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THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO  
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

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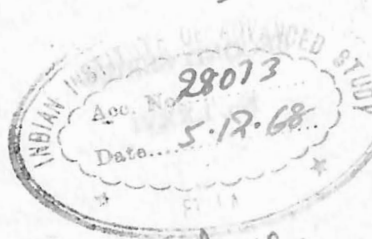
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RESPONSE OF THE TWO  
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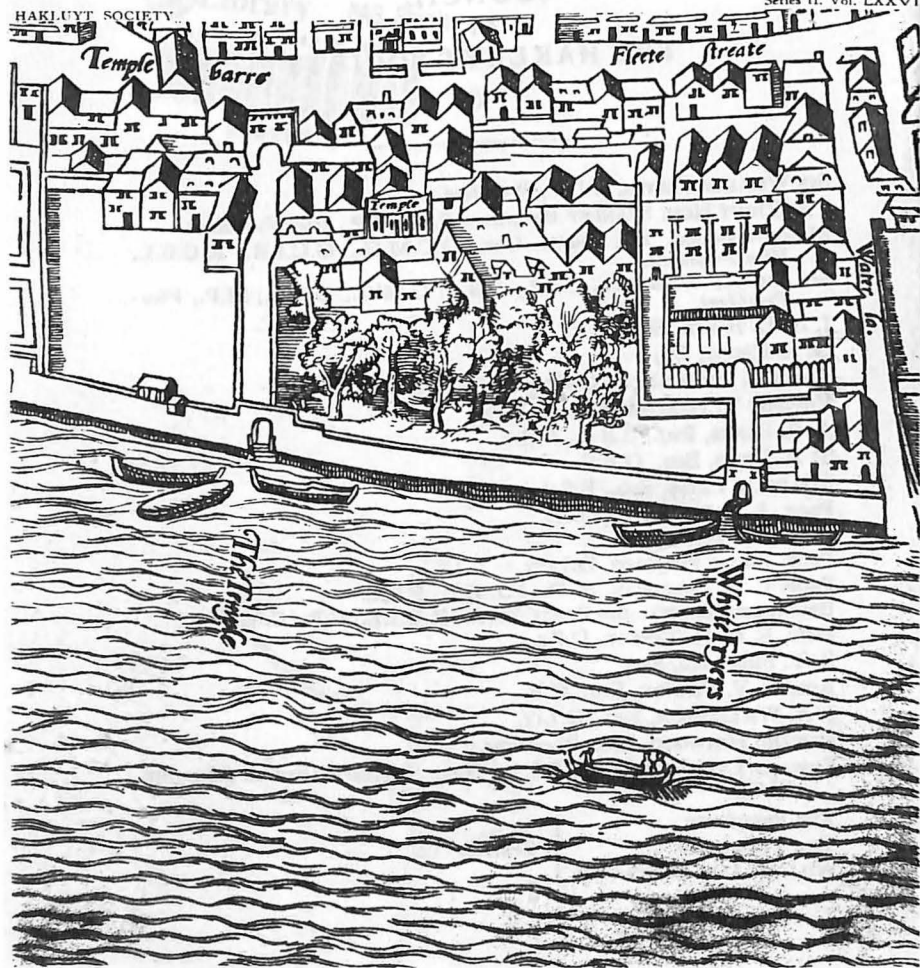
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## THE MIDDLE TEMPLE AND PRECINCTS

*From a reproduction of Ralph Agas' Plan of London c. 1592.*

THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO  
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

E. G. R. TAYLOR, D.Sc.

*Professor of Geography  
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VOLUME I

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## PREFACE

THE idea of collecting into one book the original writings of the two Richard Hakluyts was suggested to the editor of the present volumes on first reading the excellent biographical study of the two men written by Dr Bruner Parks in 1928.<sup>1</sup> In the appendices to his work, Dr Parks gave careful references to all the printed and manuscript materials relating to the Hakluyts that were known to him, and these proved to be so scattered, or so rare or otherwise difficult of access, that it appeared likely that to assemble and print them in full would result in a volume of great interest and value. Moreover, the *Discourse of Western Planting*, the most important of the younger Hakluyt's own writings, although twice printed, is in both versions very corrupt. It has been re-transcribed from a photostat copy of the sole original manuscript. In addition to all material actually written by, or ascribable to, the two Hakluyts, all the extant letters addressed to them have been printed, since these throw considerable light on their geographical work.

