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RALEGHANA.

PART II.

BY

T. N. BRUSHFIELD, M.D.

(Read at Honiton, August, 1898.)

[Reprinted from the Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art. 1898.—xxx. pp. 158-197.]



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THE INTRODUCTION OF THE POTATO AND OF TOBACCO INTO ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

THERE are two articles in common domestic use throughout the world, viz., the potato and tobacco, the introduction of which into this kingdom has frequently, nay customarily, been assigned to Sir Walter Raleigh;¹ but although each has formed the subject of many treatises, it is yet a moot point as to what extent the credit of importing or introducing them into this country, or of popularizing and bringing them into general use, may be attributed to him; or whether it may not be assigned, wholly or in part, to others.

The principal portion of this paper is devoted to a full consideration of these two points; but while no claim is made for any serious addition to the store of facts (real or assumed), statements, and opinions already recorded by recognized authorities, it will be found necessary to traverse several of them, and to rectify some important errors before any conclusions, definite or proximate, can be drawn from them.

Advantage has been taken of the present paper to include

¹ *Vide* art. "Raleigh," in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

several matters of collateral interest associated with the names of Raleigh and other Devonians.²

I. THE POTATO.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that the merit of introducing the potato into this country has been imputed to each of three Devonshire worthies—Sir J. Hawkins, Sir F. Drake, and Sir W. Raleigh—as well as to two persons employed by the latter, viz., R. Lane, the Governor of Virginia, and T. Hariot, who was sent out to report upon the resources of that country.

One of the principal causes of error in assigning different dates to its introduction into this country, and the occasion of much controversy, is due to the fact that the term "potato" has been given to two dissimilar products, yielded by plants belonging to different families, and indigenous to countries widely separated from each other. Apparently misled by the popular term being applied to each, some authors have fused their respective histories into one; e.g., this has been done by H. R. F. Bourne in his *Romance of Trade* (1876), 25-6. Again, on a label attached to an analysis of the potato in the Museum at Kew is recorded: "Brought to Ireland by John Hawkins in 1565, and to England by Sir Francis Drake in 1585," both kinds, as will be pointed out presently, being included under one term.³

A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* makes a curious evolutionary suggestion "that if 'not the same root,' the present potatoes are the descendants of that 'parent stock,'

² BRIEF REFERENCE TO WORKS QUOTED.

- Gerard = *The Herball*, by John Gerard (1636).
- Harland = Notes to the *Shuttleworth Accounts* (Chetham Soc., 1856-8).
- De Candolle = *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, by A. de Candolle (1884).
- Hakluyt = *Voyages, &c., of the English Nation*, by R. Hakluyt (1885-90).
- Monardes = *Joyfull Newes out of the New-found-World*, by Dr. Monardes, translated by J. Frampton (1596).
- Dr. A. T. Thomson = In Mrs. Thomson's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1830).
- Fairholt = *Tobacco: its History and Associations*, by F. W. Fairholt (1876).
- Oldys = *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh in Works I.*, by W. Oldys, (1829). (1st ed., 1736.)
- Aubrey = *Letters and Lives of Eminent Men*, by J. Aubrey (1813).
- Edwards = *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by E. Edwards (1868).

(Other editions quoted from are mentioned in the text.)

³ Cf. PEREIRA'S *Materia Medica* (1855), ii. 584.

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though undoubtedly changed in their qualities by cultivation and 'too much forcing'; being consequently 'far less hardy' than the parent stock."⁴

The following are short descriptions of the two kinds:—

I. *Sweet Potato*.—The fleshy root of the *Batatas edulis* (Convolvulaceæ).

From Gerard's description J. Harland formed the erroneous opinion that it "must have been either a yam or one of the beets, and not a potatoe." (913.) Its habitat is thus summarised by De Candolle: "It is cultivated in all countries within or near the tropics, and perhaps more in the new than in the old world." (54.) According to the same writer, "Oviedo, writing in 1526, had introduced it himself at Avila" in Spain (55); and it was its introduction into Europe from the Spanish possessions in the New World that led to the sweet kind being commonly known as "Spanish Potatoes" (*Batata Hispanorum*), and so designated in the *Nova Stirpium Adversaria* of Lobelius, published in 1576.

II. *Ordinary Potato*.—The subterranean branch of the *Solanum tuberosum* (Solanaceæ). A native of more temperate countries than the preceding kind. Indigenous to the West Coast of South America, and found by Darwin growing wild "in great abundance" on the islands of the Chonos Archipelago, adjacent to the coast of Chili,⁵ but unknown on the East Coast until a comparatively late period; and on its introduction into Brazil it received the name of "English Batata."

Based on "the testimony of all the early travellers," De Candolle asserts, "it is proved beyond a doubt that at the time of the discovery of America the cultivation of the potato was practised, with every appearance of ancient usage, in the temperate regions extending from Chili to New Granada, at altitudes varying with the latitude." (45-6.) Respecting North America, the same author adduces testimony showing that the *Solanum tuberosum* was unknown "in the United States before the arrival of the Europeans" (47); and a later writer, the Rev. Dr. Tarbox, of Newton, Massachusetts, affirms, "It is now very well settled that the potato was not native to North America."⁶ This is to some extent corroborated by the circumstance,

⁴ 2nd Series, iii. 247-8.

⁵ *Voyage of the Beagle* (1879), 285.

⁶ *Sir W. Raleigh's Colony in America* (Prince Soc., 1884), 212.

that the accounts of the voyages of Verrazzano, Laudonniere, and De Soto to Florida in the early part of the sixteenth century, contain no reference to the potato. It is worth noting that De Soto's narrative is entitled, "Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour."⁷

From these remarks it is fairly evident that while the former kind is mainly a tropical plant, the latter is a denizen of more temperate regions; we are therefore not surprised to learn that the cultivation of each is much influenced by climate; for example, according to Mr. Phillips, "our common potatoes soon degenerate when planted in the West India Islands"; whereas the *Batata edulis*, "requiring a warm climate, could never have been cultivated in this country, except by the curious."⁸ The latter statement is thus corroborated by Gerard: "The potato's grow in India, Barbarie, Spaine, and other hot regions; of which I planted diuers roots (which I bought at the Exchange in London) in my garden, where they flourished vntil winter, at which time they perished and rotted." (926.)

Although not a native of any portion of North America, but found growing wild in the temperate region of the East Coast of South America, some authors declare it to belong to the tropics. Thus Mrs. Thomson states: "Potatoes came originally from Mexico";⁹ again, J. Smith affirms it to be "a native of Peru and Chili, and has also been found wild in Mexico";¹ and W. Irving notes that "at the island of Cuba, Columbus, in his first voyage to America, met with the potatoe, a humble root, little valued at the time."² The authors of the article "Potato," in the last edition of the *Ency. Brit.*, cite several Spanish authorities to show that the Spaniards found it being cultivated by the natives in the neighbourhood of Quito; that it is mentioned in several Spanish works about the year 1553; and that "Hieronymus Cardan, a monk, is supposed to have been the first to introduce it from Peru into Spain, from which country it passed into Italy, and thence into Belgium."

There can be little doubt that the sweet potato is the kind adverted to by most of these authors; on the other hand, it is possible for some of those brought to Europe to have been grown in the higher, and therefore temperate, altitudes

⁷ HAKLUYT, xiii. 537-616.

⁸ *Hist. of Cultivated Vegetables* (1822), ii. 78, 80.

⁹ *Life of Sir W. Raleigh* (1830), 322.

¹ *Dict. of Plants* (1882), 336.

² *Life of Columbus* (1828), i. 284.

of the tropical countries of South America. (These remarks apply to the *Solanum tuberosum* only, there being other varieties of the *Solanum* family that flourish in hot countries.)

Authorities generally are agreed that both kinds were introduced into Europe by the Spaniards, but the sweet potato was known and cultivated by them many years prior to the ordinary one, having been brought from America by Columbus, who presented some specimens to Queen Isabella;³ and whereas their cultivation in Spain dates from the commencement of the sixteenth century, the *Solanum tuberosum* was not imported until late in the same century; and De Candolle is very emphatic in affirming it took place "between 1580 and 1585, first by the Spaniards, and afterwards by the English." (53.)

We pass on to consider:—

I. From what land the potato was first imported into this country.

II. To whom must be attributed the distinction of importing and of introducing it.

III. To whom is the credit due of furthering its utilisation and propagation. All these points overlap each other more or less.

Respecting its introduction, it appears at first sight very probable it was brought from Spain, where it was known some years earlier than in England; or it may have been imported direct by Spanish merchants, who were the great traders with the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The following paragraph, taken from "The Epistle Dedicatorie" of John Frampton, in his translation of the *Ioyfull Newes*, &c., written by "Doctor Monardus, P'hisition of Seuill," of which the first edition was published in 1577 (followed by others in 1580 and 1596, good evidence of its popularity), seems to favour this view:—

"The aforesaide Medicines mentioned in the same work of D. Monardus, are now by Marchants & others, brought out of the West Indies into Spaine, and from Spaine hither into England, by such as doe daily trafficke thither."

(Under the term "Medicines," he includes all the articles described in the work, *e.g.*, tobacco, ginger, the armadillo, iron, &c.)

In the *Course of Hannibal over the Alps* (1794), J. Whitaker asserts that it "was originally introduced to

³ DE CANDOLLE, 55, quoted from HUMBOLDT, *Nouvelle Espagne*, ii.

our tables from Portugal, Spain, and the East Indies" (i. 246-7); but the context shows this to have been the sweet potato, as pointed out by a correspondent in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1802), 1019. These suggestions require no further consideration, as there is no corroborative evidence or even tradition to support them.

As far as investigations have yet been made, the Spanish or sweet potato was the only kind imported into this country up to the year 1586, and it is from this period that the history of the ordinary potato in this land of ours may be said to commence. On July 28th of that year Sir F. Drake landed at Portsmouth, bringing with him from Virginia Ralph Lane (the Governor), Thomas Hariot, and nearly all the colonists who had been sent out there by Sir W. Raleigh, and "with them also, it is believed for the first time, tobacco and potatoes."⁴ Two years later (1588) Thomas Hariot, a mathematician and highly scientific man, who had accompanied the second expedition to Virginia in 1585, under the direction of Sir W. Raleigh, to survey and report upon the resources of that country, published the results of his researches in a thin 4to work of 24 leaves. A transcript of the title is here given in full on account of its interest, and especially as it differs in several important particulars from the subsequent reprints:—

"A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the commodities there found and to be rayseed, as well marchantable, as others for victuall, building and other necessarie vses for those that are and shalbe the planters there; and of the nature and manners of the naturall inhabitants: Discouered by the English Colony there seated, by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the yeere 1585 which remained vnder the gouernement of Rafe Lane Esquier, during the space of twelue monethes at the speciall charge and direction of the Honourable SIR WALTER RALEIGH Knight, Lord Warden of the stanneries; who therein hath bene faouered and authorised by her Maiestie and her letters patents: Directed to the Adventurers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the action for the inhabiting and planting there: by Thomas Hariot; seruant to the abouenamed Sir Walter, a member of the Colony, and there employed in discouering."

