said to you. Another slander was raised of me, that I should have gone away from them, and have left them at Guiana; but there were a great many worthy Men, who accompanied me always, as my Serjeant-major, and divers others (whom be nam'd) that knew it was none of my Intention. Also it hath been said, that I stinted them of fresh Water; to which I answer, every one was, as they must be in a Ship, furnish'd by Measure, and not according to their Appetites. This Course all Seamen know must be used among them, and to this Straight were we driven. Another Opinion was held, that I carried with me sixteen thousand Pieces of Gold; and that all the Voyage I intended, was but to gain my Liberty, and this Money into my Hands: But as I shall answer it before God, I had no more in all the World, directly or indirectly, than one hundred Pounds, whereof I gave about forty-five Pounds to my Wife. But the Ground of this false Report was, that twenty thousand Pounds being adventured, and but four thousand appearing in the Surveyor's Books, the Rest had my Hand to the Bills for divers Adventures; but, as I hope to be sav'd, I had not a Penny more than one hundred Pounds. These are the material Points I thought good to speak of; I am at this Instant to render my Account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true.

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 suffer'd, and puff'd out Tobacco in Defiance of him; when as, God is my Witness, that I shed Tears for him

him when he denied ; 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 Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me. 'Tis 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 with me in Prayer to that great God of Heaven, whom I have grievously 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 my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

Then Proclamation being made, that all Men shoud depart the Scaffold, he prepared himself for Death, giving away his Hat and Cap and Money to some Attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of the Lords and other Gentlemen, he intreated the Lord Arundel to desire the King, that no scandalous Writings to defame him might be publish'd after his Death. Concluding, I have a long Journey to go, therefore must take my leave.

Then having put off his Gown and Doublet, he call'd to the Headsman to shew him the Ax, which not being suddenly done, he said, *I pr'ythee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?* Having finger'd the Edge of it a little he return'd it, and said, smiling, to the Sheriff, *This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a sound Cure for all Diseases;* and having intreated the Company to pray to God to assist and strengthen him, the Executioner kneel'd down and asked him Forgiveness; which *Ralegh*, laying his Hand upon his Shoulder, granted. Then being asked, which way he would lay himself on the Block, he answer'd, *So the Heart be right, it is no Matter which way the Head lies.* As he stoop'd to lay himself along, and reclined his Head, his Face being towards the East, the Headsman spread his own Cloak under him. After a little Pause, he gave the Sign that he was ready for the Stroke by lifting up his Hand, and his Head was struck off at two Blows, his Body never shrinking or moving. His Head was shew'd on each side of the Scaffold, and then put into a red Leather Bag, and, with his Velvet Night-gown thrown over it, was afterwards conveyed away in a Mourning Coach of his Lady's. His Body, as we are told, was buried hard by, in the Chancel of St. Margaret's Church, near the Altar; but his Head was long preserved in a Case by his Widow, for she survived him twenty-nine Years, as I have found by some Anecdotes remaining in the Family; and after her Death, it was kept also by her Son Carew, with whom it is said to have been Buried.

Thus have we seen how Sir *Walter Ralegh*, after a shining and conspicuous Series of Actions against the Enemies of his Country, and for the Improvement of Navigation as well as the Enlargement and Enrichment

Enrichment of the *British Empire*, under one Sovereign, was deprived of his Liberty, his Estate, and his Life under another ; how Sir *Walter Ralegh*, who had been one of the greatest Scourges of *Spain*, was made a Sacrifice to it ; how the Services of Sir *Walter Ralegh*, I say, in Camp, in Court, by Land, by Sea, with Sword and Pen, were an Honour to Queen *Elizabeth's Reign* ; and how his Sufferings at *Winchester*, at *Westminster*, by Imprisonment, by Law, with Slander and the Ax, were the Disgrace of King *James's*. Writers vary in their Accounts of his Age ; but the most credible Historians inform us, that he was sixty-six Years Old at his Execution. Yet was it conjectured, by the extraordinary Effusion of Blood from his Veins, that he had Stock and Strength enough left of Nature to have survived many Yaars. *His Death was managed by him, as one Author has observed, with so high and religious a Resolution, as if a Roman had acted a Christian, or rather a Christian a Roman : And this is confirm'd by Sir Richard Hutton's Evidence, who says, He died in a good and religious Manner ; spake much, and without any Fear of Death submitted himself to the Block ; by his Death he gained great Reputation in this Life, and, by the Grace and Mercy of God, Remission of his Sins and Eternal Life hereafter.*

And now, since it is Time to close the Scene, *Let this glorious and gallant Cavalier, whose Enemies have confess'd he was one of the weightiest and wisest Men that this Island ever bred, rest in his Grave, and may his Virtues live in Posterity* ; whom to inspire therewith, the Felicities of Commemoration, however here disposed of, seem to have signally combin'd ; having transmitted many ample Testimonies, how emulous the Harmony of Record and the Spirit of Communication have been to

to restore those Honours to his Memory which were torn from his Person ; and make Historical Compensation for such honourable Calamities : and that so early, that from this speedy Growth of his Fame, through his extraordinary Merits and Misfortunes, the learned and judicious Mr. Nathanael Carpenter, who wrote but few Years after his Death, drew that comprehensive Character which has so much engaged the Concurrence of all succeeding Writers ; where he says, *Who hath not known or read of that Prodigy of Wit and Fortune, Sir Walter Ralegh ? A Man unfortunate in nothing else but in the greatness of his Wit and Advancement ! Whose eminent Worth was such, both in domestick Policy, foreign Expeditions and Discoveries ; in Arts and Literature, both Practic and Contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer both Example and Imitation.* But lest a private Judgment should be suspected, more liable to the Ignorance of a Stranger, or the Affection of a Friend ; and that there may be no room left to doubt either of such manifold Worth in Sir *Walter Ralegh*, or that it was all made a Sacrifice of State to the Enemies and Deceivers of the State, we have reserved, as most convincing, the Acknowledgments of an Enemy, who made him that Sacrifice, here to conclude with. For King James, soon after *Ralegh's Execution*, beginning to see how he was, and would be deluded by the *Spaniard*, made one of his Ministers write to his Agent in *Spain*, to let that State know, they should be look'd upon as the most unworthy People in the World, if they did not now act with 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

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 hath 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.



THE
TRIAL
OF
Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt.
FOR
HIGH TREASON,
At Winton the 17th of November, 1603.
I JAC. I.

The COMMISSIONERS were,

<i>The Right Hon. Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Ld. Chamberlain.</i>	<i>Sir John Stanhope, Vice-Chamberlain.</i>
<i>Charles Blunt, Earl of Devon.</i>	<i>Ld. Ch. Just of Eng. Popham.</i>
<i>Lord Henry Howard, afterward Earl of Northampton.</i>	<i>Ld. Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Anderson.</i>
<i>Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Edward Lord Wotton of Morley.</i>	<i>Mr. Justice Gawdie.</i>
	<i>Mr. Justice Warburton, and Sir William Wade.</i>



IRST, The Commission of Oyer and Terminer, was read by the Clerk of the Crown-Office; and the Prisoner bid hold up his Hand:

And then presently the Indictment, which was in Effect as followeth :

That

THAT he did conspire, and go about to deprive the King of his Government, to raise up Sedition within the Realm, to alter Religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition, and to procure foreign Enemies to invade the Kingdom. That the Lord Cobham, the 9th of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham House, in the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, and then and there had Conference with him how to advance Arabella Stuart to the Crown and royal Throne of this Kingdom; and that then and there it was agreed, That Cobham should treat with Aremberg, Ambassador from the Arch-Duke of Austria, to obtain of him 600,000 Crowns, to bring to pass their intended Treasons. It was agreed, That Cobham should go to Albert the Arch-duke, to procure him to advance the pretended Title of Arabella: From thence, knowing that Albert had not sufficient Means to maintain his own Army in the Low-Countries, Cobham should go to Spain to procure the King to assist, and further her pretended Title.

It was agreed, the better to effect all this Conspiracy, That Arabella should write three Letters, one to the Arch-duke, another to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Savoy; and promise three Things: First, To establish a firm Peace between England and Spain. Secondly, To tolerate the Popish and Roman Superstition. Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her Marriage.

And, for the effecting these traiterous Purposes, Cobham should return by the Isle of Jersey, and should there find Sir Walter Raleigh, Captain of the said Isle, and take Counsel of Raleigh for the distributing of the aforesaid Crowns, as the Occasion or Discontentment of the Subjects should give Cause and Way.

And further, That Cobham and his Brother Brook met on the 9th of June last, and Cobham

told Brook all these Treasons: To the which Treasons Brook gave his Assent, and did join himself to all these, and after, on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did speak these Words; That there would never be a good World in England, till the King (meaning our Sovereign Lord) and his Cubs (meaning his Royal Issue) were taken away.