Both men were earnest and consistent propagandists for English colonial expansion, which they believed would promote the industrialisation of England, and hence put an end to the unemployment which unreflecting publicists ascribed to over-population. Their combined writings cover a period of nearly fifty years from the critical date 1568, and coming as they do from a lawyer and a parson, may fairly be claimed as giving the views of the Elizabethan 'intellectuals' as opposed to those of the soldiers and statesmen whose voices are more generally heard.

The Editor wishes to emphasise her great debt to Dr Parks, whose preliminary labours alone made this book possible, and to acknowledge the kindly help and criticism of Sir William Foster, Mr Edward Lynam, and Dr Fulmer Mood.

E. G. R. TAYLOR

CHELSEA 1935

<sup>1</sup> *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, Amer. Geog. Soc. Special Publication No. 10.

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# INTRODUCTION

## THE TWO RICHARD HAKLUYTS

### I. THE HAKLUYTS OF HEREFORDSHIRE

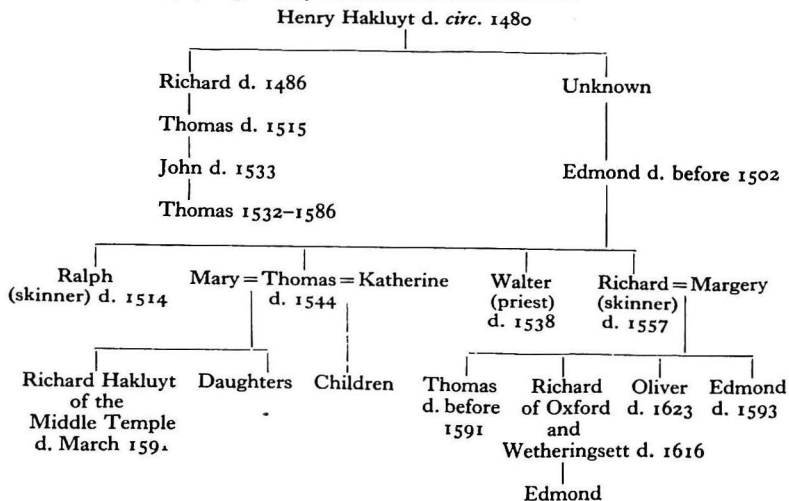
THE lesser landed gentry of Tudor England had no history. They lived quietly and obscurely in the shires, busied with their tenantry and estates or fulfilling their duties as Justices of the Peace. Not so their landless younger brothers and nephews: these had their way to make in the world, and while many of them secured petty Government appointments or entered the learned professions, it became increasingly common for at least one member of the family to adventure into trade. Consequently it often happened during the period of rapid economic and social change characteristic of the sixteenth century that while the head of the house remained obscure, the cadet became a man of note. Such was the good fortune of two cousins, alike named Richard Hakluyt, who sprang from a younger branch of an old-established Herefordshire county family. Their common grandfather was a certain Edmond Hakluyt who at the close of the fifteenth century had a family of four sons. Thomas, the eldest survivor, became Clerk for the Council of Wales and the Marches. Walter went to Oxford, took Holy Orders and obtained a country living in Norfolk: a celibate priest, he died without issue. The two other sons, Ralph and Richard, were sent up to London in turn and bound apprentice to members of the Skinners' Company.<sup>1</sup> These four young men

<sup>1</sup> The circumstances may be reconstructed as follows. The father, Edmond, died when his four sons were mere children, and their care devolved upon their maternal uncle, William Martin. A Herefordshire landowner, he was also a member of Gray's Inn, and the nephew and right hand of old Sir William Martin, sometime Master of the Skinners' Company and Lord Mayor of London. Hence he made two of the boys skinners. Ralph, who was apprenticed in 1502 and admitted in 1509/10, died in 1514, when his younger brother was still an apprentice: the latter became the father of Richard Hakluyt the geographer. The *Records of the Skinners' Company* contain the following entries: "1502. Rauff Haklett, son of Edmond Haklett, late of Eton in the County of Hereford, Gent. apprenticed to Robert Froude, skinner. Admitted Feb. 22 1509/10." "Md. that Richard Haklett the son of Edmond Haklett of Eyton of Hereford Gentleman, hath got himself apprenynte unto Peter Middlyton from the ffest of seynt Michel Thercangell in the second yere of the reigne of Kyng Henrie the 8th (1510) unto the ende of sevy'n yeres." (Communicated by J. J. Lambert, Esq.)