In his prefatory address he states he "will set downe all the comodities which wee know the countrey doeth yeld of it selfe for victuall, and sustenance of mans life, such as is

⁴ Professor LAUGHTON, in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. "Sir Francis Drake," xv. 435.

usually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countrey, as also by vs during the time we were there."

In the section "Of Rootes . . . founde growing naturally or wilde," he enumerates six kinds, all bearing Indian names; of these the first on the list has been asserted by many to be intended for the potato, and is thus described:—

"Openavk are a kind of roots of round forme, some of the bignes of walnuts, some far greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as thogh they were fastneded [*sic*] with a string. Being boiled or sodden they are very good meate."

This is repeated in De Bry's reprint of 1590, and in all the editions of Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Not in the first issue of the latter (1589), but in the second and subsequent editions, the following will be found added to, and in continuation of, the above quotation:—

"Monardes calleth these roots, Beads or Pater nostri of Santa Helena"; with this marginal reference, "Monardes parte 2, lib. I., cap. 4." To this the editor of the last edition of Hakluyt's work has added in a footnote:—

"This is no doubt, that most useful vegetable, the potat.:" (xiii. 340.)

As Hakluyt died in 1616, and the second issue of his *Voyages* appeared in 1600, it is evident that the assertion of the identity of the Openhauk and the Beads of St. Helen must be attributed to him. This testimony is accepted by a recent writer, H. H. Drake, in *The Times* of August 14th, 1882:—"Thomas Heriot . . . wrote . . . a description of the Openhauk, meaning the potato, called also Paternoster beads." Before, however, this identity can be admitted, it is necessary to examine the account given by Dr. Monardes, from whose work the following is transcribed:—

"Of the Beades, whiche bee called of Sainct Elen.

"From the Florida they doe bring certain rounde Rootes whiche are called the Beades of Sainct Elen. And they haue this name by reason that they bee in a place of that Countrie that is so called, they are greate large Rootes, dedided into seuerall peeces, and cuttinges, euery peece by hymselfe, they remaine rounde as Beades, the whiche, beyng bored in the middest, they doe make of them Beades for to praie upon, whiche the Souldiers doe hang about their neckes, for a thing of greate estimation. They drie them, and they are as hardie as a bone, on the outwarde parte they are blacke,

and within white, and the Rinde is ioyned in such sorte, that the Rinde and the harte is made all one, the whiche are wrought after they are drie, and this Roote beyng tasted it is a kinde of Spice, it is like to Galange, they are of the thickenesse of a mans Thumbe, sumwhat lesse."⁵

The accompanying illustration shows eight nearly equal-sized round bodies. (An impression from the same block serves to illustrate "the Bezaar stones of the Peru," in the edition of 1596, but not in that of 1577.) There is no allusion to any portion of the plant being employed for food, but many diseases are named for which it was used as a remedy. The description of Monardes is sufficient to demonstrate that these "Beades" were not identical either with the Openhauk or with the ordinary potato, as affirmed in the pages of Hakluyt.

Excepting by a few botanists, during the last fifty years writers generally, from Caspar Bauhin (1560-1624) down to the authors of the article "Raleigh" in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1896), have assumed the Openhauk to be the same as the *Solanum tuberosum*. In his description of the "*Solanum tuberosum esculentum*," Bauhin remarks, "Haec ex insulâ Vergineâ primum in Angliam, inde in Galliam, aliasque regiones delata est. Hujus radices in Virgineâ Openanck [*sic*] dici."⁶ It was maintained by Sir J. Banks in 1805,⁷ and favoured by Loudon in his *Practice of Agriculture*, art. "Potato." Again, De Candolle, although apparently unacquainted with Hariot's volume (his opinion being based solely upon the statement of Sir J. Banks), referred both to the same plant:—

"It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh, or rather Thomas Herriott, his companion in several voyages, brought back to Ireland, in 1585 or 1586, some tubers of the Virginian potato. Its name in its own country was openawk. From Herriott's description of the plant quoted by Sir Joseph Banks, there is no doubt that it was the potato, and not the batata, which at that period was sometimes confounded with it." (46.)

It is to be regretted that Hariot did not furnish fuller particulars of the Openauk; but even from his brief description there is sufficient to feel convinced it could not be the same as the ordinary potato; e.g., American and other authors have pointed out that the latter was, in the sixteenth

⁵ Ed. of 1577, fo. 59 do.

⁶ *Prod. Theat. Botan.* (†d. 1671), 90.

⁷ *Trans. of Hort. Soc. London* (1820), 8 et seq.

century, unknown in North America. Nevertheless, he found the Openauk growing wild in Virginia in the same century. Again, he reports it as being "found in moist & marish grounds" — a situation in which the ordinary potato will not flourish. It is noteworthy that the term "Openauk" is unmentioned by any other writer, except as a quotation from Hariot's work.

Although bearing a different name, the following description of a plant found by Captain J. Smith in Virginia about the year 1607, bears a close resemblance to the Openhauk (probably the same plant), and is quoted here, as it has apparently escaped the notice of writers on this subject. The section containing it is headed, "Of such things which are naturall in Virginia, and how they vse them" :—

"The chiefe root they haue for food is called Tockawhoughe. It groweth like a Flag in low muddy Freshes. In one day a Sauage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnesse and taste of Potatoes. They vse to couer a great many of them with Oke Leaues and Ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; ouer it, on each side, they continue a great fire twentie foure houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poisin, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with Sorrell and Meale, or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extremely, and yet in Summer they vse this ordinarily for bread."⁸

The attention of botanists has been exercised in recent years in endeavouring to identify the Openauk with any existing plant, as well as to ascertain the botanical family to which it belonged. Asa Gray and J. Trumbull believed it to be the same as the *Apios tuberosa*, a native of North America, where its tubers were known to be eaten by the Indians.⁹ This *Apios* is known as the American Groundnut, Mic-Mac Potato, Tuberos-rooted Wistaria, "Wild Bean" of North America, and is figured in the *Journal of the Horticultural Society, London*, ii. (1847), 146. The woodcut was reprinted in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (1849), 165, to illustrate an article on that plant by A. Richard (quoted from the *Comptes Rendus*), containing the following paragraph :—

"The roots . . . grow larger, become filled with starch, and form true tubers. The swellings are sometimes close together, so as to form a sort of chaplet . . . when cooked they taste very like artichokes."

⁸ *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, pt. 4 (1625), 1695. On the previous page "the Riuer of Tockwhogh" is mentioned.

⁹ *Amer. Journ. of Science*, art. xiii., May, 1877.

A claim on behalf of another plant has been thus referred to in the last-named journal, of April 17th, 1886: "It has been suggested it was the Jerusalem Artichoke," but the Helianthus family, like that of the ordinary potato, do not flourish in "moist & marish grounds."

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to draw attention to some particulars in Gerard's volume. In separate chapters he describes the two kinds.

I. (Sweet) "Of Potatoes. Sisarum Peruvianum sive Batata Hispanorum. Potatus or Potatoes."

II. (Ordinary) "Of Potatoes of Virginia. Battata Virginiana sive Virginianorum & Pappus. Potatoes of Virginia."¹

It is remarkable that although Clusius terms the sweet variety "Hispani Batatas," he applies the name "Papas Peruanorum" to the ordinary kind.² In "The Introduction of the Potato into England,"³ W. S. Mitchell states that the ordinary potato, "under the name Papa hispanorum, was grown in a garden at Breslau" in 1587.⁴ Gerard in his *Herbal* (as pointed out by Mitchell) "uses the word potato alone for the Batatas edulis";⁵ in his *Catalogus* (1599), "Bastard Potatoes" is the term applied to the ordinary kind. ? date 160

A large number of the illustrations (including ^{that} one of the sweet potato) contained in Gerard's work were printed from blocks prepared for and used in the great volume of Tabernaemontanus (1590), a singular exception being that of the *Solanum tuberosum*, of which the earliest known representation appeared in the original edition of the former published in 1597; but a different block was employed in the subsequent issues. How highly Gerard thought of the plant is evidenced by his engraved portrait in the frontispiece of his work, representing him as holding in his left hand a stem of the plant bearing the flower, fruit, and leaves. As De Candolle was well acquainted with this *Herbal*, it is a curious (now)

¹ Ed. 1597, chap. 334-5; the names remain unchanged in the subsequent issues.

² *Rar. Plant. Hist.* (1601), lxxviii.

³ *Antiquary*, xiii. (1886), 148.

⁴ *Antiquary*, xiii. (1886), 148, but no reference given.

⁵ So does J. HART, in 1633, in the following extract from his *Dist of the Diseased*:-

"That out-landish root brought unto us from the *West Indies*, called commonly *Potato*, and by some *Batato*, is of the same nature and property, or at least goeth a little beyond it ['the Skirret root']; but that this pre-eminence it hath, that it is, according to the common proverb, 'Farre fetcht and deare bought, and therefore good for Ladies.'" (Bk. I., ch. xiii., p. 45.)

error of his ^{to} attributing the earliest illustration of the *Solanum tuberosum* to the volume published by Clusius in 1601, four years later than that of Gerard. To the woodcut of the ordinary potato in the huge folio of the latter W. S. Mitchell has devoted much attention, and has pointed out that it in all probability was engraved expressly for the work, and from a specimen raised in Gerard's own garden. (148.) He then goes on to assert it to be "*solely on the evidence of this cut* [italics in the original] that the statement has ever been made that the *Solanum tuberosum* is, or at least once was, a native of Virginia." (149.) Gerard's statement as to the country from whence his plants were supplied is too striking to be passed over:—

"It groweth naturally in America, where it was first discovered, as reporteth Clusius, since which time I haue receiued roots hereof from Virginia, otherwise called Norembega, which grow & prosper in my garden as in their owne natiue country." And further he terms them "Potatoes of America or Virginia."