And the more to disable and deprive the King of his Crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his Intents, Ralngh did publish a Book, falsely written against the most just and Royal Title of the King, knowing the said Book to be written against the just Title of the King; which Book Cobham after that received of him. Farther, for the better effecting these traiterous Purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his Intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said Book unto him, the 14th of June. And further, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June, for Accomplishment of the said Conference, and, by the traiterous Instigation of Ralegh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed Princes to procure them to advance her Title; and that she, after she had obtained the Crown, should promise to perform three Things, viz. 1. Peace between England and Spain. 2. To tolerate with Impunity, the Popish and Roman Superstitions. 3. To be ruled by them three, in the contracting of her Marriage.

To these Motions, the said Brook gave his Assent; and for the better effecting of the said Treasons, Cobham, on the 17th of June, by the Instigation of Ralegh, did write Letters to Count Aremberg, and did deliver the said Letters to one Matthew de Lawrence, to be delivered to the said Count, which he did deliver, for the obtaining of 600,000 Crowns; which Money, by other Letters, Count Aremberg did promise to perform the Payment of; and this Letter Cobham received the 18th of June. And then did

Cobham

Cobham promise to Raleigh, that when he had received the said Money, he would deliver 8000 Crowns to him; to which Motion he did consent; and afterwards Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said Crowns, he would give to him 1000 thereof; to which Motion Brook did assent.

To the Indictment, Sir Walter Raleigh pleaded
Not guilty.

The J U R Y.

Sir Ralph Conisby, Knt.	Thomas Walker, Esq;
Sir Thomas Fowler, Knt.	Thomas Whitby, Esq;
Sir Edward Peacock, Knt.	Thomas Highgate, Gent.
Sir William Rowe, Knt.	Robert Kempthorn, Gent.
Henry Goodyer, Esq;	John Chawkey, Gent.
Roger Wood, Esq;	Robert Brumley, Gent.

Sir Walter Raleigh was asked, whether he would take Exceptions to any of the Jury.

Raleigh. I know none of them; they are all Christians and honest Gentlemen; I except against none.

E. Suff. You Gentlemen of the King's learned Council, follow the same Course as you did the other Day.

Raleigh. My Lord, I pray you, I may answer the Points particularly, as they are delivered, by Reason of the Weakness of my Memory and Sickness.

Popham, Chief Justice. After the King's learned Council have delivered all the Evidence, Sir Walter, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the King's Serjeant at Law. You have heard of Raleigh's bloody Attempts, to kill the King and his royal Progeny, and, in Place thereof, to advance one Arabella Stuart. The Particulars of the Indictment are these: First, That Raleigh met with Cobham the 9th of June, and had Conference of an Invasion, of a Rebellion, and an Insurrection, to be made by the King's Subjects, to de-

pose the King, and to kill his Children, poor Babes, that never gave Offence : Here is Blood, here is a new King, and Governor. In our King consists all our Happiness, and the true Use of the Gospel ; a Thing, which we all wished to be settled after the Death of the Queen. Here must be Money to do this, for Money is the Sinew of War. Where should that be had ? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip King of Spain, 5 or 600,000 Crowns, and out of this Sum, Ralegh must have 8000 ; then there must be Friends to effect this. Cobham must go to Albert, Arch-Duke of Austria, from whom Aremberg was Ambassador at that Time in England. And what then ? He must persuade the Duke to assist the pretended Title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the King of Spain, and persuade him to assist the said Title. Since the Conquest, there was never the like Treason. But out of whose Head came it ? Out of Ralegh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his Brother Brook to incite the Lady Arabella to write three several Letters, as aforesaid in the Indictment ; all this was on the 9th of June. Then three Days after, Brook was acquainted with it : After this, Cobham said to Brook, 'Twill never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs are taken away. Afterwards Ralegh delivered a Book to Cobham, treacherously written against the Title of the King. It appears, that Cobham took Ralegh, to be either a God, or an Idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new King, or Governor. God forbid, mine Eyes should ever see so unhappy a Change. As for the Lady Arabella, she, upon my Conscience, hath no more Title to the Crown than I have ; which, before God, I utterly renounce. Cobham, a Man bred in England, hath no Experience abroad. But Ralegh, a Man of great Wit, Military, and a Sword-man. Now whether these Things were bred in a hollow

Tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better than my self.

Sir Edward Coke, the King's Attorney. I must first, My Lords, before I come to the Cause, give one Caution; because we shall often mention Persons of eminent Places, some of them great Monarchs: Whatever we say of them; we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the capital Offenders in their Confessions: We, professing Law, must speak reverently of Kings and Potentates. I perceive these honourable Lords, and the rest of this great Assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the Wreck of Report. We carry a just Mind, to condemn no Man, but upon plain Evidence. Here is Mischief, Mischief *in summo gradu*, exorbitant Mischief. My Speech shall chiefly touch these three Points; Imitation, Supportation, and Defence.

The Imitation of Evil ever exceeds the Precedent, as on the contrary, Imitation of Good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported, but by Mischief: Yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to Confusion. Mischief is ever underprop'd by Falshood of foul Practices. And because all these Things did concur in these Treasons, you shall understand the Main, as before you did the Bye.

The Treason of the Bye, consisteth in these Points: *First*, That the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by Force in the Night, to surprize the King's Court; which was a Rebellion in the Heart of the Realm, yea, in the Heart of the Heart, in the Court. They intended to make him, that is a Sovereign, subject to their Power, purposing to open the Doors with Musquets and Calivers, and to take also the Prince and Council. Then, under the King's Authority, to carry the King to the Tower, and to make a *Stale of the Admiral*: When they had the King there, to extort three

Things

Things from him. *First*, A Pardon for all their Treasons. *Secondly*, A Toleration of the *Roman Superstition*: Which their Eyes shall sooner fall out, than they shall ever see; for the King hath spoken these Words in the hearing of many, *I will lose the Crown and my Life, before ever I will alter Religion.* And *Thirdly*, To remove Counsellors: In the Room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one *Watson* a Priest, absurd in Humanity, and ignorant in Divinity. *Brook*, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord Treasurer; the great Secretary must be *Markham, Oculus Patriæ*. A Hole must be found in my Lord Chief Justice's Coat. *Grey* must be Earl Marshal and Master of the Horse, because he would have a Table in the Court: Marry, he would advance the Earl of *Worcester* to a higher Place. All this cannot be done without a Multitude. Therefore *Watson* the Priest telleth a resolute Man, That the King was in Danger of Puritans and Jesuits; so to bring him in Blindfold into the Action; saying, That the King is no King till he be crown'd, therefore every Man might right his own Wrongs: But he is *Rex Natus*, his Dignity descends as well as yours, my Lords. Then *Watson* imposeth a blasphemous Oath, that they should swear to defend the King's Person, to keep secret what was given them in Charge, and seek all Ways and Means to advance the Catholick Religion. Then they intend to send for the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, in the King's Name, to the Tower, lest they should make any Resistance, and then to take Hostages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them Victuals and Munition. *Grey*, because the King removed before *Midsummer*, had a further Reach, to get a Company of Sword-men to assist the Action: Therefore he would stay till he had obtain'd a Regiment from *Ostend* or *Austria*. So you see, these Treasons were like Sampson's Foxes, which

which were joined in their Tails, tho' their Heads were sever'd.

Ralegh. You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray remember I am not charged with the Bye, being the Treason of the Priest.

Attorney. You are not: My Lords, you shall observe three Things in the Treasons. *First*, They had a Watch-Word (the King's Safety); their Pretence was *Bonum in se*, their Intent was *Malum in se*. *Secondly*, They avouched Scripture; both the Priests had, *Scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. *Thirdly*, They avouched the Common Law to prove, That he was no King till he was crowned, alledging a Statute of 13 Eliz. This, by Way of Imitation, hath been the Course of all Traytors.

In the 20th of Edward II. *Isabella* the Queen, and the Lord *Mortimer*, gave out, That the King's Person was not safe, for the Good of the Church and Commonwealth.

The Bishop of *Carlisle* did preach on this Text, *My Head is grieved*; meaning by the Head, the King; that when the Head began to be negligent, the People might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d of Henry IV. Sir *Roger Claringdon*, accompanied with two Priests, gave out, that *Richard II.* was alive, when he was dead.

Edward III. caused *Mortimer's* Head to be cut off, for giving Couusel to murther the King.

The 3d of Henry VII. Sir *Henry Stanley* found the Crown in the Dust, and set it on the King's Head. When *Fitzwater* and *Garret* told him, that *Edward V.* was alive, he said, *If he be alive, I will assist him*: But this cost him his Head.

Edmund de la Pole, Duke of *Suffolk*, killed a Man in the Reign of King *Henry VII.* for which the King would have him hold up his Hand at the Bar, and then pardoned him. Yet he took such Offence thereat,

thereat, that he sent to the Noblemen, to help to reform the Commonwealth ; and then said, he would go to France and get Power there. Sir Roger Compton knew all the Treason, and discovered Windon and others that were attainted.

He said, there was another Thing that would be stood upon, namely, that they had but one Witness ; then he vouched one Appleyard's Case (*Temp. Eliz.*) a Traytor in Norfolk, who said a Man must have two Accusers. Helmes was the Man that accused him ; but Mr. Justice Catlin said, that that Statute was not in Force at that Day ; his Words were, *Thrust her into the Ditch.*

Then he went on speaking of Accusers, and made this Difference : An Accuser is a Speaker by Report ; when a Witness is he, that upon his Oath shall speak his Knowledge of any Man.

