



ENGLISH SEAMEN

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HAWKINS, GREENVILLE, DEVEREUX,
RALÉIGH

BY

ROBERT SOUTHEY.

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

SOUTHEY'S Lives of these four Elizabethans, Sir R. Hawkins, Sir R. Grenville, the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, are marked by all his usual qualities—sanity of judgement, excellence of English, and copious use of the Spanish authorities. All four men were in various ways typical of their time.

Of Sir Richard Hawkins little need be said. His character is simple, his merits as a seaman and careful thinker on questions of organisation, sanitation, armament and discipline are so conspicuous in his own narrative of his voyage that there is no need to insist upon them. His limitations are equally easy to learn from the same source, and may be left to speak for themselves, with this one brief word of comment—that when the romance and glory of the Elizabethan age had passed away, the solid business capacity, the practical instincts, and the interest in exploration as a means of obtaining material good, represented by Sir Richard, remained to be employed all through the seventeenth century in laying the foundations of our naval power wide and deep by maritime commerce.

Sir Richard Grenville stands for ever as the representative of the Glory and Romance. The Elizabeth epic would want its most purple patch if there had been no fight at Flores, in the Azores. Southey's telling of the tale suffers somewhat from the influence of the prosaic eighteenth century, which thought a Berserk only barbarous, and Amadis of Gaul ridiculous altogether. But at least it

compares very favourably in point of sanity with the version of Mr Froude, and Tennyson's adaptation of that version. It is utterly impossible to accept the Richard Grenville whom they have drawn as a credible human being. To remain behind for the purpose of rescuing the sick, and then to insist upon sacrificing them on a point of honour, which is what Mr. Froude and Lord Tennyson would have us believe that Grenville did, would have been the action of a most hysterical and foolish man. Of all the lines of conduct open to him this was the most certain to condemn the crew of the *Revenge* to those very "devildoms of Spain" from which Grenville is supposed to have wished to rescue them. His decision to force to windward of the Spaniards can only be explained on the ground that he meant to compel them to render him a mark of respect by giving way for him. It can only be justified on the supposition that it was in the good old sense a "rodomontade"—not a mere piece of bluster, but a vehement explosion of arrogant courage and self-assertion. The Berserks, who were possibly among Grenville's ancestors, had done such things out of a raging passion for battle and their hopes of Valhalla. Of care for his men he can have had none, but it is clear enough that he thought a great deal of triumphing superbly, and of dying in a blaze of glory, leaving behind him that reputation which the Renaissance world cherished as a species of prolongation of life. Sir Richard deserves the fame he sacrificed his life, his crew and the queen's ship to earn—but he deserves it because he became a Berserk at the end and a Rodomonte, who was ready to die if only his bier would be "a sword-sated heap of the slain," and his name was to dwell for ever in the memory of men. Raleigh's fiery narrative of the loss of the *Revenge* has been included by Mr. Arber in his English reprints, together with Gervase Markham's poem, "The most honourable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinvill Knight," and an extract from Linschoten. Mr. Arber has not followed Southey's scholarly example in this quotation. He does not replace the passage suppressed in the English translation of Sir Richard's Quixotic speech

(I use the adjective *honoris causa*), wherein the dying knight accuses his fellow admiral, and the captains, of cowardice.

It was only by stretching the word to the utmost extent of its capacity that Southey was able to include Essex in the list of British admirals. He sailed once in command of "an island voyage," but his other services even in the famous expedition to Cadiz were military. His memory lives as that of a courtier and would-be general and statesman. I am persuaded that Southey wrote of him at such disproportionate length in a naval history simply because of the abundance of the printed evidence for his career, and the profound interest of much of it. Only want of access to the State papers, which were then hidden confusedly in various places, prevented him from giving us a great deal about the unfortunate Earl Walter, the father of the favourite, his adventures and death in Ireland. The subject none the less cannot have been quite congenial to Southey. With the life of Essex we are brought into close and repellent contact with all that was most unpleasant in the court and the character of Queen Elizabeth. Scandal about the great queen has been long condemned as at least out of date. But we cannot help an instinctive rising of the gorge at the spectacle which she left in her old age to the ridicule, if not the disgust, of posterity. It is absolutely necessary either to keep silence, or to clear our minds of cant, with this story of Elizabeth and Essex before us. Silence is impossible when the life of Essex is the subject, and everything is cant which we can say—except that the queen chose to play the shameful part of an old woman who pays for the love of a young man, and Essex was not ashamed to figure as the juvenile favourite who is paid. The question is not whether foreign diplomatists, who found themselves stopped at her door by ladies-in-waiting and were told that Her Majesty was private with the Earl of Essex, were, or were not, right in the gross conclusions they formed. They were justified in what they said by the queen's unabashed ostentation of immorality. The fashion of the day is an excuse for much, and personal eccentricities cultivated by the ser-