were the contemporaries of the Thornes, the Barlows and the Rastalls, who played their part in those pioneer adventures overseas which rendered memorable the opening decades of the sixteenth century. But there is no record at this time of any Hakluyt abroad. The head of their house, one John Hakluyt, owner of several manors in the parish of Eyton (lying not far from Leominster), was doomed to die young, and to leave behind him a tiny infant as his heir. Not long before his death he parted with a portion of his estates to his kinsman Thomas (the Clerk) who thus became a landed gentleman,<sup>1</sup> and henceforth styled himself

<sup>1</sup> This Thomas was the Hakluyt whom Leland visited about 1538. From Leland's remarks it may be inferred that Thomas and John Hakluyt had a common great-grandfather in Henry Hakluyt of Eyton who died about 1480. Leland speaks of 'Eaton' as lying a mile W.N.W. of Leominster, on the road to Ludlow. Another Eaton lay near Leominster but to the east. "One William Hackluit that was with K.H. 5 at the Battaile of Agin-court sett up a House at this Village, and purchased lande to it. He had one St George, a Noble-man of France, to his prisoner. Hckluit (*sic*) now living is the third in Descent of the House of Eaton. The cheife and ancientest of the Hackluits have bene Gentlemen in tymes out of Memory, and they took their Names of the Forrest of Cluid in Radnor-shire, and they had a Castle and Habitation not farre from Radnor. There were 3 Kts. of these Hackluits about the time of K.E. 3, whereof one was named Edmond. . . ." Leland's *Itin.*, fol. 178b, iv. pt 1. Elsewhere (p. 178a) Leland says: "Mr Hckluit (*sic*) tould me that the Body of King Merewald was found in a Wall in the ould Church of Wenlok."

The Hakluyt pedigree may be reconstructed as follows:



Thomas Hakluyt of Eyton. His baby cousin, John's heir, who was also named Thomas, was made one of the King's wards, and during his long minority this child's care and revenues were assigned to a certain Richard Watkyn. Meanwhile the elder Thomas married and founded a family. His first wife Mary died young, leaving him with four little daughters and one son, the latter being the elder of the two Richard Hakluyts to whom this volume is devoted. By a second marriage Thomas Hakluyt had several more sons and daughters, but he himself died in 1544 when they were all still mere children. The widow, Mistress Katherine, took as her second husband another Herefordshire landowner, Nicholas Depdene, a local Justice of the Peace. Her stepson Richard, heir to his father's landed property, remained under the guardianship of her new husband and herself, and in accordance with the custom of the time his income accrued to his guardians. Reluctant to surrender this source of wealth, the Depdenes entered into a conspiracy with Thomas of Eyton, now of age, and head of the family, to conceal the deeds which constituted Richard's title to the estates. Consequently the young man on attaining his majority had to bring a suit in Chancery against his stepmother, her husband, and his kinsman Thomas.<sup>1</sup>

Having by these means obtained possession of his property, he was entered at the Inns of Court as a student of the Middle Temple and became a professional lawyer. This was in June 1555 when Queen Mary was on the throne, and when, following on the Willoughby-Chancellor voyage, the Muscovy Company was just being successfully launched.

Now at a time when the descendants of Owen Glendower reigned over England it was a decided asset for a young careerist to come, as Hakluyt did, from Wales or from the Marches. Not far from Eyton stood Wigmore Castle, a famous mediaeval stronghold, which John Dee (himself a Welshman) was seeking Queen Mary's leave to search for ancient historical records. The Wigmore family no longer lived there, but they were Herefordshire folk with whom the Hakluyts could claim cousinship, and a widowed Mistress Wigmore was the wife of Sir James Crofts

<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 82, No. 12.