A third Sort of Evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two ; and that is, when a Man, by his Accusation of another, shall, by the same Accusation, also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same Fault and Punishment : This is more forcible than many Witnesses. So then, so much by Way of Imitation. Then he defined Treason : There is Treason in the Heart, in the Hand, in the Mouth, in Consummation ; comparing that *in Corde* to the Root of a Tree ; *in Ore*, to the Bud ; *in Manu*, to the Blossom ; and that which is *in Consummatione*, to the Fruit.

Now I come to your Charge, you of the Jury : The Greatness of Treason is to be considered in these two Things, *Determinatione finis*, and *Electione medicorum*. This Treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the King and his Progeny. These Treasons are said to be *Crimen læse Majestatis* ; this goeth farther, and may be termed *Crimen extirpanda Regiæ Majestatis & totius Progenie*.

geniei suæ. I shall not need, my Lords, to speak any Thing concerning the King, nor of the Bounty and Sweetness of his Nature, whose Thoughts are innocent, whose Words are full of Wisdom and Learning, and whose Works are full of Honour; although it be a true Saying, *Nunquam nimis, quod nunquam satis.* But to whom do you bear Malice? To the Children?

Ralegh. To whom speak you this? You tell me News I never heard of.

Attorney. Oh Sir, do I; I will prove you the notoriousest Traytor, that ever came to the Bar. After you have taken away the King, you would alter Religion: As you Sir *Walter Ralegh* 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 am the horriblest Traytor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thoufand thousand Torments.

Attorney. Nay, I will prove all: Thou art a Monster; thou hast an *English* Face, but a *Spanish* Heart. Now you must have Money: *Aremberg* was no sooner in *England* (I charge thee *Ralegh*) but thou incitedst *Cobham* to go unto him, and to deal with him for Money, to bestow on discontented Persons, to raise Rebellion in the Kingdom.

Ralegh. Let me answer for myself.

Attorney. Thou shalt not.

Ralegh. It concerneth my Life.

Lord Chief Justice Popham. Sir *Walter Ralegh*, Mr. Attorney is but yet in the General; but when the King's Council have given the Evidence wholly, you shall answer every Particular.

Attorney. Oh! do I touch you?

Y y y .

Lori

Lord Cecil. Mr. Attorney, when you have done with this general Charge, do you not mean to let him answer to every Particular?

Attorney. Yes, when we deliver the Proofs to be read. *Ralegh* procured *Cobham* to go to *Aremberg*, which he did by his Instigation: *Ralegh* supped with *Cobham* before he went to *Aremberg*; after Supper, *Ralegh* conducted him to *Durham House*; from whence *Cobham* went with *Lawrency*, a Servant of *Aremberg's*, unto him, and went in by a Back-way. *Cobham* could never be quiet until he had entertain'd this Motion, for he had four Letters from *Ralegh*. *Aremberg* answered, the Money shou'd be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then *Cobham* and *Lawrency* came back to *Durham House*, where they found *Ralegh*. *Cobham* and *Ralegh* went up, and left *Lawrency* below, where they had secret Conference in a Gallery, and after *Cobham* and *Lawrency* departed from *Ralegh*. Your Jargon was Peace! What is that? *Spaniſh Invasion, Scotiſh Subversion*. And again, you are not a fit Man to take so much Money for procuring of a lawful Peace, for Peace procured by Money is dishonourable. Then *Cobham* must go to *Spain*, and return by *Jersey*, where you were Captain: And then, because *Cobham* had not so much Policy, or at least Wickedness, as you, he must have your Advice for the Distribution of the Money. Would you have depos'd so good a King, lineally descended of *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV*: Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make *Arabella* a titular Queen, of whose Title I will speak nothing; but sure you meant to make her a Stale: Ah good Lady! you could mean her no good.

Ralegh. You tell me News, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney.

Attorney. 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. Did I ever speak with this Lady ?

Attorney. I will track you out before I have done ; Englishmen will not be led by Persuasion of Words, but they must have Books to persuade.

Ralegh. This Book * was written by a Man of your Profession, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. I would not have you impatient.

Ralegh. Methinks you fall out with yourself ; I say nothing.

Attorney. By this Book, you would persuade Men, that he is not the lawful King. Now let us consider some Circumstances : My Lords, you know my Lord Cobham (for whom we all lament, and rejoice ; lament in that his House, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now ruined : Rejoice, in that his Treasons are revealed) is neither Politician nor Sword-man ; Ralegh was both, united in the Cause with him, and therefore Cause of his Destruction. Another Circumstance is, the secret contriving of it. Humphry Stafford claimed Sanctuary for Treason, Ralegh in his Machiavilian Policy hath made a Sanctuar& for Treason. He must talk with none but Cobham, because (saith he) one Witness can never condemn me. For Brook said unto Sir Griffith Markham, take heed how you do make my Lord Cobham acquainted ; for whatsoever he knoweth, Ralegh the Witch will get it out of him. As soon as Ralegh was examined on one Point of Treason concerning my Lord Cobham, he wrote to him thus ; I have been examined of you, and confessed nothing. Further, you sent to him

* This Book was intitled, A Defence of the Queen's Proceedings, against Mary Queen of Scotland. Written by one Robert Snag. See the Arraignment of Sir Walter Ralegh. By Sir Thomas Overbury, 4to. 1648.

by your trusty *Francis Kemish*, that one Witness could not condemn ; and therefore bad his Lordship be of good Courage. Came this out of *Cobham's Quiver*? No : But out of *Ralegh's Machiavelian* and Devilish Policy. Yea, but *Cobham* did retract it : Why then did you urge it ? Now then see the most horrible Practices that ever came out of the bottomless Pit of the lowest Hell. After that *Ralegh* had Intelligence that *Cobham* had accused him, he endeavoured to have Intelligence from *Cobham*, which he had gotten by young Sir *John Payton* : But I think it was the Error of his Youth.

Ralegh. The Lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attorney. Thus *Cobham*, by the Instigation of *Ralegh*, entred into these Actions : So that the Question will be, Whether you are not the principal Traytor, and he would nevertheless have entred into it ? Why did *Cobham* retract all that same ? First, Because *Ralegh* was so odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his Sake. 2dly, He thought thus with himself, if he be free, I shall clear myself the better. After this, *Cobham* asked for a Preacher to confer with, pretending to have Dr. *Andrews* ; but indeed, he meant not to have him, but Mr. *Galloway*, a worthy and reverend Preacher, who can do more with the King (as he said) than any other ; that he, seeing his constant Denial, might inform the King thereof. Here he plays with the Preacher. If *Ralegh* could persuade the Lords, that *Cobham* had no Intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is Forgery. In the Tower, *Cobham* must write to Sir *Thomas Vane*, a worthy Man, That he meant not to go into Spain ; which Letter *Ralegh* devised in *Cobham's Name*.

Ralegh.

Ralegh. I will wash my Hands of the Indictment, and die a true Man to the King.

Attorney. You are the absolutest Traytor that ever was.

Ralegh. Your Phrases will not prove it, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Cobham writeth a Letter to my Lord Cecil, and doth will Mellis, his Man, to lay it in a Spanish Bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had Intelligence with this Viper ; then he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a Letter intended to me ; I never had it.

Attorney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my Masters of the Jury, respect not the Wickedness and Hatred of the Man, respect his Cause ; if he be guilty, I know you will have Care of it, for the Preservation of the King, the Continuance of the Gospel authorised, and the Good of us all.

Ralegh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one Word against me ; here is no Treason of mine done. If my Lord Cobham be a Traytor, what is that to me ?

Attorney. All that 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. Have I anger'd you ?

Ralegh. I am in no Case to be angry ?

C. J. Popham. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the Zeal of his Duty, for the Service of the King, and you for your Life ; be valiant on both Sides.

Now they proceed to the reading the Proofs.

The Lord Cobham's Examination read.

He confesseth he had a Passport to go into Spain, intending to go to the Arch-duke, to confer with him about

about these Practices ; and because he knew the Archduke had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to Spain, to deal with the King for the 600,000 Crowns, and to return by Jersey ; and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir Walter Ralegh, for Distribution of the Money to them which were discontented in England. At the first Beginning, he breathed out Oaths and Exclamations against Ralegh, calling him Villain and Traytor ; saying, he had never entered into those Courses, but by his Instigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. Attorney willed the Clerk of the Crown-Office, to read over these last Words again (*he would never let him alone.*)

The Lord Cobham's Examination.

Besides, he spake of Plots and Invasions : Of the Particulars whereof he could give no Account, tho' Ralegh and he had conferred of them, because he was (as he said) confounded with them. Further, he said, he was afraid of Ralegh, that when he should return by Jersey, that he would have him and the Money to the King. Being examined of Sir Arthur Gorge, he freed him, saying, They never durst trust him ; but Sir Arthur Savage they intended to use, because they thought him a fit Man.

Ralegh. Let me see the Examination : This is absolutely all the Evidence can be brought against me ; poor Shifts ! You Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this : This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life ; which must free me, or send my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets. This is what must prove me a notorious Traytor, or true Subject to the King. Let me see my Accusation, that I may make my Answer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and shew you all the Examinations.