vility of her courtiers account for a good deal. But there never was a time when what Elizabeth pretended to be doing was other than ignoble. Neither can we dismiss it all as the folly of an old woman pretending to be in love with a boy. The queen gave Essex great commands at the very beginning of his career at court and continued to employ him after he had proved his unfitness in France. She acted precisely as other besotted sovereigns have done when under the influence of a passion for an unworthy favourite. Godoy rose no otherwise than Essex. If indeed she was play-acting then the case is one for quoting Mary Lamb's great saying, "I would not think better of her if she were what you call innocent," applied to another queen. There is that in human nature which accounts for and partially excuses guilt, but what combination of coarseness, cold-blooded shamelessness and folly must there be in the man or woman who assumes the appearance of guilt gratuitously?

As for Essex his account is soon sped. He played the ugly part of mercenary young lover of an old woman. It was Godoy and nothing else. It is true that he was capable of fits of petulance which have been counted to him for independence. To me they look much more like the outbreak of the pampered young woman who is kicking over the table in Hogarth's plate. He could take up the cause of followers who wanted places, and strain his credit on their behalf. But it is the regular policy of the Piers Gavestons, Buckingham, Pompadours and Godoys to fill all the places with their own followers. He was lavish with the wealth which came to him from his mistress—and so were they all. He had the large gesture and ready word of the Renaissance—and so had the Imperia and Tullia d'Aragona, of whom all may read easily enough in the chronicles of the age of Lorenzo the Magnificent. When after the dismal Irish failure he might have shown his independence by submitting manfully to poverty he wrote erotic letters to the angry old queen, now thoroughly disabused, who sneered at his transparent manœuvre to secure a renewal of his monopoly of sweet wines, and

ruthlessly cut off his supplies. It is perhaps doubtful whether he provoked her into boxing his ears by telling her that "her conditions were as crooked as her carcase". We have only Raleigh's word for this vile taunt, and for my part I like not the security. But he had deeply offended her and had been chastised with contempt. A minimum of manly pride would have shown him that his only respectable refuge was silent obscurity. He plunged into a brainless rebellion in the company of a few foolish gentlemen and a mob of swashbucklers. Instant collapse was the inevitable consequence, and he ended in a grovel of maundering repentance. His life shows, even more fully than the life of his enemy Raleigh, that if the court of Queen Elizabeth was less openly disordered than Whitehall in the reign of Charles II., it was not essentially less gross nor less immoral. The Restoration has nothing much worse to show than the picture of Essex hiding his wife away at home at the contemptuous order of the fierce old queen, and meanwhile carrying on intrigues with the maids of honour, who were duly thrashed by their mistress when she caught them intercepting her servant. His fits of repentance, which led to nothing but "diseased introspection" and gushings of maudlin piety, do not make the picture less nauseous. They are the exact equivalent of the prayerful entries in the diary of Laurence Hyde, the Earl of Rochester, of the Revolution of 1688—entries made while he was eagerly forwarding an intrigue, having for its object the control of James II., with the help of his mistress. The stately trappings of the Tudor court covered no small portion of common vulgarity. Pepys and Evelyn had little better in this kind to tell us than the story of the game of primero in 1598. Raleigh, Southampton, the poet's friend, and one Mr. Parker were noisy over their game outside Her Majesty's bedchamber. Mr. Willoughby, "Esquire of the body," rebuked their indecency. Raleigh characteristically pocketed his winnings, and went home. Southampton, beloved of the muses, resented dictation by a mere esquire. On this quarrel "they fought not with the knightly sword, but as fishwives

do, and the peerage suffered shame. Master Willoughby "polled off some of the Earl's locks"—pulled his hair out by the roots. Zimri Buckingham had the easier task when he snatched off the periwig of Shrewsbury, and gave His Majesty King Charles II. a hearty laugh. Elizabeth applauded her esquire's manful resolution to enforce the respect due to the queen's officers.