of Croft Castle,<sup>1</sup> Herefordshire, the influential Comptroller of the Royal Household. Of those about Elizabeth's Court, the Scudamores were of Herefordshire, as was Mistress Blanche Parry whom John Dee called Cousin. According to Camden, Sir William Cecil's forbears belonged to the same county, as did Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose second title was Viscount Hereford. It was in Herefordshire that Robert Dudley was given a castle when he was a young man and the Queen loved him. Lord Hunsdon, Elizabeth's cousin, was steward of the Manor of Leominster in Herefordshire, and this association led to an incident from which something may be learned of the character of Thomas Hakluyt, head of the family and holder of the near-by Manor of Eyton. A certain John Adams had been named by Lord Hunsdon as his deputy for the Leominster stewardship in perpetuity (as he claimed), and it was therefore his business to hold the manorial courts. For some reason unexplained, perhaps because of John Adams' residence at Lincoln's Inn in London, Lord Hunsdon made a fresh assignment of his rights, naming Thomas Hakluyt to represent him, and the two deputies quarrelled fiercely as to whose claim was valid. Thomas collected an armed band and, marching into Leominster, held the Court in his rival's despite; whereupon the latter went post-haste to summon the Justices of the Peace. These proved to be Sir James Crofts and Nicholas Depdene, to both of whom Master Hakluyt was well known, and they diplomatically declared that the matter was one for the Council for Wales and the Border Counties to decide. This body in its turn declined to interfere, and the truculent Thomas was left in possession. To this Thomas, who died in 1586, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer was contingent heir, and there is no doubt that, in spite of his residence in London chambers during term, he found time to go down into Herefordshire not only to care for his estates but to maintain his county connexions and acquaintances.

<sup>1</sup> "From Eaton", says Leland, "I rode a mile and a halfe towards Ludlow.... I sawe on the left hand Croft, the Manour of the Crofts, sette on the Browe of an Hill, somewhat declininge, ditched and walled Castle like." Leland, *loc. cit.* Both Eyton and Croft Castle lay just off the main highway from Leominster to Ludlow, the lane to Croft running between Hakluyt's fields. (*Ordnance Survey, 6" map. Herefordshire XII.*)



## 2. 'THE HAKLUYTS IN LONDON

It is safe to conclude that the Richard Hakluyt who sat for Leominster in Queen Mary's last Parliament was the young landowner of Eyton, the lawyer of the Middle Temple.<sup>1</sup> In the same year, 1557, his family circumstances changed, for his uncle Richard died. On his deathbed the sometime apprentice, now a member of the Skinners' Company, placed upon the shoulders of his young kinsman (for the lawyer was no more than twenty-five) the burden of 'comforting' the widow, and helping her to bring up her family of boys and girls, the youngest mere infants.<sup>2</sup> Among them was Richard Hakluyt, the future geographer. Many affectionate references made at a later date to their lawyer cousin bear witness to the self-devotion with which he carried out this task, a task rendered doubly difficult by the fact that the widowed mother quickly followed her husband to the grave. All the sons grew up and did well, but it was with his namesake Richard, orphaned at five years old, that their guardian seems to have been in closest intellectual sympathy.

As is well known<sup>3</sup> it was through the elder man's interest in the mercantile aspects of cosmography, and through his friendships with merchants, geographers and travellers, that his young cousin was inducted into his life's work, and it is relevant therefore to examine the lawyer's London circle. His room-mate in the Temple was Fabian Phillips,<sup>4</sup> a Herefordshire neighbour, who in his turn became M.P. for Leominster. It is of greater significance, however, that a chamber close at hand was occupied between 1562 and 1566 by Adrian Gilbert, for this provides an

<sup>1</sup> It is significant that the most important piece of legislation carried out by this Parliament was the passing of an Act regulating the manufacture of woollens. An Act of 5, 6 Ed. VI had proved unworkable, and fresh regulations were made as to the minimum length and weight of, and the colours to be used in dyeing, the various types of cloth manufactured in different parts of England and Wales. Defective cloth was to be clearly marked as such by the aulnagers. The Act embodies a wealth of technical detail of the type that Hakluyt the lawyer shows himself familiar with in his later writings. While there is no warrant for suggesting that he assisted to frame the Bill, it may be recalled that Leominster gave its name to the finest quality wool, and that a ring of famous cloth and drapery towns, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, lay within easy distance of Hakluyt's home.