Ralegh.

Ralegh. At my first Examination at *Windsor*, my Lords asked me, what I knew of *Cobham's Practice* with *Aremberg*; I answered negatively: And as concerning *Arabella*, I protest before God, I never heard one Word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of a thousand Treasons. It is a strange Thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*.

After being examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I suspected his visiting of him: For after he departed from me at *Durham House*, I saw him pass by his own Stairs, and passed over to St. *Mary-Saviours*, where I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* asked my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*; I said, That if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord *Cobham* Notice thereof. I was asked likewise, Who was the greatest Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I answered, I knew no Man so great with him, as young *Wyat of Kent*.

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 him, 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*, that I would have delivered him and the Money to the King. Mr. *Attorney*, You said this never came out of *Cobham's Quiver*, he is a simple Man: Is he so simple? No: He hath Dispositions 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 *Stanaries*: Is it not strange for me, to make myself *Robin Hood*, or a *Kitt*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England* to be in better Estate to defend itself than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *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. 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 *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudest Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King my Master for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports six or seven Score Sail of Ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty-five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath scarce one left. I knew him 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, he would let *Cobham* have so great a Sum?

I never came to the Lord *Cobham's*, but about Matters of his Profit, as the ordering of his House, paying of his Servants Board-wages, &c. I had

of his when I was examined, four thousand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchase; a Pearl of three thousand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds: If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a Leafe in Fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books, to send to his Library at Canterbury, and a Cabinet of thirty Pounds to give to Mr. Attorney, for drawing the Conveyances; and God in Heaven knoweth, not I, whither he intended to travel. But for that Practice with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Discourse with him, or in what Language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these Things, I would absolutely confess the Indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy a thousand Deathis.

Cobham's Second Examination read.

The Lord Cobham being required to subscribe to an Examination, there was shewed a Note under Raleigh's Hand, the which when he had perused, he paused, and after brake forth into these Specches: *Ob Villain! Ob Traytor!* I will now tell you all the Truth!. And then said, His Purpose was to go into Flanders and into Spain, for the obtaining the aforesaid Money, and that Raleigh had appointed to meet him in Jersey as he returned home, to be advised of him about the Distribution of the Money.

Popham, Lord Chief Justice. When Cobham answered to the Interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe; and being urged to it, he said, if he might hear me affirm, that a Person of his Degree ought to set his Hand, he would; I lying then at Richmond, for Fear of the Plague, was sent for, and I told him he ought to subscribe; otherwise it were a Contempt of a high Nature: Then he subscribed. The Lords questioned with him further, and he shewed them a Letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord Cecil: He desired to see the

Letter again, and then said, Oh Wretch ! Oh Traytor ! Whereby I perceived you had not performed that Trust he had repos'd in you.

Ralegh. He is as passionate a Man as lives, for he hath not spared the best Friends he hath in *England* in his Passion. My Lords, I take it, he that hath been examined, hath ever been asked at the Time of his Examination, if it be according to his Meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, my Lords, when he accuses a Man, he should give some Account and Reason of it ; it is not sufficient to say, we talked of it. If I had been the Plotter, would not I have given *Cobham* some Arguments, whereby to persuade the King of *Spain*, and answer his Objections. I knew *Westmorland* and *Bothwell*, Men of other Understandings than *Cobham*, were ready to beg their Bread.

Sir Thomas Fowler, one of the Jury. Did Sir *Walter Ralegh* write a Letter to my Lord before he was examined concerning him, or not ?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great Dispute with my self, to speak in the Case of this Gentleman : A former Dearness between me and him ty'd so firm a Knot of my Conceit of his Virtues, now broken by a Discovery of his Imperfections. I protest, did I serve a King that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this Case I would speak, whatever came of it : But seeing he is compacted of Piety and Justice, and one that will not mislike any Man for speaking a Truth, I will answer your Question.

Sir *Walter Ralegh* was staid by me at *Windsor*, upon the first News of *Copley*, that the King's Person should be surpriz'd by my Lord *Grey*, and Mr. *George Brook*; when I found *Brook* was in, I suspected *Cobham*, then I doubted *Ralegh* to be a Partaker. I speak not this that it should be thought

I had

I had greater Judgment than the Rest of my Lords, in making this Haste to have him examin'd ; *Ralegh* following to *Windsor*, I met with him upon the Terrace, and willed him, as from the King, to stay, saying, The Lords had something to say to him : Then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord *Cobham*, but of the surprizing Treason ; my Lord *Grey* was apprehended, and likewise *Brook* ; by *Brook* we found, that he had given Notice to *Cobham* of the surprizing Treason as he deliver'd it to us, but with as much Sparingness of a Brother as he might : We sent for my Lord *Cobham* to *Richmond*, where he stood upon his Justification, and his Quality ; sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the King acquainted. *Cobham* said, if my Lord Chief Justice would say it were a Contempt, he would subscribe ; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. There was a Light given to *Aremberg*, that *Lawrencey* was examined ; but that *Ralegh* knew that *Cobham* was examined, is more than I know.

Ralegh. If my Lord *Cobham* had trusted me in the Main, was not I as fit a Man to be trusted in the Bye ?

Lord Cecil. *Ralegh* did by Letter acquaint us, that my Lord *Cobham* had sent *Lawrencey* to *Aremberg*, when he knew not he had any Dealings with him.

Lord H. Howard. It made for you, if *Lawrencey* had been only acquainted with *Cobham*, and not with you. But you knew his whole Estate, and were acquainted with *Cobham's* Practice with *Lawrencey* ; and it was known to you before, that *Lawrencey* depended on *Aremberg*.

Attorney. 1. *Ralegh* protesteth against the surprizing Treason. 2. That he knew not of the Matter touching *Arabella*. I would not charge you Sir *Walter* with a Matter of Falshood : You

say, you suspected the Intelligence that Cobham had with Aremberg by Lawrencey.

Ralegh. I thought it had been no other Intelligence, but such as might be warranted.

Attorney. Then it was but lawful Suspicion. But to that whereas you said, That Cobham had accused you on Passion, I answer three Ways. 1. I observ'd when Cobham said, Let me see the Letter again, he paused, and when he did see that Count Aremberg was touch'd, he cry'd out, *O Traytor! O Villain! now will I confess the whole Truth.* 2. The Accusation of a Man on Hear-say, is nothing: Would he accuse himself on Passion, and ruin his Cause and Posterity, out of Malice to accuse you? 3. Could this be out of Passion? Mark the Manner of it: Cobham had told this at least two Months before to his Brother Brook, *You are Fools, you are on the Bye, Ralegh and I are on the Main, we mean to take away the King and his Cubs;* this he deliver'd two Months before. So mark the Manner and the Matter; he would not turn the Weapon against his own Brother, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Ralegh. Hath Cobham confessed that?

Lord Chief Justice. This is spoken by Mr. Attorney, to prove that Cobham's Speech came not out of Passion.

Ralegh. Let it be proved that Cobham said so.

Attorney. Cobham saith, he was a long Time doubtful of Ralegh, that he would send him and the Money to the King. Did Cobham fear lest you would betray him in Jersey? Then of Necessity there must be Trust between you. No Man can betray a Man, but he that is trusted, in my Understanding. This is the greatest Argument to prove, that he was acquainted with Cobham's Proceedings. Ralegh hath a deeper Reach than to make himself, as he said, Robin Hood, a Ket, or Cade; yet I never heard that

that *Robin Hood* was a Traytor ; they say he was an Outlaw. And whereas he saith, that our King is not only more wealthy and potent than his Predecessors, but also more politick and wise, so that he could have no Hope to prevail : I answer, there is no King so potent, wise, and active, but he may be overtaken through Treason. Whereas you say, *Spain* is so poor ; discoursing so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in *Guiana*, than to have been so well acquainted with the State of *Spain*. Besides, if you could have brought *Spain* and *Scotland* to have joined, you might have had Hope to prevail. For his six Overthrows, I answer, he hath the more Malice, because Repulses breed Desire of Revenge. Then you say, you never talk'd with *Cobham* but about Leases, and letting Lands, and ordering his House ; I never knew you Clerk of the Kitchen, &c. If you had fallen on your Knees at first, and confessed the Treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a Cabinet of thirty Pounds ; perhaps he thought by those Means, to have anticipated me therewith. But you say, all these are Circumstances. I answer, all this Accusation in Circumstance is true : Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the Accusation.

Lord H. Howard. *Cobham* was not then pressed to subscribe.

Attorney. His Accusation being testified by the Lords, is of as great Force, as if he had subscribed. *Ralegh* saith again, if the Accuser be alive, he must be brought Face to Face to speak, and alledges 25 *Edw. III.* That there must be two sufficient Witnesses that must be brought Face to Face before the accused, and alledgedeth 10, and 13 *E-liz.*

Ralegh.

Ralegh. You try me by the Spanish Inquisition, if you proceed only by the Circumstances, without two Witnesses.

Attorney. This is a treasonable Speech.