The name of Raleigh is for ever linked with Essex. If one were in search of a theme wherewith to play the game of making a parallel in the manner of Plutarch, a better could not easily be found, so many, and so obvious, are the points of comparison and unlikeness. Both rose by the court and the queen's favour. Both lost her regard, and suffered from her anger. Each offended her by marriage. They bore arms against the Spaniard, and in Ireland. It was the fate of both to lay their heads on a bloody pillow as traitors. Nothing would be easier than to go on multiplying similarities which are after all not similar except in the separable accidents. The two men were essentially different. Of Essex we can only say that he was weak, endowed with a share of purely external cleverness and magnanimity, but without any foundation of character. Raleigh was an independent force, and would most assuredly have left his mark on his time even if he had not found favour in the queen's eyes when he brought her Zouch's dispatches from Ireland in 1581. For it was given to him to be in every way representative of his age. If a man is to be judged only by what he actually achieved in the way of work done then Raleigh may be said to have been overrated. Enterprises adopted from others, pursued for a time with zeal and then dropped, schemes which met with no application or only a half one, work begun and left unfinished, drafts of books, fragments of histories, dreams of conquest and of colonization in Ireland and Virginia, tried and abandoned, scientific experiment which led to nothing but the concoction of a quack medicine—the wreckage of an activity which had no bounds, and of an intellectual curiosity which was insatiable, lie scattered all along his path from boyhood to the scaffold.

Yet the instinct of mankind which judges without appeal has assuredly *not* been wrong when it has singled out Raleigh to make him a hero.

Not on the vulgar mass
 Called "work," must sentence pass,
 Things done, that took the eye and had the price ;
 O'er which, from level stand,
 The low world laid its hand,
 Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice.

Saving the reverence of the Rabbi Ben Ezra, the low world can detect the "instincts immature" and the "purposes unsure," and will allow when making up the man's account for more than it can take between its coarse thumb and finger. It will value a man for what he was rather than for what he did. We can deduct Raleigh from the great queen's reign, and make no diminution of the sum of its achievements. Burleigh, Walsingham, Drake, Marlowe, Spenser, Hooker, and a score of others, left something done without which their time had been much the poorer in government, in action, in thought and in literature. But what was there which Raleigh found for himself and finished? Nothing—not even the colonization of Virginia, for in that field his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, was his leader, and his colony perished. None the less we cannot imagine him away without knowing how great the loss would be to us, and that because he was the most complete representative of his generation, the most Elizabethan of Elizabethan Englishmen.

The type is capable of being precisely defined—the true Elizabethan was he in whom the Humanism of the Renaissance was the inspiring influence. For its morality Humanism had the Abbey of Thelema, with its belief that pleasure is the one good worth seeking, and its theory that there is an instinct in rightly constituted men and women, which will lead them to live nobly without the control of religion—if we ought not rather to say that the religion of Humanism was the pursuit of pleasure for the intellect, the eye, and the flesh, gracefully, and with avoidance of the gross excesses which brutalize and stupefy. It is an ideal which has always had, and has, its admirers.

What became of the Abbey of Thelema when inhabited not by the imaginary men and women of noble nature, but by actual sons and daughters of Adam, let Italy testify and France, Brantôme and our own Nash; for we also can bring our contribution to the testimony. The court of Elizabeth was our Abbey of Thelema. Leicester lived there, and there was much else congenial to him and his like. It was the function of the Reformation to launch the dart at the head of the lie, and teach once more "original sin, the corruption of men's hearts". But the day of the Reformation was not to come in England till the seventeenth century. In the meantime the Humanists themselves could frankly allow that the Abbey of Thelema was not for all men, but for the aristocratic few. Outside was the gross herd of which Giordano Bruno, a genuine spokesman of Humanism, wrote so scornfully, and Raleigh, his contemporary, perhaps his friend, and certainly his partisan, not otherwise than the Nolan. Much might be said of this Utopia, particularly as touching the difficulty of defining the notes of the real aristocracy. But one of its aspects can be fixed with confidence. Since it was to live for refined pleasure of mind, taste, and corporeal appetité, and therefore required leisure, fine buildings, rich clothing, costly horses, still more costly jewels, and treasures of art only to be bought at a great price, it had a peremptory need for large sums of money. Given now a select world claiming to be a law to itself, and quite unable to dispense with a full purse; remembering, too, that its members, little as they were prepared to confess the truth, shared the human nature of the despised herd, washed and perfumed, but not altered in essentials; and not forgetting that a man might belong thereto, and yet be the son of a gentleman of Devon of modest estate, there is a result of these conditions which will at once present itself. It is that the Abbey of Thelema of brick and stone, of warm-blooded men and women, might instantly reveal itself as no more nor less than the scene of a fierce absorbing struggle for money and money's-worth, as well as the abode of pleasures which are quite elementary.

Such, when the glamour is stripped off them, were Raleigh's theatre and his life. The noble life interpreted itself into a tough scramble for places and monopolies, for the pay given to professions of love, for forfeitures. Mr. Walter Raleigh makes himself useful to the unspeakable Earl of Oxford, Sir Walter Raleigh goes about carrying in his bosom the jewels which are to be his security for his fees as broker of the equally unspeakable Cobham, who seeks a "fee farm" from the Crown.

