

XV.—*Additional Information respecting the Life and Services of Sir Walter Raleigh, in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, V.P. to WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read May 15, 1851.

IN my recent letter to Mr. Ouvry of notes, memoranda, and documents, containing new materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, I brought the incidents with which he was connected down to the year 1584, when, as I established, he had received the honour of knighthood. I now continue the subject, and request you to be the medium of communicating what follows to our Society. The particulars, as in the former instance, are many of them minute; but, I apprehend, they are all of them more or less important, in reference to the character and conduct of a man who was highly distinguished in so many capacities, as a politician, a courtier, a soldier, a navigator, a poet, a patron, a philosopher, and a historian.

It is a fact not noticed by any of Sir Walter Raleigh's numerous biographers, that early in 1585, the year after the Queen had shewn him so special a mark of her favour, he was selected by the Privy Council, in association with Sir Thomas Henneage, to investigate a matter of considerable delicacy, and to make award in a cause which involved a serious imputation upon the Lord Mayor of London. Alderman Pullison, then at the head of the corporation, had appropriated to his own purposes the sum of 85*l.*, placed in his hands for the purchase of the freedom of an Englishman, who, having been captured by the Moors, was then a slave in Barbary. The original decision of Raleigh and Henneage, formally subscribed by both of them, has been preserved, and after a detail of particulars, into which it is not necessary to enter here, it calls upon the Lord Mayor to refund the money he had mis-applied. This document serves to shew the eminent position Raleigh at this date filled at Court, and the confidence reposed in his judgment and impartiality. The result certainly did not redound to the credit of the highest civic authority, at that date engaged in frequent intercourse with persons of rank about the person of the Queen; but we find that he continued, notwithstanding, the discharge of his magisterial duties.

It is known that Raleigh was a distinguished, and distinguishing, patron of literature anterior to the period of which we are now speaking; and in the State Paper

Office is deposited a brief Memorandum which, it may seem, was made by some author who calls Raleigh "my master," and possibly relates to a work recently published. I have not yet been able to trace either the writer or his book, but it is not improbable that it was in print, not only from the number of copies mentioned, but from the individuals to whom those copies were presented, one of them being Sir Walter Raleigh, and another Sir Philip Sidney. I never had an opportunity of inspecting the autograph of Spenser, although it is said that specimens of it exist in Ireland, if not in this country; but he was greatly celebrated as a poet from 1579 to 1585, and was well known to both Raleigh and Sidney, and it would give a remarkable interest to the following unsigned and unaddressed note, if at any time hereafter it should be shown to be in his handwriting. It has no title nor date, but is marked on the outside "16th Nov. 1585."

"My dutie remembred, myselfe would have come craving pardon of your wourship, for that my wife this presente is very extreme sycke. Accordinge to my dutie and promis, made before the honorable Mr. Secreatorie, I have sente the booke which I had from Mr. William Hearle, and the names hereunder, to whom I have delyvered copies :

"To my Mr, Sr Walter Ralegh, knight, one booke.

"To Mr Frauncis Knollis, one booke.

"To Mr Cope, my L. Tresorer's Gent. Usher, one booke.

"To a gent. that serveth Sr Phillipp Sydney, sometymes of the Temple, one booke.

"And to Mr Neale, of the Temple, one booke."

This is the whole of the paper, and, after all, it may relate to some official document, and not to a printed volume: unquestionably the mention of his sick wife renders it less likely that it should have come from Spenser, although the date of his marriage, whether first or second, has never been ascertained. That the note was from Spenser, or from any other author, I only put as a mere point of speculation; but that Raleigh was in some way concerned in the transaction is indisputable, and with that view I have quoted it.

About this period, or somewhat earlier, the threats of the Spaniards induced the public authorities to look, not only to the defences of kingdom, but to those who, in case of danger, might become her defenders. On the 5th January, 1585-6, a list of "The names of Sea Captayns" was made out, and among them we read four belonging to the immediate family of Sir Walter Raleigh: viz.—

“ Sir Walter Rawleighe, Knighte.

“ Carew Rawleyghe, Esquier.

“ George Rawleyghe, Gent.

“ John Rawleyghe, Gent.”

In the same enumeration we meet with Sir John Perrott, the natural son of Henry the Eighth, Sir Richard Grenville, and Barnaby Rich, the poet and prose writer, of whom we for the first time hear in a naval capacity. He began life as a soldier, published several books connected with the land service, and was employed in France, Flanders, and Ireland. Here we see, as was not then unusual, that he was also considered qualified to command a ship, and enjoyed the honour of having his name enrolled with men like Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Walter Raleigh.