Although the work of Clusius (*Rar. Plant. Hist.*) has been examined without finding the paragraph alluded to, the testimony of Gerard as to the locality from which he obtained his first specimens is of great importance, especially as his work containing the above passage was printed eleven years only after the return of Drake's fleet from that country in 1586, and within then recent memory.

Passing on to consider to whom the credit should be assigned for being the original importer and introducer (not necessarily the same person) of the ordinary potato into these isles, it will be convenient to investigate the claims of all those to whom the honour is ascribed by various authorities, in the order of their names as given at the commencement of this paper.

Sir. J. Hawkins.—"Potatoes were originally brought to England from Santa Fé, in America, by Sir John Hawkins in 1563," so states Mr. Harland (912), and this is repeated in *Chambers' Cyclopædia* (1891, viii. 354), excepting that "Virginia" is substituted for "Santa Fé." This relates to Hawkins' first voyage in 1562-3, in the account of which there is no allusion to the subject. Most probably an unintentional error has been made, and the second voyage (1564-5) was the one intended, in which is recorded that at "Sancta Fee . . . certaine Indians . . . brought downe to vs . . . Hennes, Potatoes and pines. These potatoes be the

most delicate rootes that may be eaten." ⁶ According to A. Brown, Hawkins "brought to England," from Florida, "samples of tobacco, potatoes, and other products"; ⁷ but in J. Sparke's description of the voyage there is no allusion to the potato in the list of the products of Florida.

The potatoes alluded to must have been of the sweet or Spanish kind, and are not mentioned by Sparke as anything novel, as they had been known in Europe many years prior to 1564. On the other hand the ordinary potato was unknown to Hawkins, and was not grown in the tropical countries visited by him.

Sir F. Drake.—In his great voyage of circumnavigation, commenced in 1577 and ended in 1580, when off the "Island called la Mocha," south of Concepcion, on the coast of Chili, on November 29th, 1578, he relates, "The people came downe to vs . . . bringing to vs potatoes, rootes," &c. ⁸ This is probably the basis of the assertion made by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (2nd S. iii. 247) that Drake brought some ordinary potatoes to England in 1580, and that to him belongs the honour of first introducing them. Against this it may be affirmed that these potatoes were not the ordinary, but the sweet kind, an opinion held by Sir J. Banks. It must be borne in mind that La Mocha is upwards of 450 miles north of the place where Darwin found the *Solanum tuberosum* growing wild.

During his next voyage, commenced on September 12th, 1585, he captured the city of St. Jago, on one of the Cape de Verd Isles, and in a valley adjacent he found growing, amongst other things, "potato rootes" (*Batata edulis*). He then crossed the Atlantic to the West India Islands, arrived at the coast of Florida in May, and reached Virginia on June 9th, 1586. He left there for England on the 18th of the same month, taking with him R. Lane, T. Hariot, the majority of the colonists, and "specimens of the productions of the country," one being "the root known as the potato," ⁹ and landed at Portsmouth on July 28th.

The claim made on behalf of Drake to be regarded as the introducer of the potato, is founded on the generally-accepted belief of his ship having brought from Virginia the first parcel of potatoes that were received in England. Whether the repute of such introduction should rest with him, or with

⁶ *The Hawkins' Voyages*, Hakluyt Soc. (1878), 27.

⁷ *Genesis of the United States* (1890), i. 5.

⁸ HAKLUYT, xv. (1890), 418.

⁹ JUSTIN WINSOR, *America*, iii. 113.

any of those who came from Virginia, appears to be at first sight an open question.

There is a general consensus of opinion that potato tubers were brought to England in his ship in 1586, but it is quite possible he was unaware of any being on board. Prior to his visit to Virginia we have no record of his touching at any port where such could be obtained; but there is a remote possibility of some being acquired in the pillage of a Spanish vessel.¹

Impressed with the belief of Drake being the first importer of our ordinary potato into Europe, an enthusiastic German sculptor executed a statue of him, and gave it to the town of Offenburg, where it was erected in 1854. The following description of it is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1854 (282-3):—

“A statue of Sir Francis Drake has been presented to the town of Offenburg by Herr Andreas Friederich, a sculptor living in Strasburg. It is executed in fine-grained red sandstone, fourteen feet high, in one of the best situations in the town. Sir Francis Drake is represented standing on his ship at Deptford, on the 4th of April, 1587, having just been made a knight by the Queen. The sculptor, having no idea of the plain knighthood by the sword, still retained in England, and in England only, has placed some imaginary insignia of knighthood, with a portrait of the Queen, suspended by a massive chain from his neck. He holds in his right hand a map of America, and in his left a bundle of potato-stalks, with the roots, leaves, flowers, and berries attached. His arm leans on an anchor, over which a mantle falls in ample folds. On each side of the pedestal are inscriptions, the first being, ‘Sir Francis Drake, the introducer of potatoes into Europe in the year of our Lord 1586’; the second, ‘The thanks of the town of Offenburg to Andreas Friederich, of Strasburg, the executor and founder of the statue’; the third, ‘The blessings of millions of men who cultivate the globe of the earth is thy most imperishable glory’; and the fourth, ‘The precious gift of God, as the help of the poor against need, prevents bitter want.’ The citizens of Offenburg have presented the artist with a silver goblet, on the lid of which stands a model, in the same metal, of the statue of Drake.”²

Sir W. Raleigh.—It was for a long period the popular opinion (and scarcely yet extinct) that Raleigh had personally visited Virginia. There is no allusion to such a visit in the earliest memoir (that of Winstanley) issued in 1660; but

¹ De Candolle suggests that Raleigh may have acquired some in this manner. (47.)

² Cf. *West. Antiq.*, ii. 75.

in that by John Shirley, his next biographer, we find this paragraph:—

“The Queen . . . sent him on a Voyage to sea . . . at his Return he brought news of a new Country, discover'd by him in the Year 1584, called in honour of the Queen Virginia.” (24.)

This statement was repeated by Theobald in 1719;³ and in 1680 Aubrey wrote, “Thomas Hariot went with Sir Walter Raleigh to Virginia.” (367.)

Coming down to a late period we find Harland remarking, “Sir Walter Raleigh, after returning from America in 1586” (912); and in 1851, “One of the subjects proposed for the decorations of the new Houses of Parliament” was “Sir Walter Raleigh landing in Virginia.” In the earlier edition of his *Literature of Europe* Hallam alluded to Hariot as “the companion of Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia,” but this is omitted from the last issue. The visit is implied rather than asserted by Isaac D'Israeli in the following paragraph:—

“To Sir Walter Raleigh we have . . . been indebted solely . . . for that infinitely useful root which forms a part of our daily meal, and often the entire meal of the poor man—the potato, which deserved to have been called a *Rawleigh*.”⁴

“Was Raleigh in Virginia?” has formed the subject of several articles in *Notes and Queries*, and been answered in the negative. Mr. D. M. Stevens made the ingenious suggestion that the popular error may have been founded on the following paragraph in Hariot's work:—“The actions of such that haue bene by Sir Water [*sic*] Raleigh there in and there employed” (ed. 1590, 32), having been erroneously translated by De Bry, “Qui generosum D. Walterum Raleigh in eam regionem comitati sunt.”⁵

Although Raleigh did not visit that country, it was certainly through his instrumentality the potato was brought into this kingdom, and, as we shall presently point out, he had a great deal to do with promoting and encouraging its cultivation.

Sir R. Lane.—Very little can be said in favour of Lane having taken any active or decided part in promoting or bringing into notice the introduction of the potato as an important article of food. “It is not improbable that potatoes and tobacco were first brought into England at this time (1586) by Lane and his companions; but there is no

³ *Memoirs of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 6.

⁴ *Curios. of Literature* (1859), ii. 155.

⁵ *N. and Q.*, 3rd S. i. 148.

direct evidence of it," so states Professor Laughton.⁶ Stebbing associates him with Hariot in having "first discovered them in North Carolina."⁷ We know of nothing to entitle him to be considered as one of the discoverers; and his own letter dated September 3rd, 1585, respecting productions of that country,⁸ is silent on the subject. The little knowledge we possess of him leads to the belief he was not one to hide his light under a bushel.

Thomas Hariot.—*The Times* of August 14th, 1882, contains a letter signed "Henry H. Drake," from which this extract is taken:—

"Thomas Hariot, one of the Virginian settlers, a servant of Raleigh, wrote, with the approbation of . . . Ralph Lane, a description of the Openhauk, meaning the potato."

That Hariot wrote his work with the "approbation" of R. Lane is exceedingly doubtful. He had been sent out by, and at the charge of, Sir W. Raleigh, to survey and report to him the resources of Virginia, and, excepting for purely civil purposes, was independent of the Governor, being responsible to Sir Walter alone, whose "servant he declared himself to be."

H. R. F. Bourne remarks, "Hariot, or some of his comrades, brought over a few plants, which were cultivated as rarities";⁹ and M. A. S. Hume affirms of Hariot, "The food value of the potato . . . appealed strongly to his practical wisdom, and he urged the experiment of its cultivation in England."¹ Roman

In his report on Virginia, Hariot seems to have confined his remarks to the native productions of the country, and hence the ordinary potato is unmentioned by him; but as the object of his mission was eminently a practical one, he would be the first to recognize the worth of any article of diet he might meet with in the course of his enquiries other than those indigenous to the place, and to carry with him back to England samples of them. Such is the view entertained by the authors of the article "Raleigh" in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, when in alluding to the importation of the potato they remark, "Harriott's specimens were doubtless the earliest to be planted in this kingdom."

The majority of authors favour the opinion that the potato

⁶ *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, art. "Sir R. Lane," xxxii. 77.

⁷ *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1891), 49.

⁸ HAKLUYT, xiii. 301.

⁹ *Romance of Trade* (1876), 26.