Ralegh. *Evertere hominem justum in causa sua, injustum est :* Good my Lords, let it be proved, either by the Laws of the Land, or by the Laws of God, that there ought not to be two Witnesses appointed; yet I will not stand to defend this Point in Law, if the King will have it so; it is no rare Thing to be falsely accused. A Judge condemned a Woman in Sarum, for killing her Husband, on the Testimony of one Witness; afterwards his Man confessed the Murder, when she was executed. Who after, being touch'd in Conscience for the Judgment, was used to say, *Quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purgaret.* It is also commanded by the Scripture, *Deut. xvii. In ore duorum aut trium testium, &c.* and xix. *Non stabit unus testimonialis contra aliquem, &c.*

If Christ requireth it, as it appeareth, *Mat. xviii.* If by the Statute, Civil Law, and God's Word, it be required that there must be two Witnesses at the least; bear with me if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to Cobham's Proceedings: I had been a Slave, a Villain, a Fool; if I had endeavoured to set up *Aabella*, and refused so gracious a Lord and Sovereign. But urge your Proofs.

Lord Chief Justice. You have offered Questions on divers Statutes, all which mention two Accusers in Case of Indictments; you have deceived yourself, for the Laws of *25 Ed. III.* and *5 Ed. VI.* are repeal'd. It sufficeth now, if there be Proofs made either under Hand, or by Testimony of Witnesses, or by Oaths; it needs not the Subscription of the Party, so there be Hands of credible Men, to testify the Examination.

Ralegh.

Ralegh. It may be an Error in me, and if those Laws be repeal'd, yet I hope the Equity of those Laws remains still ; but if you affirm it, it must be a Law to Posterity ; the Proof of the common Law is by Witness and Jury ; let Cobham be here, let him speak it : Call my Accuser before my Face, and I have done.

Attorney. *Scientia seeleris est mera Ignorantia :* You have read the Letter of the Law, but understand it not. Here was your Anchor-hold, and your Rendezvous ; you trust to Cobham ; either Cobham must accuse you, or not accuse you ; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one Witness, if he did not, then you are safe.

Ralegh. If ever I read a Word of the Law, or Statute before I was Prisoner in the Tower, God confound me.

Attorney. Now I come to prove the Circumstances of the Accusation to be true. Cobham confessed he had a Pasport to travel, hereby intending to present Overtures to the Arch-duke, and from thence to go to Spain, and there to have Conference with the King for Money : You say, he promised to come home by Jersey, to make merry with you and your Wife.

Ralegh. I said, in his Return from France, not Spain.

Attorney. Further, in his Examination, he saith, Nothing could be set down for the Distribution of the Money to the Discontented, without Conference with Ralegh. You said, it should have been for Procurement of Peace, but it was for raising Rebellion. Further, Cobham saith, He would never have entred into these Courses, but by your Instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your Scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the Plots ; that is enough for you to do, that are his Master : You intended to trust Sir Arthur Savage, whom I take

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take to be an honest and true Gentleman, but not
Sir Arthur Gorge.

Ralegh. All this is but one Accusation of Cobham's, I hear no other Thing; to which Accusation he never subscribed, nor avouched it. I beseech you, my Lords, let Cobham be sent for, charge him on his Soul, on his Allegiance to the King: if he affirm it, I am guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the Accusation of my Lord Cobham, it is the Evidence against you; must it not be of Force without his Subscription? I desire to be resolved by the Judges, Whether by the Law it is not a forcible Argument of Evidence.

The Judges. My Lord, it is.

Ralegh. The King, at his Coronation, is sworn *In omnibus Judiciis suis Aequitatem, non Rigorem Legis observare*: By the Rigour and Cruelty of the Law, it may be a forcible Evidence.

Lord Chief Justice. That is not the Rigour of the Law, but the Justice of the Law; else when a Man hath made a plain Accusation, by Practice, he might be brought to retract it again.

Ralegh. Oh my Lord! you may use Equity.

Lord Chief Justice. That is from the King; you are to have Justice from us.

Anderson. The Law is, if the Matter be proved to the Jury, they must find you guilty; for Cobham's Accusation is not only against you, there are other Things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir Walter Ralegh is satisfied, that Cobham's Subscription is not necessary; I pray you Mr. Attorney go on.

Ralegh. Good Mr. Attorney be patient, and give me Leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary Patience is a Hindrance; let him go on with his Proofs, and then refel them.

Ralegh. I would answer particularly.

Lerd

Lord Cecil. If you would have a Table, and Pen and Ink, you shall.

Then Paper and Ink was given him.

Here the Clerk of the Crown read the Letter which the Lord Cobham did write in July, which was to the Effect of his former Examination, further saying, *I have disclosed all; to accuse any falsely, were to burthen my own Conscience.*

Attorney. Read Copley's Confession the 8th of June, he saith, *He was offered 1000 Crowns to be in this Action.*

Here Watson's Additions were read.

The great Mass of Money from the Count was impossible, &c.

Brook's Confession read.

There have Letters passed, saith he, between Cobham and Aremberg, for a great Sum of Money, to assist a second Action, for the surprizing of his Majesty.

Attorney. It is not possible it was of Passion; for it was in Talk before three Men being severally examined, who agreed in the Sum to be bestowed on disaffected Persons. That Grey should have 12000 Crowns, and Ralegh should have 8000, or 10000 Crowns.

Cobham's Examination, July 18.

If the Money might be procured, saith he, then a Man may give Pensions. Being asked, if a Pension should not be given to his Brother Brook, he denied it not.

Lawrency's Examination.

Within five Days after Aremberg arrived, Cobham resorted unto him. That Night that Cobham went to Aremberg with Lawrency, Ralegh supped with him.

Attorney. Ralegh must have his Part of the Money, therefore now he is a Traytor. The Crown shall never stand one Year on the Head of the King (my Master) if a Traytor may not be

condemned by Circumstances. For if *A* tells *B*, and *B* tells *C*, and *C D*, &c. you shall never prove Treason by two Witnesses.

Ralegh's Examination was read.

He confesseth Cobham offered him 8000 Crowns, which he was to have for the Furtherance of the Peace, between England and Spain; and that he should have it within three Days. To which, he said, he gave this Answer, *When I see the Money, I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle Conceits, and therefore made no Account thereof.*

Ralegh. The Attorney hath made a long Narration of Copley, and the Priests, which concerns me nothing; neither know I how Cobham was altered. For he told me, If I would agree to further the Peace, he would get me 8000 Crowns. I asked him, Who shall have the rest of the Money? He said, I will offer such a Nobleman (who was not named) some of the Money. I said, He will not be persuaded by you, and will extremely hate you for such a Motion. Let me be pinched to Death with hot Irons, if ever I knew there was any Intention to bestow the Money on discontented Persons. I had made a Discourse against the Peace, and would have printed it: if Cobham changed his Mind, if the Priests, if Brook had any such Intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the Money before Aremberg came, that is Difference of Time.

Serj. Philips. Ralegh confesseth the Matter, but avoideth it, by distinguishing of Times. You said, it was offered you before the Coming of Aremberg; which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such Money of Cobham, or not: You said, Yea; and that you should have it within two or three Days. *Nemo moriturus præsumitur mentiri.*

Lord Henry Howard. Alledge me any Ground or Cause, wherefore you gave Ear to my Lord Cobham for receiving Pensions, in Matters you had not to deal with?

Ralegh. Could I stop my Lord Cobham's Mouth?

Lord Cecil. Sir Walter Ralegh presseth, that my Lord Cobham should be brought Face to Face. If he asks Things of Favour and Grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as Commissioners, how shall we be satisfied, whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the Judges speak?

Lord Chief Justice. This Thing cannot be granted; for then a Number of Treasons should flourish: The Accuser may be drawn by Practice, whilst he is in Person.

Judge Gaudy. The Statute you speak of, concerning two Witnesses, in Case of Treason, is found to be inconvenient; therefore by another Law it was taken away.

Ralegh. The common Trial of *England* is by Jury and Witnesses.

Lord Chief Justice. No, by Examination: If three conspire a Treason, and they all confess it; here is never a Witness, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir Walter, that you being of such Experience and Wit, should stand on this Point; for so, many Horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without Witnesses. If one should rush into the King's Privy-Chamber, whilst he is alone, and kill the King (which God forbid) and this Man be met coming with his Sword drawn all bloody; shall not he be condemned to Death? My Lord Cobham hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and to save you, his old Friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

Ralegh. I know not how you conceive the Law.

Lord Chief Justice. Nay, we do not conceive the Law, but we know the Law.

Ralegh. The Wisdom of the Law of God, is absolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, & vives, &c.* But now by the Wisdom of the State, the Wisdom of the Law is uncertain. Indeed where the Accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you ; but here my Accuser may, he is alive, and in the House, *Susanna* had been condemned, if *Daniel* had not cried out : *Will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without Examination or Knowledge of the Truth ?* Remember it is absolutely the Commandment of God ; if a false Witness rise up, you shall cause him to be brought before the Judges ; if he be found false, he shall have the Punishment which the Accused should have had. It is very sure, for my Lord to accuse me is my certain Danger, and may be a means to excuse himself.