It appears that a naval expedition was contemplated in the latter end of 1586, and on the 30th October in that year was prepared a catalogue of ships of war belonging to the Queen, to which Lord Burghley added, in his own hand, the name of “the Ark Raleigh,” which had been omitted. The fact is that this large vessel, of 800 tons and 430 men, had been built at the expense of Sir Walter, and she is included in an extant “estimate of the charge of sending twelve of the Queen’s ships to sea in warlike manner,” dated 31st January, 1586-7. At this date, therefore, “the Ark Raleigh” had been bought by the State, and we learn from a document of May, 1592, the precise sum paid for it, viz. 5,000*l.* What is more important, in relation to Sir Walter Raleigh, is that the Queen took this ship at that price in part payment of a larger debt which Sir Walter had contracted on various unstated accounts: he was, in consequence, allowed so many tallies from the Exchequer as amounted to 5,000*l.* and, in point of actual money, was no richer for the sale. It was doubtless this fact which induced Lord-Treasurer Burghley to add “the Ark Raleigh” to the enumeration of the Queen’s ships in October, 1586. Thus we see that Raleigh, like the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, the Earl of Essex, and most of the other favourites of Elizabeth, became largely indebted to Her Majesty not long after their advancement in her royal favour. It is a circumstance that might have been expected, but that has not, I apprehend, hitherto been recorded.

How long before the period of which we are now speaking the Queen had conceded to Raleigh some large pecuniary privileges in connexion with wine licences does not precisely appear; but from the subsequent letter, signed by himself, and with the postscript entirely in his own handwriting, it is evident that he and his

friends, in March 1587, had prevailed upon her Majesty to extend the term specified in the original grant. Tytler erroneously states, that this concession by the Queen was "an augmentation to Raleigh's patent for wines," and he fixes the date of it after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and as a reward for the services of Raleigh at that juncture; but the fact is that the concession was the renewal of a lease previously granted, and that this renewal took place full a year and a quarter before the Armada made its appearance on our coast. To whom Raleigh's letter was addressed we are not able to state, owing to the omission of the address; but the receiver of it was required to act solely upon the writer's distinct assurance, that the Queen had given her consent.

"S^r,—Whereas the Quenes Ma^{tie} hath heretofore given unto me, by her Letters patentes, auctoritie to graunte Licenses for the sellinge of Wynes by retayle; her Highnes pleasure is to revoke and make voyde the same, and by new Letters patentes to regraunte unto me the auctoritie and benefytt thereof for a farther terme of yeres. Wherefore, I pray you hartely to peruse the drafte which this bearer, my servante, shall bring unto you, and sett your hande thereunto, redie for her Highnes to signe, and I wilbe redie to requyte your courtesie. So, hopinge your carefull dealinge for me, accordinge to my requeste, I bid you hartely farewell. This 8th of March, 1587.

"Your lovinge Frende,

"W. RALEGH."

"S^r,—Majesty her sealf cummaunded mee to acquaynt yow with the booke, and therefore yow shall not need to doubt; for you may take knowledg of her plesure by thes my letters, beseechinge yow to frinde me so much to make expedition herein, and yow shall cummaunde mee in what I may stand yow in steede."

It is very evident that Raleigh was extremely anxious to obtain the Queen's signature at once to his grant, lest she should either change her mind upon reflection, or lest the Lord Treasurer, Secretary Walsingham, or some other ancient and careful counsellor, should step in with their remonstrance against such a concession. In a letter from Lord Burghley to Walsingham, dated a month after the preceding, he speaks of the manner in which he had supported certain suits by Raleigh and the Earl of Cumberland; but his interference on that occasion had probably related to a joint expedition they were fitting out for sea; and there is good reason to believe that Raleigh's renewed patent for wine licences was too hastily passed ever to be submitted to the cautious and experienced judgment of the Lord Treasurer. It

seems to have been a matter arranged entirely between the Queen and her favourite. The letter to Walsingham, in which Lord Burghley mentions Sir Walter Raleigh and the Earl of Cumberland, has never been printed; and, as it relates to them, and to his lordship's own family affliction in the unhappy marriage of his daughter with the Earl of Oxford (the same peer who had had such an intemperate quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney in the Tennis-court), I may, perhaps, be forgiven for inserting it here, as a curious and interesting domestic relic. I quote it from the original:

“Sr,—Although I am sure that yow will not omitt any convenient tyme to move hir Majesty to assent that hir Majesties gift to my Lord of Oxford, of Edward Jones lands and goods, might be perfected, yet I was so vexed yesternight, very late, by some grevoos sight of my poore daughter's affliction, whom her husband had in the afternoone so troobled with wordes of reproch of me to hir, as though I had no care of hym, as I had to please others (namely Sr Walter Ralegh and my Lord of Cumberland, whose bookes I had speedily sollicitid to pass), as she spent all the evening in dollor and weapyng. And, though I did as much as I could to comfort hir with hope, yet she being, as she is, great with child, and contynually afflicted to behold the misery of hir husband and of his children, to whom he will not leave one farthing of land, for this purpuss I can not forbear to renew this pitefull case, praying yow to take some tyme to have hir Majesties resolut answer.