¹ *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1897), 79.

was first planted, and its cultivation encouraged, in Ireland, some years prior to its culture in England. Some go so far as to declare that they were first landed in the former country. Thus De Candolle notes, "It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh, or rather Thomas Herriott, his companion in several voyages, brought back to Ireland, in 1585 or 1586, some tubers of the Virginian potato." (46.) Again, A. Cayley remarks, "An opinion prevails that we are indebted to Sir Walter . . . for the useful potatoe, his ships having touched at Ireland on their return from Virginia, and left some roots in that kingdom, whence it found its way hither." To this he adds, "By the best accounts, however, it was introduced into Ireland in 1565, when the knight was only thirteen years of age."² There are two points in this statement to be traversed: (1) Of the five Raleigh expeditions only one is recorded to have called at any port in Ireland on its homeward journey, viz., the fourth, that left Portsmouth on May 8th, 1587. On their return the ships, owing to stormy weather, were driven so far out of their course that they "expected nothing but famine." They reached Smerwick, on the west coast of Ireland, on October 16th, where they obtained "fresh water, wine and other fresh meate."³ It is not probable that a starving crew would have had any potatoes withheld from them had there been any on board. (2) It has been already pointed out that the only potatoes known in England and Ireland prior to 1586, were of the sweet or Spanish kind.

With respect to the alleged introduction 'in 1585 or 1586,' it is tolerably certain that Ireland was not visited by Drake's ships on their return voyage from Virginia, and the fact of the comparatively short time it occupied—June 9th to July 28th—shows they could not have gone so far out of their course. in 1586

According to J. Campbell, "it appears they (potatoes) were brought into Ireland about the year 1610;⁴ and to this McCulloch adds, "When a small quantity was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, to be planted in a garden on his estate in the vicinity of Youghal."⁵ It is sufficient to disprove this assertion by stating that Raleigh was a prisoner in the tower in 1610, and had sold his Irish estates eight years prior to that date.⁶

² *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1806), i. 82. ³ HAKLUYT, xiii. 358-371.

⁴ *Political Survey of Great Britain* (1784), 88, 95.

⁵ *Dict. of Commerce* (1859), 1048.

⁶ It is said in HAYDN'S *Dict. of Dates* that some ascribe the general introduction of the potato to the year 1592, but why that year is fixed upon is difficult to guess. Dr. Doran notes: "We hear of its arrival in Vienna (in 1598), and thence spreading over Europe." (*Table Traits*, 1869, 185.)

Raleigh was in England attending the Court at the time of Drake's landing at Portsmouth on July 28th, 1586, so that he must have had ample opportunities of learning from Hariot as to the results of his visit to Virginia, and of examining the articles he had brought from that country, among which were in all probability some potato tubers.

The Irish estates were conferred on Raleigh by the Queen in the same year of Drake's return; and "particulars of grant of 3 seigniories and a half in Cork & Waterford to Sir W. Raleigh dated Oct. 16, 1586," will be found in the *History of Cork*, by C. Smith (1750), i. 62-3. The date of his first visit to his newly-acquired Irish property is unknown, but it is believed to have taken place in the following spring; and this tallies with the period when the potato is thought to have been first taken to Ireland by Raleigh himself, and planted by him at Youghal. At that place, records Sir J. P. Hennessy, "where the town wall of the thirteenth century bounds the garden of the Warden's house (Raleigh's house), is the famous spot where the first Irish potato was planted by him," and this seems to be corroborated by the circumstance of specimens of other plants from abroad having been placed by him in the same locality. "The richly-perfumed yellow wallflowers that he brought to Ireland from the Azores, and the Affane cherry, are still found where he first planted them by the Blackwater."⁷ And C. Smith states that Raleigh "brought the celebrated Affane cherry . . . from the Canary Islands." (i. 128.) In Hall's *Ireland* the spot where the first potato was planted is assigned to "a plot of land adjoining a tower, still existing, standing near the entrance to the harbour," at the mouth of the Blackwater. (i. 80.)

The active part taken by Raleigh in promoting its general cultivation is to a certain extent corroborated by the following entries in the Journal Book of the Royal Society, copies having been courteously supplied by Mr. T. E. James:—

"Dec. 6, 1693. Dr. Sloan related that the Irish Potatoes were first brought from Virginia, and that they are the chief subsistence of the Spanish Slaves in the mines in Peru and elsewhere.

"Dec. 13, 1693. The President (Lord Southwell) related that his grandfather brought Potatoes into Ireland, who had them from Sir Walter Rauleigh after his return from Virginia."

Respecting the second entry, Sir J. P. Hennessy remarks: "In that garden" of the Warden's house Raleigh "gave the

⁷ *Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland* (1885), 117-8.

tubers to the ancestor of the present Lord Southwell, by whom they were spread throughout the province of Munster." (118.)

It is remarkable that in his *Life of Raleigh* Edwards omits all reference to the potato excepting in this paragraph:

"The possessions which . . . passed from Raleigh to Boyle included the land on which he had planted the first potatoes ever set in Ireland." (i. 106.)

It is singular we know so little of the history of its cultivation in England, and thus far we possess no tradition and but slender information concerning it. It was not until late in the eighteenth century that potato planting became general, and the tubers began to form a part of the daily food of the community. Thus a writer in 1788 remarks, "They are now grown, though but lately (the cultivation being progressive from the West import), in every part of the kingdom."⁸

The following is taken from the same article:—

"The utility of this plant being soon known, rendered the cultivation of it pretty universal through Ireland, and in due time found its way to this kingdom by accident, where it was first planted upon the Western coast, owing, as it is reported, to a vessel being shipwrecked which contained some potatoes, at a village near Formby, in Lancashire, a place still famed for this excellent vegetable."⁹

In 1802 the Rev. R. Warner noticed, while travelling along the road between Garstang and Preston, "the potatoe . . . introduced from Ireland by the immortal Raleigh."¹

Judging from this notice, the potato was unknown in Scotland until a comparatively late period:—

"Death. 1788. Jan. 25. In the Abbey at Edinburgh, aged 85, Mr. Harry Prentice, who first introduced the culture of potatoes into Scotland."²

Before making some concluding remarks, there are several points of interest to mention relating to this subject.

At many of the dwellings inhabited, or reputed to have been so, by Raleigh, local traditions affirm he planted potatoes in the gardens attached to them. For example, it continues

⁸ Quoted in *Gent.'s Mag.* (1789), i. 437, from HOLT's *Characters of the Kings and Queens of England*, iii., published in 1788.

⁹ Cf. *Table Traits*, by Dr. DORAN, 185.

¹ *Tour through the Northern Counties of England*, quoted in *Gent.'s Mag.* (1804), ii. 1130.

² *Gent.'s Mag.* (1788), i. 179.

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to be so asserted at his birthplace at Hayes Barton, in this county, and is so recorded in *Chambers' Cyclopædia* (1891), viii. 354. A similar belief exists in the adjoining parish of Colaton Raleigh, where he is thought to have occupied a house, still standing, called "Place" (for "~~Palace~~"?), that formerly belonged to the abbots of Dunkeswell, and "that he first planted them in that garden, along the north side of the house, when he lived there."³

"On Fox Grove Farm (Beckenham, Kent) . . . or very near it . . . three centuries since, potatoes were first cultivated by Sir Walter Raleigh, whose residence was close by where Fox Grove Farmhouse is."

This appeared in the *Builder* of September 17th, 1864, and is a fair specimen of the loose assertions that appear occasionally in periodical literature. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (4th S. iii. 480) declares "no such tradition exists at Beckenham." Moreover, Raleigh never lived in that locality, and it is very doubtful whether any of his family ever did. It is not often that a so-called tradition, which unless contradicted at an early stage might soon be accepted as a fact, is so easily demolished.

There is a well-known story of a great mistake having been committed at first as to the proper edible portion of the plant, of which the earliest version that has fallen under the notice of the writer is given in C. Smith's *History of Cork*, published in 1750:—"In Youghal . . . the person who planted them, imagining that the apple which grows on the stalk was the part to be used, gathered them; but, not liking their taste, neglected the roots till the ground, being dug afterwards to sow some other grain, the potatoes were discovered therein, and to the great surprise of the planter vastly increased, and from those few this country was furnished with seed." (i. 128.)

Pursuing the customary rule that the repetition of a story is invariably varied by the transmitter, we find the next example to be no exception to it:—

"A total ignorance which part of the plant was the proper food had nearly ruined any further attention towards its cultivation; for, perceiving green apples appear upon the stems, these were imagined to be the fruit; but, upon being boiled, and finding them unpalatable, or rather nauseous, Raleigh was disgusted with his acquisition, nor thought any more of cultivating potatoes. Accident, however, discovered the real fruit, owing to the ground

³ P. O. HUTCHINSON, in *N. and Q.*, 4th S. iv. 568.

being turned over through necessity that very season, and to his surprise a plentiful crop was found underground, which, upon being boiled, were found nourishing to the stomach and grateful to the taste."⁴

A somewhat similar account is given in the *German Notes Illustrative of Irving's Columbus*:—"It is known that Drake first sent to England the potato as food; but by a misunderstanding the fruit (potato-apple) was first used, which, alone, has a very bad taste, but after the fall of the fruit recourse was had to the root."⁵

Another version is narrated by Mr. Harland, in which the gardener "in an ill-humour . . . carried the potatoe-apple to his master, and asked, 'Is this the fine fruit from America you prized so highly?' Sir Walter told the gardener . . . to dig up the root and throw the weed away. The gardener soon returned with a good parcel of potatoes." (912.)

A review of the foregoing details will enable us to form some proximate conclusions respecting the introduction of the *Solanum tuberosum* into this country. Much confusion has arisen owing to the name "Potato" being assigned to two entirely different plants, with the result of the history being fused into that of the other; one a native of the tropics, the other of temperate districts. The former—the sweet or Spanish potato—was unknown in Europe until the beginning of the sixteenth century; the latter—our ordinary potato—until towards its close. Its advent in England is customarily assigned to the year 1586, when Drake's fleet returned to this country, with the Virginian colonists on board, and, in the opinion of those who have given most attention to the subject, with the first potato tubers imported here.

We possess no direct proof that they were brought from Virginia: but when we consider the almost unanimous opinion of authorities in its favour; the emphatic assertion of Gerard of having received his specimens from that country, and their being named by him "Potatoes of Virginia"; the circumstance of the potato being unknown here until after the arrival of Drake's fleet in 1586 (the turning-point in its English history), and the action of Raleigh in cultivating it soon after that date, we may fairly come to the conclusion that Virginia was the country from whence it was brought to England. It may be justly said that this is based on probability and tradition, and not on positive

climate

alleged

but how from Chile

⁴ *Gent.'s Magazine*, 1789, i. 437.

⁵ *N. and Q.*, 4th S. iv. 569.

evidence; but even "tradition is not to be entirely ignored, as it is often based upon a great deal of truth."