Lord Chief Justice. There must not such a Gap be opened for the Destruction of the King, as would be, if we should grant this. You plead hard for yourself, but the Laws plead as hard for the King. I did never hear that Course to be taken in a Case of Treason, as to write to one another, or speak to one another, during the Time of their Imprisonment. There hath been Intelligence between you, and what underhand Practices there may be, I know not. If the Circumstances agree not with the Evidence, we will not condemn you.

Ralegh. The King desires nothing but the Knowledge of the Truth, and would have no Advantage taken by Severity of the Law. If ever we had a gracious King, now we have ! I hope, as he is, such are his Ministers. If there be but a Trial of five Marks at the Common Law, a Witness must be depos'd. Good my Lords, let my Accuser come Face to Face, and be depos'd.

Lord Chief Justice. You have no Law for it : God forbid any Man should accuse himself, upon his Oath.

Attorney. The Law presumes, a Man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious Man : For Cobham thinks his Cause the worse, that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some Stirs to be raised in Scotland.

Part of Copley's Examination.

Also Watson told me, that a special Person told him, that Aremberg offered to him a thousand Crowns to be in that Action ; and that Brook said, the Stirs in Scotland came out of Raleigh's Head.

Raleigh. Brook hath been taught his Lesson.

Lord H. Howard. This Examination was taken before me ; Did I teach him his Lesson.

Raleigh. I protest before God, I meant it not by any Privy-Counsellor ; but, because Money is scant, he will juggle on both Sides.

Raleigh's Examination.

The Way to invade England, were to begin with Stirs in Scotland.

Raleigh. I think so still : I have spoken it to divers of the Lords of the Council, by Way of Discourse and Opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to those Words of Destroying the King and his Cubs.

Raleigh. O barbarous ! if they, like unnatural Villains, should use those Words, shall I be charged with them ? I will not hear it ; I was never false to the Crown of England. I have spent 40000 Crowns of mine own, against the Spanish Faction, for the Good of my Country. Do you bring the Words of these hellish Spiders, Clark, Watson, and others, against me ?

Attorney. Thou hast a Spanish Heart, and thyself art a Spider of Hell ; for thou confessest the King

King to be a most sweet and gracious Prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

Watson's Examination read.

He said, that George Brook told him twice, that his Brother, the Lord Cobham, said to him, That you are but on the Bye, but Ralegh and I are on the Main.

Brook's Examination read.

Being ask'd what was meant by this Jargon the Bye and the Main, he said, That the Lord Cobham told him, that Grey and others, were in the Bye, he and Ralegh were on the Main. Being ask'd what Exposition his Brother made of these Words, he said, he is loth to repeat. And after saith, by the Main, was meant, the taking away of the King and his Issue. And thinks on his Conscience, it was infused into his Brother's Head by Ralegh.

Cobham's Examination read.

Being ask'd, if ever he had said, It will never be well in England, till the King and his Cubs were taken away. He said, He had answered before, and that he would answer no more to that Point.

Ralegh. I am not named in all this : There is a Law of two Sorts of Accusers, one of his own Knowledge, another by Hear-say.

Earl of Suffolk. See the Case of Arnold.

Lord Chief Justice. It is the Case of Sir William Thomas, and Sir Nicholas Arnold.

Ralegh. If this may be, you will have any Man's Life in a Week.

Attorney. Ralegh saith, That Cobham was in a Passion when he said so. Would he tell his Brother any Thing of Malice against Ralegh, whom he loved as his Life ?

Ralegh. Brook never loved me ; until his Brother had accused me, he said nothing.

Lord Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think, that Brook accused you, he was

only

only in the Surprising Treason ; for by accusing you, he should accuse his Brother.

Ralegh. He doth not care much for that.

Lord Cecil. I must judge the best. The Accusation of his Brother was not voluntary ; he parred every Thing as much as he could, to save his Brother.

Cobham's Examination read.

He saith, he had a Book written against the Title of the King, which he had of Ralegh, and that he gave it to his Brother : Ralegh said, it was foolishly written.

Attorney. After the King came within twelve Miles of London, Cobham never came to see him, and intended to travel without seeing the Queen, ahd the Prince. Now in this Discontentment, you gave him the Book, and he gave it to his Brother.

Ralegh. I never gave it him, he took it off my Table. For I well remember, a little before that Time, I received a Challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resol-ved to leave my Estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose Papers, amongst which was this Book.

Lord Howard. Where had you this Book ?

Ralegh. In the old Lord-Treasurer's Study, af-ter his Death.

Lord Cecil. Did you ever shew or make known the Book to me ?

Ralegh. No, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. Was it one of the Books which was left to me or my Brother ?

Ralegh. I took it out of the Study in my Lord Treasurer's House in the Strand.

Lord Cecil. After my Father's Decease, Sir Wal-ter Ralegh desired to search for some Cosmographi-cal Descriptions of the Indies, which he thought were in his Study, and were not to be had in Print ; which I granted, and would have trusted Sir Wal-

ter Ralegh as soon as any Man ; though since, for some Infirmities, the Bands of my Affection to him have been broken ; and yet, reserving my Duty to the King my Master, which I can by no Means dispense with, by God, I love him, and have a great Conflict within myself : But I must needs say, Sir *Walter* used me a little unkindly, to take the Book away without my Knowledge ; nevertheless I need make no Apology in Behalf of my Father, considering how useful and necessary it is for Privy-Counsellors, and those in his Place, to intercept and keep such kind of Writings ; for whosoever should then search his Study, may in all Likelihood find all the notorious Libels that were writ against the late Queen ; and whosoever should rumage my Study, or at least my Cabinet, may find several against the King, our Sovereign Lord, since his Accession to the Throne.

Ralegh. This Book was in Manuscript, and the late Lord Treasurer had wrote in the Beginning of it with his own Hands these Words, *This is the Book of Robert Snagg.* And I do own, as my Lord *Cecil* has said, that I believe they may also find in my House, almost all the Libels, that have been writ against the late Queen.

Attorney. You were no Privy-Counsellor, and I hope never shall be.

Lord Cecil. He was not a sworn Counsellor of State, but he has been called to Consultations.

Ralegh. I think it a very severe Interpretation of the Law, to bring me within Compass of Treason for this Book, writ so long ago, of which nobody had read any more than the Heads of the Chapters, and which was burnt by *Brook* without my Privity ; admitting I had delivered the same to my Lord *Cobham*, without allowing or approving, but discommending it, according to *Cobham's* first Accusation. And put the Case I should come

to my Lord *Cecil*, as I have often done, and find a Stranger with him, with a Packet of Libels, and my Lord should let me have one or two of them to peruse, This I hope is no Treason.

Attorney. I observe there was Intelligence between you and *Cobham* in the Tower; for after he said, *It was against the King's Title*, he denied it again.

Sir William Wade. First my Lord *Cobham* confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it, he revoked it again: To me he always said, *That the Drift of it was against the King's Title*.

Ralegh. I protest before God, and all his Works, I gave him not the Book.

Note. Sir Robert Wroth speaketh, or whispereth something secretly.

Attorney. My Lords, I must complain of Sir Robert Wroth; he says, this Evidence is not material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the Words.

Attorney. Let Mr. Serjeant Philips testify, whether he heard them.

Lord Cecil. I will give my Word for Sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly as you, Mr. Attorney, for, by God, I never spake it.

Lord Chief Justice. Wherefore should this Book be burnt?

Ralegh. I burned it not.

Serj. Philips. You presented your Friend with it, when he was discontented. If it had been before the Queen's Death, it had been a less Matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the King, which was the Time of his Discontentment.

Ralegh. Here is a Book supposed to be Treasonable; I never read it, commended it, or deliver'd it, nor urged it.

Attorney. This is cunning.

Ralegh. Every Thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every Thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attorney. Lord Cobham saith, that Kemish came to him with a Letter torn, and did wish him not to be dismay'd, for one Witness could not hurt him.

Ralegh. This poor Man hath been close Prisoner these eighteen Weeks; he was offered the Rack to make him confess. I never sent any such Message by him; I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. Attorney; having of his, at that Time, a great Pearl, and a Diamond.

Lord H. Howard. No Circumstance moveth me more than this. Kemish was never on the Rack; the King gave Charge, that no Rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God, there was no such Matter intended, to our Knowledges.

Ralegh. Was not the Keeper of the Rack sent for, and he threatned with it?

Sir William Wade. When Mr. Sollicitor and my self examined Kemish, we told him he deserved the Rack, but did not threaten him wiih it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

Cobham's Examination read.

He said, Kemish brought him a Letter from Ralegh, and that Part which was concerning the Lords of the Council, was rent out; that he was examined, and cleared him of all; and that the Lord H. Howard said, because he was discontent, he was fit to be in the Action. And further, that Kemish said to him from Ralegh, that he should be of good Comfort, for one Witness could not condemn a Man for Treason.

Lord Cecil. Cobham was asked whether and when he heard from you; he said, every Day.

Ralegh. Kemish added more, I never bad him speak these Words.

Nota. Mr. Attorney here offered to interrupt him.

Lord Cecil. It is his last Discourse. Give him leave Mr. Attorney.