“And for your instruction, to inform hir Majesty of the vallor of the gift, I do send yow a bill conteanyng the trew state thereof, and I can prove that ther hath bene layd out above one hundred pounds by the Erle's sollicitor, at my request, above the one hundred and twenty pounds for the charges of sondry inquisitions and commissions to serch out the truth of the thynges sought with great labor to be concealed, which mony I feare must fall to my lott to paye.

“No enemy I haue can envy this match, for therby nether honor, nor land, nor goodes, shall come to the children, for whom, being three alredy to be kept, and a fourth lyke to follow, I am at chardg even with sondry famylyes in sondry places for ther sustentation; but if ther father was of that good natur as to be thankfull for the same, I wold be less greved with the burden.

“And so I will end an uncomfortable matter, this v. of May, 1587.

“Yours most assured,

“W. BURGHLEY.

“If her Majesty will have Jones wiff considered, it may be provyded that she shall have an annuitie of xxx^{li} p. annum.”

The Edward Jones, named in the preceding letter, whose forfeited property the Queen had promised to the Earl of Oxford at the instance of Lord Burghley, had been recently executed with Ballard, Babington, and others ; and we may here see the manœuvres resorted to by the courtiers of that day to enrich themselves at the expense of the victims of justice. The Lord Treasurer's apprehension, that the Queen would be anxious to take care of the widow of the unfortunate sufferer, forms an unusually amiable trait in the character of Elizabeth.

Returning to Raleigh, and to his fortunes, we learn from a document in the State Paper Office, headed "The Names of all the Vice-Admirals in Englande," that in 1587 he was Vice-Admiral of the two important maritime counties of Devon and Cornwall, and that Sir John Gilbert, his half-brother, was his deputy in the first, and Edward Seymour, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford, in the last. The same list of Vice-Admirals includes the Earls of Derby, Leicester, and Pembroke, Lord Cobham, and Sir Christopher Hatton, so that Raleigh took rank with all these.

It seemed almost certain, therefore, that when a Council of War was appointed to consider the best mode of resisting the threatened invasion by Spain, Raleigh would be named one of its members. It has been stated by some historians, and by the last biographer of Raleigh, that this council of war met on the 27th Nov. 1587 ;^a but, as early as July in that year, measures had been taken, by the Lord Treasurer in particular, to obtain the advice and assistance of the ablest military and naval commanders of the kingdom, and they actually drew out a project for the defence of the realm, which bears the following introduction, by way of title :—

"The Lord Treasurer in Councill having willed Mr. Treasurer of the Howshold to joyne with the Lord Gray, and call S^r John Norris, S^r Thomas Leighton, S^r Richard Bingham, S^r Walter Raley, S^r Frauncis Drake, S^r Roger Williams, and Mr. Raph Lane, and, upon consultation together, to sett downe such meanes as are fittest to putt the forces of the realme in order to withstand any invasion, the project was sett downe by them as followeth."

To this succeeds the project itself, as prepared by these celebrated and experienced officers ; so that, if the date given upon the document, July, 1587, be correct, as we have every reason to believe it is, there is no doubt that such a Council of War had met at least three months before the period commonly assigned.

^a Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*, p. 71. Camden gives no date, but says merely that "Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, knights and excellent soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the war at land."—Kennett, ii. 543.