That the Openauk, described by Hariot, was not identical with the Beads of St. Helen, and neither with the *Solanum tuberosum*, has been sufficiently proved.

Of the suggested introducers we may commence with Sir J. Hawkins, of whom may be said that if he brought any to England they must have been of the tropical or sweet kind. Of R. Lane there is no reason to believe he had any active share in the matter. It is very doubtful if Drake can be credited with their introduction beyond the perfunctory one of having conveyed them from Virginia.

Of T. Hariot we have to remember he was specially commissioned by Raleigh to examine and report to him upon the resources, &c., of that country. It is true his printed work omits all notice of the ordinary potato, but we have to bear in mind it was confined to a description of the native products alone. That he was the first to recognize its "food value," and to convey specimens to his employer, Sir W. Raleigh, appears now to be the general opinion. That Raleigh was the direct cause of the potato being brought to this land of ours can now scarcely be gainsaid; and to him must certainly be attributed the honour of promoting its cultivation in Ireland, from whence it was subsequently transmitted to England.

That the merit of importing the potato into this country belongs to Hariot, who shares with Raleigh in that of its introduction, while to the latter alone is due the honour of promoting its cultivation and of adding to the standard articles of food in this country, seems to be the proper corollary of these remarks.

II. TOBACCO.

In considering the question as to the proximate date of the original introduction of tobacco into this country, it must not be accepted as a fact that smoking was then practised for the first time; on the contrary, "herbs and leaves, of one kind or other, were smoked medicinally long before the period at which tobacco is generally believed to have been first brought to England . . . pipes were in use before 'the weed' was known in our country, and took the place of other plants, but did not give rise to the custom of smoking."⁶ And Dr. A. T. Thomson remarked that "smoking herbs with a pipe is a very ancient custom."⁷ (471.)

⁶ LL. JEWITT, in the *Reliquary*, iii. (1862-3), 74-5. ⁷ Cf. FAIRHOLT, 43.

Its smoke was inhaled for various purposes in the countries of the Western, long prior to its being known in those of the Eastern, Hemisphere. The earliest notice of Europeans having witnessed the practice of tobacco-smoking took place in 1492, during the first expedition of Columbus to America. Oviedo, a Spaniard, was apparently the author of the earliest published work giving particulars of its employment in the Spanish possessions of South America.⁸ There is, however, no indication of its being known in Europe until after the middle of the sixteenth century. About the year 1560 it was first taken to Spain from Mexico by a physician. About the same date "Master John Nicot, one of the kings counsaile, being ambassadour for his Maiestie in the realme of Portingall, in the yeeres of our Lord God, 1559. 60. and 61," in the first year of his office sent some seeds to France, and on his return to his office in 1561 some of the plants also. While in Spain it was termed Tabaco, in France it was known as Nicotiana.

The Spanish physician, Dr. Monardes, published at Seville in 1569 the first part of a work, *Dos Libros . . . Indias Occidentales*, with his portrait on the title-page; and in 1571 the second part, containing an illustration of the tobacco plant; both were "Englished by John Frampton Marchant," and published in 1577 (already noticed in the article on the Potato) in one volume. At the close of his article Dr. Monardes thus acknowledges the assistance he received from Nicot:—

"Loe, here you haue the true Historie of Nicotiane, of the which the sayde Lord Nicot, one of the Kinges Counsellers first founder out of this hearbe, hath made mee priue aswel by woorde as by writing, to make thee (friendly Reader) partaker thereof, to whome I require thee to yeeld as hartly thanks as I acknowledge my self bound vnto him for this benefits receiued." (45.)

The interest of the latter is twofold: (I.) in having a section headed, "Of the Tabaco, and of his great vertues"; (II.) for containing a good illustration of the plant (3 in. × 4½ in.), probably the earliest one in an English volume, and apparently executed for this work, being wholly different from that in the Spanish one. In *Maison Rustique, or The Covntrie Farme*, translated from the French (of Estienne and Liebault) by R. Svrfflet, and published in

⁸ FAIRHOLT, 14, quotes from his *Historias General de las Indias*, 1526 and 1535. The first mentioned by W. BRASSE in his *Bibl. Nicotiana* (1880) is OVIEDO'S *Coronica de las Indias*, 1547, in which there is a separate chapter on Tobacco.

1600, there is a woodcut of the plant, an evident facsimile of the one in Frampton's work. (The earliest French work on Tobacco is dated 1572, *vide* Bragge, *Bibl. Nicot.*)

It is uncertain when tobacco was first imported into England. In *The Genesis of the United States*, by A. Brown, we read: "Hawkins and his men gave a lively description of Florida, its products, soil, climate, &c. They brought to England samples of tobacco, potatoes, and other products; this was after the first voyage in 1565." (1890, i. 5.) Then in Stow's *Chronicle* is this entry: "Tobacco was first brought & made known in England by Sir Iohn Hawkins about the yeere 1565." (Edition of 1631, 1038.) Unfortunately we cannot altogether place much reliance on this paragraph, as it appeared in this edition alone, being absent from all the previous ones (Stow died in 1606); moreover, the following will be found on the same page: "Apricocks . . . and Tobacco came into England about the 20 year of Queen Elizabeth." This would be in 1577-8, a difference of twelve years. But the former quotation from Stow is declared by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* (2nd S. iii. 311) to be confirmed by Taylor, the Water-Poet, in a "Postscript" to his metrical account of Old Parr; as, however, this was not published till 1635, and the notice is taken from the edition of Stow of 1631, it need scarcely be said that his testimony is of no value whatever. Of more importance is the circumstance of the editor of *The Hawkins' Voyages*⁹ accepting the statements of Stow and Taylor, and referring them to the third voyage of J. Hawkins (1567-8) instead of to the second (1564-5). (Introd. vii.)

There is only one reference to tobacco by Hawkins in the description of his voyages, but this is of importance for being the basis of the assertion that he was the first who imported it into this country. It occurs in the account of the second voyage (1564-5), and is here transcribed:—

"The Floridians when they trauel haue a kinde of herbe dried, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together do sucke thoro the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they liue foure or five days without meat or drinke."¹

This is confirmed by two authors. Thus Dr. Monardes records, "The inhabitants of Florida doe nourish themselues certaine times, with the smoke of this Hearbe, which they receiue at the mouth through certayne coffins, such as the

⁹ Hakl. Soc. (1878).

¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

Grocers doe vse to put in their spices." (Ed. 1596, fo. 44. A coffin is a cone of paper used for holding various articles sold by grocers, &c.) And Svrflēt describes how the inhabitants of that country inhale the smoke "by the meanes of certaine small hornes." (289.)

In 1576 "Lobelius, in his *Novum Stirpium Adversaria* (Antwerp, 1576), declares that 'within these few years' the West Indian tobacco had become 'an inmate of England.'" (Quoted by Fairholt, 51.) The English translation of the work of Dr. Monardes was published in 1577; and as other editions followed in 1580 and 1596, it may be taken for granted it was well known in England; also that the long account of the virtues of tobacco described in it must have been greatly appreciated, especially by physicians. That the plant was well known in England in 1582 is shown in the following extract from a set of instructions given by Hakluyt to a Turkey trader in that year: "The seed of Tobacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c."²

Four years later (1586) Drake's ships returned to England, when, it is customarily asserted, tobacco was imported here for the first time.³ During his voyage he called at the Isle of Dominica, where he obtained a supply of fresh water, the inhabitants "fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco."⁴ From the West Indies he sailed to Virginia, where, after taking on board Raleigh's colonists, and at the same time specimens of tobacco, he got back to his native land on July 28th, 1586, this tobacco being, in the opinion of many writers, *e.g.*, Camden, the first that had been brought to England. While one author asserts "Captain Richard

² v. 301. The editor adds in a footnote: "As these instructions were written in 1582, how can Tobacco have been introduced by Raleigh in 1586, as generally asserted? It is [*sic* for 'Is it'] not more probable that it dates from Sir John Hawkins' voyage in 1565?" The chapter is headed, "Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the greate profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582." This article has not been found in earlier editions of Hakluyt's work.

³ M. A. S. HUME, *Sir W. Raleigh* (1897), 82.

⁴ HAKLUYT, xv. (1890), 218-9. In *The World Encompassed by Sir F. Drake* (1628) there are three references, in the account of his voyage in 1579, and while off the coast of California, to several presents he received from the Indians of "an herbe which they called Tabáh." (68, 71, 73.) It is doubtful whether this was the same as tobacco, although Fairholt believes it was. In error he dates the voyage 1572-3.

Grenfield and Sir Francis Drake were the first planters of it here,"⁵ others affirm it was imported by Lane and Drake jointly.⁶ According to Fairholt, "it seems to have been introduced by Mr. Ralph Lane, who was sent out by Raleigh as Governor of Virginia;⁷ and this is adopted by Tytler, who adds, "There can be little doubt that Lane had been directed to import it by his master, who must have seen it used in France during his residence there."⁸

It is very remarkable how nearly all writers on this subject have passed over the name of T. Hariot, although he was sent out by Raleigh for the specific purpose of investigating and reporting upon the natural productions of the new colony. Fairholt, it is true, terms him "the historian of the voyage," but this does not convey a proper idea of his position. A more correct one is thus related by Oldys:—"He was the first author among us, who wrote thereof out of his own experience, immediately upon his return with the colony . . . from Virginia, where he had been employed by Raleigh to survey the country and describe its products." (77.) In his *Report* (already noticed *sub* "Potato") he thus describes the tobacco plant:—

"There is an herbe whiche is sowed a part by itselfe & is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the seuerall places & countries where it groweth and is vsed: The Spaniards generally call it Tobacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vse to take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie into their stomacke and heade: from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame & other grosse humors, openeth all the pores & passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof, not only preserueth the body from obstructiōs: but if also any be, so that they haue not beene of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: wherby their bodies are notably preserued in health, & know not many greuous diseases wherewithall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted." (Ed. De Bry (1590), 16.)

The earliest account of it in English is that contained in the translation of the Spanish work of Dr. Monardes, published in 1577, to which attention has been already directed.

According to Dr. A. T. Thomson, "It was not introduced into Virginia until 1616, when its growth there was com-

⁵ Quoted by FAIRHOLT, 51, and in BRAND'S *Popular Antiquities*, ii. (1854), 362, from the remarks of the translator of EVERARDS' *Panacea, or the Universal Medicine* (1659).

⁶ *Ency. Brit.*, last edition, article "Tobacco."