Ralegh. I am accused concerning *Arabella*, concerning Money out of *Spain*. My Lord Chief Justice saith, a Man may be condemned with one Witness, yea without any Witnes. Cobham is guilty of many Things, *Conscientia mille Testes*. He hath accused himself, what can he hope for but Mercy? 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.

Lord Cecil. Here hath been a Touch of the Lady *Arabella Stuart*, a near Kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the Innocent by Confusion of Speech: She is as innocent of all these Things as I, or any Man here; only she received a Letter from Cobham, to prepare her; which she laugh'd at, and immediately sent it to the King. So far was she from Discontentment, that she laugh'd him to scorn. But you see how far the Count of *Aremberg* did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a Standing, with the Lady *Arabella*, spake to the Court.

The Lady doth here protest upon her Salvation, that she never dealt in any of these Things, and so she willed me to tell the Court.

Lord Cecil. The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady *Arabella*, to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the King, that laboured to disgrace her; she doubted it was but a Trick. But Brock saith, his Brother moved him to procure *Arabella* to write Letters to the Kings of *Spain*: But he saith, he never did.

Ralegh. The Lord *Cobham* hath accused me, you see in what Manner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his Accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the Letter which *Lawrencey* brought to him from *Aremberg*. 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. *Campion* was not denied to have his Accusers Face to Face.

Lord Chief Justice. Since he must needs have Justice, the acquitting of his old Friend may move him to speak otherwise than the Truth.

Ralegh. 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 wicked Counsel; if this be true, whom hath he Cause to accuse, and be revenged on, but on me? And I know him to be as revengeful, as any Man on Earth.

Attorney. He is a Party, and may not come, the Law is against it.

Ralegh. It is a Toy to tell me of Law. I defy such Law, I stand on the Fact.

Lord Cecil. I am afraid my often speaking (who am inferior to the Lords here present) will make the World think, I delight to hear myself talk. My Affection to you, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, was not extinguished, but slaked, in Regard of your Deserts. You know the Law of the Realm (to the which your Mind doth not contest) that my Lord *Cobham* cannot be brought.

Ralegh. He may be, my Lord.

Lord Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Ralegh. No.

Lord

Lord Cecil. You say, that my Lord Cobham, your main Accuser, must come to accuse you. You say he hath retracted: I say many Particulars are not retracted. What the Validity of all this is, is merely left to the Jury. Let me ask you this; If my Lord Cobham will say, you were the only Instigator of him to proceed in the Treasons, dare you put yourself on this?

Ralegh. If he will speak it before God and the King, that ever I knew of *Arabella's Matter*, or the Money out of *Spain*, or of the surprizing Treason; I put myself on it, God's Will and the King's be done with me.

Lord Howard. How if he speak Things equivalent to what you have said?

Ralegh. Yes, in a main Point.

Lord Cecil. If he say, you have been the Instigator of him to deal with the *Spanish King*, had not the Council Cause to draw you hither?

Ralegh. I put myself on it.

Lord Cecil. Then, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, call upon God, and prepare yourself; for I do verily believe my Lords will prove this. Excepting your Faults (I call them no worse) by God, I am your Friend. The Heat and Paffion in you, and the Attorney's Zeal in the King's Service, makes me speak this.

Ralegh. *Whosoever is the Workman, it is Reason he should give Account of his Work to the Work-master.* But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his Conferences with *Aremberg*: He would surely have given me some Account.

Lord Cecil. That follows not. If I set you on Work, and you give me no Account, am I therefore innocent.

Attorney. For the Lady *Arabella* I said, she was never acquainted with the Matter. Now that *Ralegh* had Conference in all these Treasons, it is manifest;

nifest ; the Jury hath heard the Matter. There is one *Dyer*, a Pilot, that being in *Lisbon*, met with a *Portugal Gentleman*, who asked him if the King of *England* was crowned yet ? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly*. Nay, saith the *Portugal Gentlemen*, that shall he never be, for his Throat will be cut by *Don Ralegh* and *Don Cobham* before he be crown'd.

Dyer was called and sworn, and delivered this Evidence.

Dyer. I came to a Merchant's House in *Lisbon*, to see a Boy that I had there ; there came in a Gentleman into the House, and enquiring what Countryman I was, I said an *Englishman* : Whereupon he asked me, if the King was crowned ? And I answered, that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be crowned, for *Don Ralegh* and *Don Cobham* will cut his Throat e'er that Day come.

Ralegh. What infer you upon this ?

Attorney. That your Treason hath Wings.

Ralegh. If *Cobham* did practise with *Aremberg*, how could it not but be known in *Spain*? Why did they name the Duke of *Buckingham* with *Jack Straw's* Treason, and the Duke of *York* with *Jack Cade*, but that it was to countenance his Treason ?

Consider, you Gentlemen of the Jury, there is no Cause so doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good against the Law. Consider my Disability, and their Ability : They prove nothing against me, only they bring the Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for a horrible Murther. For he knew, that all this Sorrow which should come to me, is by his Means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent Facts. I have spent 40000 Crowns against the *Spaniard*. I had not purchased forty Pounds a Year. If I had

died in *Guiana* I had not left 300 Marks a Year to my Wife and Son. I that have always condemn'd the *Spanish* Faction, methinks it is a strange Thing that now I should affect it. Remember what St. *Austin* says, *Sic judicate tanquam, ab alio mox judicandi, unus judex, unum tribunal.* If you would be contented, on Presumptions, to be delivered up to be slaughter'd, to have your Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread ; if you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this so clear, as that the Wit of Man shall have no Colour to answer it. The Matter is Treason in the highest Degree, the End to deprive the King of his Crown. The particular Treasons are these: *First*, To raise up Rebellion ; and, to effect that, to procure Money, to raise up Tumults in *Scotland*, by divulging a treasonable Book against the King's Right to the Crown ; the Purpose, to take the Life of his Majesty and his Issue. My Lord *Cobham* confesseth Sir *Walter Ralegh* to be guilty of all these Treasons. The Question is, Whether he be guilty as joining with him, or instigating of him ? The Course to prove this, was by my Lord *Cobham's* Accusation. If that be true, he is guilty ; if not, he is clear. So whether *Cobham* say true, or *Ralegh*? That is the Question. *Ralegh* hath no Answer, but the Shadow of as much Wit, as the Wit of Man can devise. He useth his bare Denial ; the Denial of a Defendant must not move the Jury. In the *Star-Chamber*, or in the *Chancery*, for Matter of Title, if the Defendant be called in Question, his Denial on his Oath is no Evidence to the Court to clear him, he doth it in *propria Causa*. Therefore much less in Matters of Treason. *Cobham's* Testification against him before then, and since, hath been largely discoursed.

Ralegh. If Truth be constant, and Constancy be in Truth, Why hath he forsworn that, that he hath said? You have not proved any one Thing by direct Proofs, but all by Circumstances?

Attorney. 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 & probata*. I appeal to God and the King in this Point, Whether Cobham's Accusation be sufficient to condemn me.

Attorney. The King's Safety, and your Clearing, cannot agree, I protest, before God, I never knew a clearer Treason.

Ralegh. I never had Intelligence with Cobham since I came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go too, I will lay thee upon thy Back, for the confidentest Traytor that ever came at a Bar. Why should you take 8000 Crowns for a Peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney, give him Leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently hcad, you will encourage Traytors, and discourage us. I am the King's sworn Servant, and must speak; if he be guilty, he is a Traytor; if not, deliver him.

Note, Here Mr. Attorney sat down and would speak no more until the Commissioners urged and intreated him: After much ado he went on, and made a long Repetition of all the Evidence for the Direction of the Jury; and at the repeating of some Things, Sir Walter Ralegh interrupted him, and said, He did him wrong.

Attorney. Thou art the most vile and execrable Traytor that ever lived.

Ralegh. You speak indiscreetly, barbarously and uncivilly.

Attorney.

Attorney. 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. Thou art 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. 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 ; *and therewithal drew a Letter out of his Pocket, saying further,* My Lords, you shall see this is an Agent, that hath writ a Treatise against the *Spaniard*, and hath ever so detested him ; this is he that hath spent so much Money against him in Service ; and yet you shall all see, whether his Heart be not wholly *Spanish*. The Lord *Cobham*, who, of his own Nature was a good and honourable Gentleman, till overtaken by this Wretch, now finding his Conscience heavily burthened with some Courses, which the Subtilty of this Traytor had drawn him into, my Lords, he could not be at Rest with himself, nor quiet in his Thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy Weight ; out of which Passion of his Mind, and Discharge of his Duty to his Prince, and his Conscience to God, taking it upon his Salvation, that he wrote nothing but the Truth, with his own Hands he wrote this Letter. Now, Sir, you shall see whether you had Intelligence with *Cobham* within four Days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly *Spanish*, that desired a Pension of 1500 Pounds a Year from *Spain*, that *Spain* by him might have Intelligence, then *Ralegh* is a Traytor. He hath taken an Apple, and pinned a Letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord *Cobham's* Window ; the Contents whereof were this ; *It is doubtful whe-*

ther we shall be proceeded with or no, perhaps you shall not be tried. This was to get a Retraction. Oh! it was Adam's Apple, whereby the Devil did deceive him. Further he wrote thus, *Do not as my Lord of Essex did; take heed of a Preacher; for by his Persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty.* I doubt not, but this Day, God shall have as great a Conquest by this Traytor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said, *Vicisti Galileæ;* you know my Meaning. What tho' Cobham retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep, until he had confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a Traytor, the King my Master shall not live three Years to an End.