From various sources I derive some new and not uninteresting particulars regarding the employment and services of Sir Walter Raleigh, at this busy and anxious period, as Vice-Admiral of Devonshire and Cornwall. I find that, in an account headed "Extraordinaire Paimentes out of the Receipt, from our Ladie daie, 1587, until Michaelmas following," occurs a large item, of no less than 2,000*l.* (equal perhaps to 10,000*l.* of our present money) issued to Sir Walter Raleigh, "to be employed (as the paper expresses it) accordinge to her Majesties direction." That direction, no doubt, applied to the service in which it appears, by a letter from himself to Lord Burghley, Sir Walter was engaged in December, 1587: viz. that of raising 2,000 foot and 200 horse, in the counties over which he was placed, to join the army for the general defence of the empire. I cannot discover the slightest notice of this valuable letter in any account of Raleigh, but I am afraid that it is too long for insertion here. It is in his autograph, and is written to the Lord Treasurer in the most free and confidential terms, complaining of the difficulties and obstructions the writer experienced, especially from the magistracy. "These men make doubt (Raleigh observes) that your honor's instructions alone are not sufficient and safe warrant for their discharge, and that if any refuse to contribute, they see not by what they should be inforced, with a thousand dilatory cavillations." Nevertheless, Raleigh transmitted to Lord Burghley "an Estimate" of the manner in which the 2,000 foot soldiers were to be raised in Cornwall, with the nine several captains under whom they were to serve, in the subsequent form: it is an important document as regards general military preparations, and an interesting one as regards county history, if only from the names it comprises. It is indorsed, in Raleigh's hand, "Order for the 2,000 men in Cornwall," and is entitled—

"Order for the putting in reddines of the 2000 footemen, accordinge to your honor's directions.

"Two thousand men, under captayns, to repaire to the Court, or elswher, att my lord's directions.

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| " Sir R. Grenvill with his band of | 300 |
| Richard Carew with his | 300 |
| Sr John Arundell with his | 200 |
| Mr Bevill with his | 200 |
| The Provost Marshall, John Wray | 200 |
| Thomas Lower with his | 200 |
| Tristram Ascote with his | 200 |
| John Trelany with his | 200 |
| John Reskener with his | 200." |

To the above enumeration the following note was appended by Raleigh:

“ Wee haue apoynted 4 waynes to each hundred, and vittles for fourteen dayes, and wee accompt to mount the one half on hacknies for expedition : wee provide tooles for 200 pioners, as well for our own incampinge as to serve her Majesty in her camp reall. Also, wee have ordayned a cornett of horsmen to be in reddines, if your honors shall command the same, to be added to these 2000 footemen ; and if I shall not be cummanded down my sealf, I have thought good to direct S^r Richard Grenvill to have the conduction of this regiment to bringe them to the campe, wherafter your honors may dispose of the charge as it shall best like your wisdomes.

“ Your honors humblie at cummand,

“ W. RALEGH.”

The Spanish Armada, as all are aware, was defeated and dispersed in the end of July and in the beginning of August, 1588 ; and, as Raleigh's share in the triumph is matter of history, it is needless to add anything upon the subject here. After the wreck of so many of the enemy on the coast of Ireland, there was an intention on the part of the Privy Council, not merely to send troops thither under Sir Richard Grenville, but to employ Raleigh also in that part of the kingdom. Upon this point the following historical document has been preserved, and has hitherto escaped observation. It is the hasty draft of an official letter to Sir Richard Grenville, then acting for Raleigh in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and is indorsed with the date of the 14th September, 1588.

“ Right trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. Wher we have some occasion offred to us, by reason of certen shippes, parte of the Spanish Armada, that coming about Scotland are dryven to sondry portes in the west of Ireland, to put in redynes some forces to be sent into Ireland, as farder occasion shall be gyven us, which we meane to be shipped in the Ryver of Severn, to passe from there to Waterford or Cork, we have thought mete to make choice of you for this service followyng. We require you, that upon the north cost of Devon and Cornwall, towards Severn, you make stay of all shipping mete to transport soldiors to Waterford, and to gyve chardg that the same shippes be made redy, with masters, marynors, and all other maritym provisions nedefull, so as upon the next warning gyven from us, or from our Counsel, they may be redy to receive our said soldiors, which shall be three hundred out of Cornwall and Devon, and four hundred out of Gloucester and

Somerset shires. We have also some further intention to use your service in Ireland with the shippes aforesayd, wherof Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight, whom we have acquaynted therewith, shall inform you, who also hath a disposition for our service to pass into Ireland, ether with these forces, or before that they shall depart."

The fact was that the discomfiture and destruction of the enemy had been so complete, that it was not found necessary to incur the expense of sending to Ireland the 700 men, or the two officers named in the foregoing royal letter. It is true that Sir Walter Raleigh was not long afterwards in Ireland, perhaps upon some public employment, as well as for the arrangement of his private affairs; and among matters "to be propounded to the Counsell" in February 1589-90, we meet with the mention of "a Letter from Sir Walter Raleigh in favour of Teague." It was on the occasion of this visit that Sir Francis Allen wrote to Anthony Bacon, on 17th August, 1589, in these remarkable words, which I quote from the original, preserved at Lambeth, because Birch does not give them precisely as they there stand. "My Lord of Essex hath chassed Mr. Rauly from the Court, and hath confind him in to Ireland. Conjecture you the rest of that matter." At this date a coolness, if not a quarrel, had occurred between the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh; but, although it may have temporarily interrupted, it does not seem by any means to have entirely stopped, the flow of the tide of royal favour towards the latter. Upon this point the following passage, from one of Anthony Bacon's undated letters at Lambeth, is material: "Sir Walter Rawley having ben almost a yere in disgrace, as I thinke you have herd, is yett hoveringe betwene feare and hope;" but we, nevertheless, find him acting as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and Warden of the Stanneries in 1591, when the subsequent warrant was addressed to him, which has come down to us in the handwriting of Lord Burghley.