⁷ 50. Cf. SCHOMBURGK, edition of RALEGH'S *Guiana*, xxxiv.

⁸ *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1833), 64.

menced under the government of Sir Thomas Dale." (462.) And John Rolfe, well known as the husband of Pocahontas, is noted as "the first cultivator of tobacco in Virginia."⁹ If this be correct, it must have taken place in the last year of Dale's governorship, as he left for England in that year (1616). Most probably he improved the cultivation of the plant, and this is borne out by the remark of Purchas, "Tobacco—which with a little better experience in the curing, would be as good as any in America."¹

A curious episode in the history of Virginia and its tobacco-raising deserves a passing mention:—"Under the governorship of George Hardby (*cir.* 1625) the culture of tobacco was encouraged & a council and general assembly were instituted, in imitation of the English form of government. About the same period 160 single young women were brought from England as wives for the batchelors, and the price of each was about 120 pounds of tobacco."²

Reverting to the *Report* of T. Hariot, he adds to the foregoing extract his personal experience in smoking:—

"We ourselues during the time we were there vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne, & haue found maine [*sic*] rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation woulde require a volume by it selfe: the vse of it by so manie of late, men & women of great calling as else, and some learned Physitions also, is sufficient witnes." (16.)

As in the instance of the potato, can we doubt that Hariot not only gave specimens of the plant to Raleigh as one of the results of his journey, but also demonstrated to him how "to suck it" after the manner he had been taught and practised? We know it was soon after this that Raleigh was known to be an ardent smoker, and continued so to the last day of his life. Fairholt declares, "Mr. Thomas Harriot and the learned Camden, who both lived at the period, unhesitatingly affirm that Lane has the honour of being the original English smoker" (50),³ but in neither of the works of these two authors can any confirmation of this statement be found. And Dr. A. T. Thomson writes, "It is asserted, that Sir Walter Raleigh was the pupil of Captain Lane, one

⁹ BRYANT and MAY's *Hist. of the United States* (1876), i. 303.

¹ *His Pilgrimage* (1620), 836.

² *A Statistical . . . Account of the United States . . .* by D. B. WARDEN (1819), ii. 190.

³ This is also asserted in the *Encyclop. Brit.*, art. "Tobacco," in which curiously enough the name of T. Hariot is not mentioned.

of Drake's officers, in the acquirement of this elegant accomplishment." (471, but no reference given.) Surely this must be Governor Lane under a new title.

How or by whom tobacco was first brought to England, all authorities agree with the remark of Oldys, that "the introduction among us of that commodity is generally ascribed to Raleigh."⁴ Aubrey, for example, wrote in 1680, "He (Raleigh) was the first that brought tobacco into these isles." (512.) We even find Bishop Creighton tripping when he states, "Tobacco . . . was first brought to England by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1586."⁵

Though not the importer, there can be no hesitation in affirming that Raleigh not only introduced it into general use in this country, but, as Aubrey notes, was the first that brought it "into fashion." (512.) We can therefore well understand how James I. had Raleigh in his mind's eye when he penned this paragraph in his *Covnter-Blaste to Tobacco* in 1604:—

"It is not so long since the first entry of this abuse amongst us here, as this present age cannot yet very well remember, both the first Author, and the forme of the first introduction of it among vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned Doctor of Phisicke."⁶

Dr. A. T. Thomson goes a step further than Aubrey, not only in observing that Raleigh "soon set the fashion" in smoking, but also that he, "in communicating the art to his friends, gave smoking parties at his house, where his guests were treated with nothing but a pipe, a mug of ale, and a nutmeg." (471-2; unfortunately he gives no reference.) Again, we have the testimony recorded in Stow's *Chronicle* (ed. 1631), where, in claiming Sir J. Hawkins as the original introducer in 1565, there is added, "But not vsed by Englishmen in many yeeres after," and, as it were in corroboration of this last paragraph, the following marginal note appears on the same page:—"Sir Walter Raleigh was the first that brought tobacco in vse, when all men wōdred what it meant." (1038.)

Many haphazard guesses have been made as to the place where Raleigh smoked his first pipe.

⁴ 73. Cf. Dr. GROSART'S *Notes to Lismore Papers*, 1st S. v. 278.

⁵ *Age of Elizabeth* (1888), 198.

⁶ Ed. E. GOLDSMID (1884), 13. In a footnote the editor makes the singular suggestion that the king referred to Raleigh, "whose head the author cut off, partly influenced, no doubt, by his detestation of tobacco," fourteen years after the publication of the work!

It was at Penzance, relates Mrs. Whitcombe, "so runs the story, that Sir Walter Raleigh smoked his first pipe of tobacco in England after his return from America."⁷ Miss M. A. Courtney alludes to this as "a curious myth," adding, "Several western ports, both in Devon and Cornwall, make the same boast."⁸ There is, however, no evidence, or even probability of his ships having called at that port on the return voyage. Although the fact that he never visited Virginia is now well established, some authors still cling to the myth, as shown in the next quotation:—"Sir Walter's Study,' in what was once the Geraldine's College at Youghal, is the same room in which Raleigh studied Verazzano's charts before sailing to Virginia, and in which he first smoked tobacco after coming back."⁹ That he smoked there at a later period is probable enough, but the Irish estates were not conferred on him until three months after Drake's return. Sir J. P. Hennessy's account reads more like the correct one:—"The four venerable yew-trees . . . are pointed out as having sheltered Raleigh when he first smoked tobacco in his Youghal garden. In that garden he also planted tobacco."¹

In Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates* is noted, "The 'Pied Bull' at Islington, is said to have been the first house in England where tobacco was smoked." This was one of the reputed residences of Raleigh, and to a comparatively late date contained several coats of arms in the windows, one of the shields bearing as its crest, "a tobacco plant, between two sea-horses," so described in *Gentleman's Magazine* (1791, i. 17), but with doubtful correctness, judging from a representation of it in Nelson's *History of Islington* (1829, pl. ii. fig. 9), where it is designated "a bunch of green leaves." (118.) The latter volume contains a description of the "Old Queen's Head Inn," in the same locality: this also "has been coupled with the name of . . . Raleigh, who has been said, if not to have built, at least to have patronized this house, and to have made it one of his smoking taverns, where

"At his hours of leisure,
He'd puff his pipe, and take his pleasure." (352.)²

⁷ *Bygone Days in Devon and Cornwall* (1874), 231.

⁸ *Folk-lore Journal*, v. (1887), 109.

⁹ *Antiquary*, viii. (1883), 82.

¹ *Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland* (1883), 117.

² Page illustrations of these old inns will be found in *Gent.'s Mag.* (1791), i. 17; (1794) i. 513; and in Nelson's volume, 117, 349. An admirable engraving of "The Queen's Head" is given in BRITTON'S *Architect. Antiq.*, ii. 92.

At all, or nearly all, of his real or reputed residences a similar story is told; for example, in *Cornhill Magazine* (ix. 746) there is a notice of Raleigh's birthplace, Hayes Barton, from which the following is extracted:—"The first pipe smoked in England may have been puffed on the mossy bank where you sit." But his parents had quitted there some years before, and it is doubtful if he ever visited the house again.

"There is a doubtful old legend," writes W. Thornbury, "about Raleigh's first pipe, the scene of which may be not unfairly laid at Durham House, where Raleigh lived."³ His residence there "covered nearly the whole site of Adelphi Terrace, and the streets between this and the Strand."⁴ It is not a little remarkable that it has not been suggested by any other writer, especially as it was occupied by Raleigh; and it is reasonable to believe he received Harriot there immediately after his return from Virginia in 1586, and then and there learnt from him the art and mystery of smoking. W. Hepworth Dixon has drawn an imaginary and yet probable picture of him and his companions at a window of this very house, overlooking the "silent highway":—

"It requires no effort of the fancy to picture these three men [Shakespeare, Bacon, and Raleigh] as lounging in a window of Durham house, puffing the new Indian weed from silver bowls, discussing the highest themes in poetry and science, while gazing on the flower-beds and the river, the darting barges of dame and cavalier, and the distant pavilions of Paris Garden and the Globe."⁵

We should scarcely have expected the historian, J. A. Froude, to notice one of these legends as a veritable piece of history, as shown in this relation:—

"On the river Dart, and 'at the head of one of its most beautiful reaches, there has stood for some centuries the Manor House of Greenaway,' the home of the first husband of Katharine Champernowne, afterwards the wife of Walter Raleigh. Here young Walter with his half-brothers, the Gilberts, 'when little boys, played at sailors in the reaches of Long Stream. . . . And here in later life, matured men, . . . they used again to meet in the intervals of quiet, and the rock is shown underneath the house where Raleigh smoked the first tobacco.'"⁶

Authors of guide-books and others have accepted this story in a modified form; *e.g.*, one relates that "on the

³ *Haunted London* (1865), 101.

⁴ STEBBING, 104.

⁵ *Her Majesty's Tower* (1869), i. 337.

⁶ *Short Studies* (1868), i. 318.

Anchor Stone . . . Sir Walter Raleigh, presumably at low water, enjoyed his pipe,"⁷ while J. L. W. Page notes, "The Anchor Stone, frequented, so tradition goes, by Sir Walter Raleigh when he wished for a quiet pipe."⁸

Grotesque tales concerning Raleigh and tobacco-smoking are not uncommon; perhaps the following is the most absurd one that has found its way into any printed work:—

"A bitter feud existed between Sir Roger Walingham of Withycombe or Widecombe, and Sir Hugh de Creveltdt, of Sittesham." On the death of the latter Sir Roger was haunted by his spirit day and night, and "was at last reduced to a pitiable state of misery. He lay on his death-bed, when a Spanish captain who had sailed in Indian seas arrived to see him, and presented the sufferer with a spell powerful enough to defy spirits, blue, black, and grey—a pipe of tobacco. From this moment the gradual recovery of Sir Hugh commenced. He smoked for many a month, and taught his neighbour, young Raleigh, to smoke also; from Raleigh the pipe descended to the great Sir Walter, who, as this legend runs, planned his expedition to Virginia on purpose to fill it."⁹

There are several interesting reminiscences of Raleigh's smoking habits that deserve to be recorded here. In a letter from Sir John Stanhope to Sir G. Carew, dated January 26th, 1601, is this paragraph:—

"I send you now no Tabacca, because Mr. Secretary, Sir Walter, and your other friends, as they say, have stored you of late; neither have I any proportion of it (that) is good, but only am rich in Aldermans Watses promises of plenty, wherewith you shall be acquainted, God willing."¹

The next may be assigned to the same period:—

"Richard Middleton, governor of Denbigh Castle, temp. Elizabeth, had nine sons, the celebrated Sir Hugh being the sixth. The third, William, was a sea captain, and an eminent poet. . . . It is said, that he, with captain Thomas Price, of Plasyellin, and one captain Koet, were the first who smoked . . . tobacco publicly in London; and that the Londoners flocked from all parts to see them."²

⁷ *Guide to South Devon* (1884), 61.