Nota. Here Mr. Attorney produced the Lord Cobham's Letter (writ to the Commissioners the Night before Raleigh's Trial, viz. Nov. 16.) and as he read it, inserted some Speeches.

I have thought it fit, to set down this to my Lords, wherein I profess on my Soul, to write nothing but the Truth. I am come now near to the Period of my Time, therefore I confess the Truth before God, and his Angels. Raleigh, four Days before I came to the Tower, caused an Apple (Eve's Apple) to be thrown in at my Chamber window; the Effect of it was to intreat me to right the Wrong that I had done him, in saying, That I should have come home by Jersey; which under my Hand to him, I have retracted. His first Letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same Manner, wherein he prayed me to write him a Letter, which I did. He sent me Word, that the Judges were at Mr. Attorney's House, and that there was good Hope the Proceedings against us should be staid; he sent me another Time a little Tobacco. At Aremberg's coming, Raleigh dealt with me, to procure him a Pension of 1500 Pounds a Year, for which he promised that no Action should be against Spain, but he wculd give Knowledge before-hand. He told

told me the States had Audience with the King. (Ah, is not this a Spanish Heart, in an English Body?) He hath been the original Cause of my Ruin; for I had no Dealing with Aremberg, but by his Instigation. He hath been also the Cause of my Discontentment; he advised me, not to be overtaken with Preachers, as Essex was, and that the King would better allow of a constant Denial, than to accuse any.

Attorney. O damnable Atheist! he hath learned some Text of Scripture, to serve his own Purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him, not to be counselled by Preachers, as Essex was: He died the Child of God, God honoured him at his Death; Thou wast by when he died, *Et Lupus & turpes instant morientibus Ursæ*. He died indeed for his Offence. The King himself spake these Words; *He that shall say Essex died not for Treason, is punishable.*

Ralegh. You have heard a strange Tale of a strange Man; now he thinks he hath Matter enough to destroy me; but the King, and all of you shall witness by our Deaths, which of us was the Ruin of the other. I bid a poor Fellow throw in the Letter at his Window, written to this Purpose, *You know you have undone me, now write three Lines to justify me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me Wrong; Why did not he acquaint me with his Treasons, if I acquainted him with my Dispositions?

Attorney. But what say you now of the Letter, and the Pension of 1500*l.* per Annum?

Ralegh. I say, that Cobham is a base dishonourable poor Soul.

Attorney. Is he base? I return it into thy Throat, on his Behalf: But for thee, he had been a good Subject.

Lord Chief Justice. I perceive thou art not so clear a Man, as you have protested all this while; for you should have discovered these Matters to the King.

Nota. Here Ralegh pulled a Letter out of his Pocket, which the Lord Cobham had written to him (but a few Days before he wrote that above to the Lords) and desired my Lord Cecil to read it, because he only knew his Hand, the Effect of it was as followeth.

Cobham's Letter of Justification to Ralegh.

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 any Thing that I know. I will say, as Daniel, Purus sum a sanguine hujus. So God have Mercy on my Soul, as I know no Treason by you.

Ralegh. Now I wonder how many Souls this Man hath! He damns one in this Letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado; Mr. Attorney alledged, that this last Letter was politickly and cunningly urged from the Lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the Truth; and that lest it shuld seem doubtful, that the first Letter was drawn from the Lord Cobham by Promise of Mercy, or Hope of Favour, the Lord Chief Justice willed, that the Jury might herein be satisfied. Whereupon the Earl of Devonshire delivered, that the same was merely voluntary, and not extacted from the Lord Cobham, upon any Hopes or Promise of Pardon.

Nota. This was the last Evidence; whereupon a Marshal was sworn, to keep the Jury private. The Jury departed, and staid not a Quarter of an

an Hour, but returned, and gave their Verdict Guilty.

Serj, Hele demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.

Clerk of the Crown. Sir Walter Ralegh, Thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, for all these several Treasons; and for Trial thereof, hast put thyself upon thy Country; which Country are these, who have found thee Guilty. What canst thou say for thyself, why Judgment and Execution of Death, should not pass against thee?

Ralegh. My Lords, The Jury have found me Guilty. They must do as they are directed. I can say nothing, why Judgment should not proceed. You see whereof Cobham hath accused me. You remember his Protestations, that I was never Guilty. I desire the King should know of the Wrongs done unto me, since I came hither.

Lord Chief Justice. You have had no Wrong, Sir Walter.

Ralegh. Yes, of Mr. Attorney. I desire, my Lords, to remember three Things to the King. 1. I was accused to be a Practiser for Spain: I never knew, that my Lord Cobham meant to go thither; I will ask no Mercy at the King's Hands, if he will affirm it. 2. I never knew of the Practice with Arabella. 3. I never knew of my Lord Cobham's Practice with Aremberg, nor of the surprising Treason.

Lord Chief Justice. In my Conscience I am persuaded, that Cobham hath accused you truly. You cannot deny, but that you were dealt with, to have a Pension to be a Spy for Spain; therefore you are not so true to the King, as you have protested yourself to be.

Ralegh. I submit myself to the King's Mercy; I know his Mercy is greater than my Offence. I recommend

recommend my Wife, and Son, of tender Years, unbrought up, to his Compassion.

Lord Chief Justice. I had thought I should never have seen this Day, to have stood in this Place, to give Sentence of Death against you ; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great Parts should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many Benefits. You had been a Man fit, and able, to have served the King in good Place. You had brought yourself into a good State of Living : If you had entered into a good Consideration of your Estate, and not suffered your own Wit to have entrapped yourself, you might have lived in good Comfort. It is best for 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 Posie of the wisest and greatest Counsellor of his Time, in *England*, *In medio spatio mediocria firma locantur*. You might have lived well with 3000*l.* a Year, for so I have heard your Revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented ; but, if you had been down, you know Fortune's Wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard, that the King took away any Thing from you, but the Captainship of the Guard, which he did with good Reasons, to have one of his own Knowledge, whom he might trust in that Place. You have been taken for a wise Man, and so have shewed Wit enough this Day. Again, for Monopolies for Wine, &c. If the King said, *It is a Matter that offends my People, should I burthen them for your particular good?* I think, you could not well take it hardly, that his Subjects were eased, tho' by your private Hindrance. Two Vices have lodged chiefly in you ; one is an eager Ambition ; the other corrupt Covetousness. Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal Grace and Favour, as you have been before time ; that Grace you had then, you got not

not in a Day or Year. For your Covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a Gentleman of your Wealth should become a base Spy for the Enemy, which is the vilest of all other ; wherein, on my Conscience, *Cobham* hath said true : By it you would have increased your Living 1500*l.* a Year. This Covetousness is like a Canker, that eats the Iron-place where it lives. Your Case being thus, 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 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 Common-wealth. You know what Men said of *Harpool*. You shall do well before you go out of the World, to give Satisfaction therein, and not to die with these Imputations on you. Let not any Devil persuade you to think, there is no Eternity in Heaven ; if you think thus, you shall find Eternity in Hell-fire. In the first Accusation of my Lord *Cobham*, I observed his Manner of speaking : I protest before the Living God, I am persuaded he spoke nothing but the Truth. You wrote, that he should not in any Case confess any Thing to a Preacher, telling him an Example of my Lord of *Essex*, that noble Earl that is gone ; who, if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in Honour to this Day among us. He confessed his Offences, and obtained Mercy of the Lord ; for I am verily persuaded in my Heart, he died a worthy Servant of God. Your Conceit of not confessing any Thing, is very inhuman and wicked. In this World is the Time of confessing, that we may be absolved at the Day of Judgment. You have shewed a fearful Sign of denying God, in advising a Man not to confess. It now comes in my Mind, why you may not have

your

your Accuser Face to Face ; for such a one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no Hope of his own Life. It is dangerous that any Traytors should have any Access one to another, or Conference ; when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to see their Fellow live, that he may commit the like Treason again, and so in some Sort seek Revenge.

Now it resteth to pronounce the Judgment, which I wish you had not been this Day to have received of me : For, if the Fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great Parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good Subject. I never saw the like Trial, and I hope, I shall never see the like again :

The JUDGMENT.

But since you have been found guilty of these horrible Treasons, the Judgment of the Court is, that you shall be had from hence to the Place whence you came, there to remain until the Day of Execution ; and from thence you shall be drawn upon a Hurdle through the open Streets to the Place of Execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive, and your Body shall be opened, your Heart and Bowels plucked out, and your Privy-Members cut off and thrown into the Fire, before your Eyes ; then your Head to be stricken off from your Body, which shall be divided into four Quarters, to be disposed of at the King's Pleasure : And God have Mercy upon your Soul.

FINIS.