"To Sir Walter Raleigh, Leutenant of Cornwall.

"We grete you well. Uppon request made by our cousin the Erle of Essex, that in place of other comen soldiers now sent into France, there might be sent out of Cornwall or Devonshyre forty mynors, we have consented thereto; and therefore we will and require you, by virtue of your office of Warden of the Stannery or as Lieutenant of Cornwall, to cause forty mynors to be chosen and prested, whereof one to be mete to conduct the rest, and to send them in some vessell to Depe to our said cousyn, and for the charges of the levy, prest, and transportation of them by sea, you shall be satisfyed by warrant of our Treasurer of England."

A striking proof of the continuance, or at all events of the renewal, of the Queen's favour to Raleigh was afforded very soon afterwards. The ordinary biographical authorities tell us that he obtained a grant of the manor of Sherborne in the year 1594,^a but it is indisputable that Elizabeth had bestowed it upon him at least two years earlier. Among the Domestic Documents in the State Paper Office is preserved the following "Copy of Her Majesty's Letter to the Deane and Chapter of Sarum, for confirming the Lease made by the Bishop of Sarum to Her Majestie," which lease she had transferred to Raleigh, as is obvious from the contents of the paper, in which the Queen uses very peremptory language, in order that her "well-beloved servant," Sir Walter Raleigh, might not be kept longer from the advantage of the royal gift.

"Trusty and welbeloved, we greeete you well. Upon our pleasure declared to the Bishop of Salisburie that now is, he hath yeilded to gratifie us with a leasse, made to our self, of certain lands, parcell of the manor of Sherborn, in our countie of Dorset, belonging to his bishoprick, which we required of him to the behoofe of our welbeloved servaunt Sir Walter Ral[eigh], knight. And albeit the same appeareth now not to proove so beneficiall as our purpose was to our said servaunt, by reason of the reservations for divers thinges, the bisshopes provisions, and of the whole rent reserved unto him, and that the parcelles are remaining on lease for divers yeares yet unexpired, we are nevertheles pleased to accepte of the same leasse, and to remayn satisfied therewith. And for the furdur assurance unto us, and so consequently to our said servant, we will and require you, fourthwith, upon the receipt of these our letters, to assemble yourselves in chapter, and in due manner to proceede to make a confirmation of the said leasse under your chapter seale, in such sort as is requisite, and may be most effectuall to our said servaunt. Your ready conformities wherein, which we looke for aforehand at your handes, we will take in very thankfull part. Geven under our signet, &c. xix^o Januarij, 1591, in the xxxiiijth yeere of our raigne."

Thus her Majesty, having prevailed upon Dr. Caldwell (not Caldwell, as in

^a "The next year (1594) he was so entirely restored to the Queen's favour, that he obtained from her Majesty a grant of the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which had been alienated from the see of Salisbury by bishop Caldwell, and was doubtless one of those church lands for accepting which he was censured."—Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.* xxv. 504.

Tytler says "that Raleigh's efforts in Parliament procured his partial restoration to the royal favour is evident, from his obtaining at this time a grant of the manor of Sherborne, Dorsetshire."—P. 128.

Chalmers), made Bishop of Salisbury in 1591, to relinquish so valuable a source of revenue, and to grant a lease of the manor of Sherborne to her, which she had assigned to Raleigh, called upon the unwilling Dean and Chapter forthwith to confirm the act of the new bishop, notwithstanding the property was not, for various reasons, so valuable as she had intended, and as her "well-beloved servant" had hoped. This incident certainly does not look as if Raleigh were at all in disgrace at the time, and there is no doubt, in spite of what has often been stated to the contrary, that he did not incur the Queen's displeasure until afterwards, when his unfortunate intrigue with Elizabeth Throckmorton became matter of notoriety.

Upon this interesting point of Raleigh's personal history I have something new to advance, as well as upon some of the more prominent events of his after life; but I am afraid of trespassing too long upon the attention of the Society, and must reserve these particulars for a future evening. At present I content myself with having brought Raleigh's history down to the beginning of 1592.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

TO WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, ESQ. F.S.A.