⁸ *Rivers of Devon* (1893), 99.

⁹ Mrs. WHITCOMBE, 52-3. No reference is given. It is very questionable whether such a story, for it can hardly be called a legend, should have found its way into the excellent work from which it is now extracted; this will be the more apparent when it is known to contain a great anachronism in assigning tobacco-smoking in England many years prior to its being known in Europe. The names mentioned are unknown in Devonshire history.

¹ *Cal. Carew MSS.*

² Quoted from *Sebright MSS.*, in PENNANT'S *Tour in Wales* (1783), ii. 28.

We have no means of ascertaining how far this is correct, but it bears a close resemblance to another account thus related by J. P. Malcolm:—

“Some person of research has noted in the vestry-book that Sir Hugh (Middleton) served the office of Churchwarden of St. Matthew’s (Friday Street) in 1598, 1599, and 1600, to which tradition adds, that Sir Walter Raleigh and he often smoked tobacco together at the door of the latter.”³

And the same author, in another work, thus completes his narration:—

“The custom was, probably, promoted through the public manner in which it was exhibited, and the aromatic flavour inhaled by the passengers, exclusive of the singularity of the circumstance, and the eminence of the parties.”⁴

The following entries taken from Mr. R. N. Worth’s valuable *Plymouth Municipal Records* show the hearty reception given to Raleigh and his companions by the official authorities of that town, on the occasion of their visit, immediately prior to the last disastrous voyage to Guiana. The complete date is not stated, but a letter by him from that town to M. de Bisseaux is dated May 14th, 1616.⁵

“1616-7. Allowed Mr. Robert Trelawnye beinge
Mayor for entertayninge Sr. Walter
Rawley and his followers at his house
wch was done by a gřall consente . ix^{li}”

Sir John Duckhame, Chancellor of the Duchy, entertained, his followers being lodged in Mr. Johnson’s house:—

“It allowed for a pownde of Tobacco wch was
geven to Sr. John Duckhame . . . viij^s

“It paid the drumer for calling Sr. Walter
Rauleighs company aboard . . . xij^d” (150)

Raleigh’s first testamentary note—made shortly before his execution on October 29th, 1618—contains not only his last, but, as far as is yet known, his sole mention of tobacco (none has been discovered in any of his printed works), and related to that which remained on his ship after his ill-fated voyage. Here is the paragraph:—

“Sir Lewis Stukeley sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself. . . I desire that hee may give his account for the tobacco.”⁶

³ *Anecdotes of London* (1811), i. 217.

⁴ *Londinium Redivivum*, iv. 490.

⁵ EDWARDS, ii. 347.

⁶ EDWARDS, ii. 494.

Perhaps the most interesting statement made by any one person on this subject is that related by Aubrey in these words. After alluding to Raleigh as its importer and promoter, he goes on to say:—

“In one part of North Wilts, *e.g.*, Malmesbury hundred, it came first into fashion by Sr. Walter Long, They had first silver pipes, The ordinary sort made use of a walnut-shell and a strawe. I have heard my gr. father Lyte say, that one pipe was handed from man to man round the table. Sr. W. R. standing in a stand at Sr. Ro. Poyntz parke, at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, wch made the ladies quitt it till he had donne. Within these 35 years 't was scandalous for a divine to take tobacco. It was sold then for its wayte in silver, I have heard some of our old yeomen neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco; now, the customes of it are the greatest his majtie hath. . . . He tooke a pipe of tobacco a little before he went to the scaffold, wch some formall persons were scandalized at, but I thinke it was well, and properly donne to settle his spirits.” (II. 512, 519-20.)

We have the testimony of the Dean of Westminster, who attended Raleigh on the morning of his execution, that “he . . . ate his breakfast hertily and tooke Tobacco.”⁷ Winstanley mentions a “report, that when he went to his Trial, he took three Pipes in the Coach.”⁸

How closely Raleigh's name continued to be associated with it for some years after his execution is shown by this entry in the diary of the great Earl of Cork:—

“Sept. 1, 1641. Sent by Travers to my infirme cozen Roger Vaghan, a pott of Sir walter Raleighhes tobackoe.”⁹

The history of the use of tobacco in Europe prior to 1586 points out its employment to have been almost entirely confined to medical purposes. “It was,” writes Fairholt, “to the supposed sanitary effects of tobacco that its honourable introduction to Europe was due.” (46.) Its remedial employment was first described by Dr. Monardes in his work published in Spanish in 1571, and was repeated in the various editions of the English translation, no less than twelve folios (33-45) being devoted to it in that of 1596; “which Hearbe hath done greate Cures in the Realme of

⁷ Printed for the first time in GUTCH'S *Collectanea Curiosa* (1781), ii. 423.

⁸ *England's Worthies* (1660), 259.

⁹ *Lismore Papers*, 1st S. v. (1886), 188.

Fraunce and Portingall." The only reference to its application to any other use is the following:—

"The Indians for their pastime, do take the smoke of the Tabaco, to make themselves drunke withall, and to see the visions, and things that represent vnto them, that wherein they do delight."¹

(The English translation of the *Maison Rustique*, published in 1600, includes a long list of diseases benefited by the use of this plant; and also describes its employment by the Indians, as noted by Monardes).

It was not, however, until after Drake had landed in England in 1586 that we have any reason to think the habit of tobacco-smoking as a pleasurable exercise commenced in this country. No work of this period alludes to it, except for purely medical purposes alone. It may have been practised by some of the colonists who were returning home in that year; but however this may be, we cannot doubt from the statement already quoted from the *Report* of Hariot of his being a smoker, and that he soon had an apt pupil in Raleigh, who found it a solace, a luxury, and a necessity. "Certainly from that time, it began to be in great request, and to be sold at an high rate . . . insomuch as Tobacco shops are kept in Townes every where, no lesse than tap-houses and tavernes."² How rapidly the habit increased and became general led to Fairholt's assertion, "The commencement of the seventeenth century was the golden age of tobacco." (63.)

The habit of indulging in the "Indian smoke," as it was termed by a former minister at Exeter³ as a daily pleasure was attended with its serious diminution as a purely medical remedy. Gerard details many of its uses in disease (all copied from Monardes' work), and remarks, "Some vse to drink it (as it is termed) for wantonnesse, or rather custome, and cannot forbear it, no not in the midst of their dinner." (259.) In 1660 Winstanley declared, "Tobacco it self is by few taken now as medicinal, it is grown a good-fellow, and fallen from a Physician to a Complement. . . . 'He's no good-fellow that's without . . . burnt Pipes, Tobacco, and his Tinder Box.'"⁴ This is not intended for praise, as he terms it "this Heathenish Weed," and as

¹ Ed. 1596, 39.

² CAMDEN, *Annales* (1635), 286.

³ L. STUCLEY in *The Gospel Glass*, 1670.

⁴ "Life of Sir F. Drake," in *England's Worthies*, 211.

“a folly which certainly had never spread so far,” if some stringent “means of prevention” had been exercised.⁵

Although a few pamphlets were published in its favour, authors generally opposed the increasing habit of smoking, and in bitter and coarse language. Amongst the latter works condemning its use may be enumerated those of Camden, Stow, Bishop Hall, J. Swan (in *Speculum Mundi*), J. Sylvester (in translation of the *Works of Du Bartas*), Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy*), &c.; but the principal diatribe against it was undoubtedly the *Counter-Blaste*⁶ of James I., in which he took incredible pains to vituperate the “filthie noueltie” of smoking, whether for pleasure or as a remedy, and made a vigorous attack on Raleigh as its supposed introducer.

James carried out his animosity in a very practical manner, first by raising the excise duty from two pence per pound to six shillings and eightpence, and subsequently by forbidding it to be cultivated both in England and Ireland.

One of the most striking attempts to hinder the practice in a private family is contained in a will, dated October 20th, 1616, wherein P. Campbell leaves to his son all his household goods, “on this condition, that yf at any time hereafter, any of his brothers or sisters shall fynd him takeing of tobacco, that then he or she so fynding him, shall have the said goods.”⁷

So far as England is concerned, one of the leading incentives to the increase of the habit was the prevailing idea of its efficacy as a prophylactic against the plague; and during the great outbreak of 1665 Pepys records he “was forced to buy some roll tobacco to smell and to chaw, which took away the apprehension.”⁸

⁵ Judging from the following item in the Household Book of Risley Hall, Derbyshire, it was employed for veterinary purposes at an early date: “1681. Nov. 23. paid to Willm Cowley for tar and Tobacco Stalkes to dresse the Sheepe with ... 00 . 00 . 04.” (*Reliquary*, iii. 166.)

⁶ “A gentleman called King James,
In quilted doublet and great trunk breeches,
Who held in abhorrence Tobacco and Witches.”

Ingoldsby Legends.

An anti-tobacco work by J. DEACON, entitled *Tobacco tortured in the filthy Fumes of Tobacco refined*, published in 1616, is the subject of a singular suggestion by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 2nd S. iii. 363, “that the *Counterblaste* was made up at the instigation” of this book of Deacon’s, “and composed from its materials.” But the work of James was issued to the public in 1604, twelve years earlier.

⁷ *Gent.’s Mag.* (1769), 181.

⁸ *Diary*, June 7, 1665.

And T. Hearne, under date January 21st, 1720-21, states:—

“I have been told that in the last great plague at London none that kept tobacconist’s shops had the plague. It is certain, that smoaking it was looked upon as a most excellent preservative, In so much, that even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember, that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say, that when he was that year, when the plague raged, a schoolboy at Eaton, all the boys at that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking.”⁹

This is further corroborated by the remarks of H. Syer Cuming, that “from the vast quantity of pipes met with in London which are known to belong to the time of this awful visitation, it would appear that almost every person who ventured from home invoked the protection of tobacco.”¹

Derby was visited by the plague in the same year, and at the “Headless-cross . . . the market-people, having their mouths primed with tobacco as a preservative, brought their provisions. . . It was observed, that this cruel affliction never attempted the premises of a tobacconist, a tanner, or a shoemaker.”² We cannot doubt that many persons who first practised smoking as a precaution against the epidemic continued it afterwards as a daily habit, and that this held good all over England.