The Abbey of Thelema did not become the Whitehall of the Restoration all at once. In the sixteenth century it still cared for more than money and stimulants. Adventure, war, romantic and poetic deliveries of a man's self were much to the Renaissance. The will to live by every faculty of mind and body was strong in the world around Sir Walter Raleigh, and in no man did it strain more vigorously than in him. Therefore he touched whatever his time was doing, from efforts to found colonies, to experiments in chemistry—passing by literature on the way. It is not by this squandering of a man's energies that excellence as a workman is reached. "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel" is the law for him, and he must learn how to limit himself. Raleigh never could, and therefore of things finished and perfected he achieved a small bunch of lyrics, while all the rest is fragment, plan unexecuted and dream unrealised. And for that too he is the fittest representative of an age which forgot too much the bounds of man's capacity.

In nothing does he speak for it better than in his failure to keep himself clean from the defilement of lies, and to avoid ending in blood and shame. The Abbey of Thelema recognises no obligation to others but only to yourself, and to your claim to live your life to the full. It is only in the dreams of the Humanist that any community can exist cleanly in an anarchy, be it ever so much gilded with art and poetry, ever so magnanimous in its bearing. The Reformers gave one set of reasons for believing Rabelais' earthly paradise to be impossible. Another of the mighty spirits of the Renaissance found a different argument

which, as being more secular, may be more acceptable to our time. "It would be," said Machiavelli, "'laudabilissima cosa' if our great man could be wholly made of the virtues, but that cannot be 'per le condizioni umane che non lo consentono'." Human conditions are not to be escaped, and since the man of the Humanist Renaissance was resolved to live for himself in disregard of accepted moral obligations, he inevitably became cruel and a liar. Raleigh was both. In Ireland he used and defended assassination. At all times and everywhere he was indifferent to the truth. Wealth he would have and must have, and if falsehood or ferocity seemed the only means of attaining his wish he would use them. He could be kind to humble people dependent on him, the tin-workers of Cornwall, or townsmen of Jersey whom he could rule from afar. But I find his tone to his sailors in the *Discoverie of Guiana* unpleasant. He speaks of them as mere tools, and shows a snobbish consciousness of his own refinement of habits, which made the boat on the Orinoco so intolerable. His arrogant bearing to the vulgar herd made him hateful to his countrymen, and they must really be pardoned for resenting the contempt of a gentleman who sold himself for money to a mistress, and was for ever scheming to get gold. As for the lies they accompanied him all through life. The *Discoverie*, brilliant as it is, has the falsity of a prospectus. No human credulity can accept his loquacious and plausible Indian chiefs. Words with Sir Walter were pawns in a game and baits for the unwary. By dint of living in an imaginary higher sphere and of looking on the mass of men as raw material to be coerced or fooled, he ended by overdoing the trickery. The vulgar herd was intelligent enough to see that it was being played on when Antonio de Berrio was presented to it on one page as a monster of cruelty and treachery, because the purpose was to secure shareholders for a venture in Guiana, and introduced on the next as a gentleman very valiant and liberal, of great assuredness and a great heart, because he was now to be quoted as a witness for the existence of Manoa. What could they

think of the sincerity of a man who, after declaiming against the cruelty of the Spaniards to the Indians, says that if the Emperor of Manoa, El Dorado, will not pay a large body of English younger sons and captains out of employment handsomely, for settling themselves on him as protectors, he has no iron and can be conquered? What they did think we know from the history of the Cobham conspiracy and the Winchester trial. It was that he was a man of boundless insolence, irreligious, eager for war in which he saw his profit, and contemptuous of all truth and duty. When he had fallen the manly instinct of that same common English herd turned it from hatred to pity. The king's subservience to Spain gave Raleigh a popularity he had never had before, and he became the representative of a national sentiment. The story of his last cruise and his death was an atonement for all—and it was right it should be. Death paid all debts in his case, and his own miserable intrigues with Savoy and France, his schemes of piracy, and his pitiful manœuvres to preserve life, are not worse than the meanness of the king. They are awful when we look at them as the end to which a gentleman, valiant and liberal, of great assuredness and a great heart, was brought, simply because he had been taught in his Humanist Abbey of Thelema that to be splendid in life and superb in deliveries of yourself, to love pleasure and beauty, is finer than the homespun rule that it is best to be an honest man. Also he lives as the martyr of the insolent faith of Humanism that what is meant by having the fear of God before your eyes is good only for the herd.

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