Several traditionary anecdotes relating to the early use of tobacco in this country are too interesting to be left unnoticed, especially as Sir W. Raleigh is the principal personage in some of them.

I. Tobacco “was brought into England by Sir Francis Drake’s Seamen, but first into Repute by Sir W. Rawleigh. By the Caution he took in smoaking it privately, he did not intend it should be copied. But sitting one Day in a deep Meditation with a Pipe in his Mouth, inadvertently call’d to his Man to bring him a Tankard of small Ale; the Fellow coming into the Room, threw all the Liquor in his Master’s Face, and running down Stairs, bawl’d out Fire! Help! Sir Walter has studied till his Head’s on Fire, and the Smoak bursts out of his Mouth and Nose. After this Sir Walter made it no Secret, and took two Pipes just before he went to be beheaded.”³

⁹ *Reliq. Hearn.* (1869), 117-120.

¹ *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, xi. 15-16.

² W. HUTTON, *Hist. of Derby* (1817), 194-195.

³ *Gent.’s Mag.* (1731), 382-383.

A version similar in substance, but varied in the telling, is related by Oldys.⁴

An engraving (by Shelton) of the occurrence forms the frontispiece to the *Social Pipe*, published in 1826; and J. Nelson states that "Mr. Boughey, a tobacconist (who lies buried in Islington Churchyard), kept for many years in his window, in Bishopsgate Street, the painted sign of 'Sir Walter Raleigh and his man,' taken from the story" just narrated.⁵

Two other versions of this anecdote—Dick Tarlton, the jester, being the chief actor in one, and a "Welshman" in the other—serve to show it to have been well known in the early part of the seventeenth century, the former being told in his *Jests* (1588), and the latter by Rich in his *Irish Hubbub* (1619).⁶

II. The following is taken from J. Howell's *Familiar Letters* (1673), 404, and is dated January 1st, 1646:—

"The smoak of it (tobacco) is one of the wholesomest sents that is against all contagious airs, for it oremasters all other smells, as King James they say found true, when being once a hunting, a shower of rain drave him into a Pigsty for shelter, wher he caus'd a pipe full to Be taken of purpose."

This was in all probability written expressly for publication "to relieve his necessities while he was in the Fleet."⁷

With this may be mentioned that a few years ago a large woodcut, entitled "Our James's First Pipe," showing he did not enjoy it, appeared in one of the standard weekly periodicals.

The well-known hatred of the king for tobacco is sufficient to believe in the apocryphal character of these pictorial and literary records.

III. A curious tradition is related in Campbell's *Hist. of Virginia*, that Raleigh

"Having offered Queen Elizabeth some tobacco to smoke, after two or three whiffs she was seized with a nausea, upon observing which some of the Earl of Leicester's faction whispered that Sir Walter had certainly poisoned her. But her majesty in a short while recovering made the Countess of Nottingham and all her maids smoke a whole pipe out among them."⁸

⁴ 73, quoted from *The British Apollo*, 3rd Edition (1726), ii. 376.

⁵ *Hist. of Islington*, 121.

⁶ Quoted by FAIRHOLT, 52-3.

⁷ S. LEE, art. "Howell," in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xxviii. 113.

⁸ Quoted in *Sir W. Raleigh's Colony in America*, 210.

That women smoked in the seventeenth century is testified to in Stow's work (1631), 1038 ; and Oldys asserts :—

“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.” (75.)⁹

IV. The legend as to the weight of tobacco smoke is first alluded to in its English dress in Howell's *Familiar Letters*, 404 :—

“If one would try a pretty conclusion how much smoak ther is in a pound of Tobacco, the ashes will tell him ; for let a pound be exactly weighed, and the ashes kept charily & weigh'd afterwards, what wants of a pound weight in the ashes cannot be denied to have bin smoak, which evaporated into air ; I have bin told that Sir Walter Rawleigh won a wager of Queen Elizabeth upon this nicity.”

The following more extended version is narrated by Oldys in 1736 :—

Raleigh “assured her majesty he had so well experienced the nature of it (tobacco), 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 balance, suspected that he put the traveller upon her, and would needs lay him a wager he could not solve the doubt ; so he procured a quantity agreed upon to be thoroughly smoked, then went to weighing, but it was of the ashes ; and in the conclusion, what was wanting in the prime weight of the tobacco, her majesty did not deny to have been evaporated in smoke ; and further said, that ‘many labourers in the fire she had heard of who turned their gold into smoke, but Raleigh was the first who had turned smoke into gold.’” (75-6.)

This is the one usually cited by biographers. A very perverted version is printed in *Sala's Journal* of October 1st, 1896.

What was the real origin of this anecdote ? The reply is by no means a remote one. In 1781 Dr. T. Francklin published a translation of the *Works of Lucian*, and in it is this short story :—

“Somebody asked him one day, in a scoffing manner, this question, ‘Pray, Demonax, if you burn a thousand pounds of wood, how many pounds will there be of smoke’ ? ‘Weigh the ashes,’ says he, ‘and all the rest will be smoke.’” (iii. 88.)

⁹ Cf. FAIRHOLT, 67-9.

W. A. Clouston remarked, that "Raleigh may have imitated the philosopher in Lucian's story,"¹ but the true solution is most probably that advanced by the editor of *Willis's Current Notes*, of 1855, as follows :—

"Lucian's Dialogues were translated by Hickee, and printed at Oxford in 1634, where possibly Howell met with the jocosity, or, as he was quite capable, he read it in one of the Latin versions, and, adopting the tradition of Raleigh's being the introducer of tobacco from Virginia, made it an illustration of his intimacy with her Majesty, in compliment to whom that country was so named." (4.)

A few words are necessary respecting some of the smoker's impedimenta that belonged, or are said to have belonged, to Raleigh.

I. *Tobacco Pipe*.—The only specimen yet found recorded as "Sir Walter Raleigh's Tobacco pipe" forms one of the items in "A Catalogue of the Rarities to be seen at Adams's, at the Royal Swan, in Kingsland-road, leading from Shore-ditch Church, 1756." This was a rival exhibition to that at Don Saltero's Coffee-house at Chelsea; but as among the exhibits are enumerated "Wat Tyler's spurs," "Vicar of Bray's clogs," and other burlesque absurdities, it will show the Raleigh relic to have been one of them.²

II. *Tobacco-box*.—(1) Oldys records :—

"Being at Leeds, in Yorkshire, soon after Mr. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, died, anno 1725, I saw his museum; and in it, among his other rarities, what himself has publicly called . . . sir Walter Raleigh'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." (73.)

In the *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), by R. Thoresby, the description is slightly different :—

"Sir Walter Raleigh's tobacco-box, as it is called, but is rather the case for the glass wherein it was preserved, which was surrounded with small wax candles of various colours. This is of gilded leather, like a muff-case, about half a foot broad and thirteen inches high, and hath cases for sixteen pipes within it." (485.)

¹ *Popular Tales and Fictions: their Migrations and Transformations* (1887), i. 59.

² J. TIMBS, *Clubs and Club Life* (1872), 308.

(2) Another is thus described by Fairholt:—

“I am indebted to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London [died in 1873], for permission to engrave an old wooden carved tobacco box, also traditionally said to have belonged to Raleigh, and which has the initials ‘W. R.’ conjoined within the lid. If not Raleigh’s box, it is of his period, and is decorated with figures on one side of the costume of the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century. On the opposite side is a hunting scene. The lid slides out; the head of the figure who supports the anchor forming a convenient projection to aid its course. The English rose is below; and at the bottom of the box a mariner’s compass is engraved.” (226.)

The tenor of the foregoing remarks may be thus briefly summarised:—

Tobacco was first imported into Europe about the year 1560, but not into England until a few years later. The first Englishman to notice it was Sir J. Hawkins in 1565; whether, however, he brought any to this country is unknown, most probably he did, the other alternative being its importation from Spain. It was certainly known in 1577, when the translation of Dr. Monardes’ work was issued; and well known in 1582, as pointed out by Hakluyt. Drake became acquainted with it in his voyage of 1585–6, prior to his touching at Virginia and bringing away Raleigh’s colonists, among whom was T. Hariot, who saw tobacco growing wild in that country, and was the first Englishman to describe it two years afterwards. We may rest assured he carried home with him specimens of it, which he presented to Raleigh, and gave a full account of it, as one of the results of his visit, and for which he had been sent out by him. We are aware by his own statement that he practised smoking while in the colony. That he imparted the habit to Raleigh, demonstrating to him how the Indians did “take the fume or smoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie,” is equally certain; actual proof we do not possess, but it is implied in the circumstance of Raleigh being known soon afterwards as an ardent smoker. Up to his time tobacco was employed throughout Europe solely as a remedy for many diseases, but it was not until after Hariot had enjoyed his pipe as a luxury in Virginia, and had reported and taught it to Raleigh on his return, that the habit was commenced in England, and soon became common throughout the land. What is true of England and of Europe generally is, that despite the efforts of royal proclamations, ecclesiastical cen-

tures, and the earnest endeavours of university authorities, poets, pamphleteers, and others to arrest the practice, its use as a luxury, and as a daily necessity, has gone on increasing to the present time; whereas, on the contrary, its employment as a medical agent has steadily diminished.

Whatever merit may be attached to its introduction into this country, we may, for similar reasons already adduced in the case of the potato, omit the names of Sir F. Drake and of Lane. Although it was known in England to a limited extent before 1586, its practical importation, introduction to Raleigh, and subsequent description must be ascribed to Hariot, especially bearing in mind the statement in his report: "We our selues during the time we were there vsed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne." The part played by Raleigh has been acknowledged by writers generally to have been the first to bring it into general use. On this Oldys remarked: "Raleigh 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." (74.)

We may conclude this paper by quoting the following lines of a well-known writer (Dean Hole):—

"Before the wine of sunny Rhine, or even Madame Clicquot's,
Let all men praise, with loud hurras, this panacea of Nicot's.
The debt confess, though none the less they love the grape and barley,
Which Frenchmen owe to good Nicot, and Englishmen to Raleigh."³

³ *Nice and her Neighbours* (1881), 30.