<sup>2</sup> Document 1, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 65, p. 396.

<sup>4</sup> *Middle Temple Records*, i. p. 144.

obvious link with Sir Humfrey. The latter was at this very time repeatedly in conference with Anthony Jenkinson over the rival merits of the north-east and the north-west passages to Cathay, and there is every reason to believe that Gilbert sought the assistance of experts like Dee and the elder Hakluyt when he was asked to uphold his own view in a formal debate before the Queen and her Privy Council.

It is to this period of keen discussion and controversy that we may most probably assign Hakluyt's undated letter to Ortelius<sup>1</sup> asking him to make a world-map on vertical rollers for convenient use in a confined space. The lay-out of the map and the details which the lawyer wished to see inserted (including the *Strait of the Three Brethren*, emphasised on the then popular globe of Gemma Frisius)<sup>2</sup> make it clear that he had the north-west passage as Gilbert envisaged it in his mind. The letter was written in the joint names of Hakluyt and one John Acheley or Ashley, who can almost certainly be identified with the London citizen and Merchant Taylor of that name who later became one of the undertakers of Gilbert's venture of 1583.<sup>3</sup> In the 1560's he was part owner of the ship *Castle of Comfort*, one of the large well-armed merchantmen used in the Guinea trade. Ortelius' reply has not been preserved, but he must already have been at work on his *Theatrum*, the bound folio volume of maps which solved Hakluyt's problem of space, and immediately superseded (so far as the study table was concerned) the cumbersome sheet maps hitherto in use.

The bearer of Hakluyt's letter to Ortelius was the half-Flemish Daniel Rogers, kinsman of the great cosmographer on his mother's side, and son of John Rogers, the first Marian Protestant martyr. Daniel and his brother John were scholars and diplomats, and through their constant cross-Channel journeys forged close links between a Flemish and an English circle having intellectual interests in common. On the English side were the Hakluyts, John Dee and William Camden, besides such prominent members of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars as

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 7, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 81, 82.

<sup>3</sup> He contributed laudatory verse to Peckham's *True Report*, cf. Doc. 43, p. 204.

Emanuel van Meteren and the Coles, who were all also kinsfolk of Ortelius. On the Flemish side Mercator (although now living in Duisburg) was able, equally with Ortelius, to keep in touch with the English geographers, and it was natural that the younger Hakluyt when he grew to manhood should become the intimate of Mercator's son Rumold (often in London on business for Birckmann the bookseller) and of Ortelius' nephew Ortelianus (*i.e.* the younger Cole).

It is of interest to find that among the elder Hakluyt's London friends and clients was that Oliver Dawbeney who in his youth had adventured to Newfoundland under the leadership of the none too scrupulous Captain Richard Hore.<sup>1</sup> The lawyer was placed in 1571 upon a commission appointed to enquire into long-standing abuses relative to the farm of the Customs, and in his letter to 'Cecil'<sup>2</sup> on this subject he touches on difficulties experienced by Dawbeney who had lately become a Customs officer.<sup>3</sup> The letter is of value in its testimony to Hakluyt's professional competence and standing, for in it he appears as a man who had the ear of the highest Ministers of State, and one who did not fear to speak out about corruption.

### 3. LINKS WITH SPAIN AND THE INDIES

About nine months before he wrote to the Lord Treasurer on this matter of the Customs, Hakluyt had forwarded to him a docket containing secret news from Spain. In the covering letter<sup>4</sup> that accompanied it he explained that late in 1570 a young kinsman of his had returned from Grand Malaga, bringing news that a friend and fellow countryman with something of importance to reveal would shortly follow him. Hakluyt examined the spy (for such he was) on his arrival in London and subsequently communicated with Burghley. The importance of this incident in the story of the Hakluyts lies in its revelation of their direct and close contact with the English merchant community

<sup>1</sup> G.J., vol. 77, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 15, p. 93. 'Customer Smith' was then the principal London Customs official and was involved in the irregularities.

<sup>3</sup> He obtained the farm of strong beer in 1568.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 13, p. 90.

in Spain,<sup>1</sup> at that time the most numerous and influential group of Englishmen abroad. These merchants came principally from Bristol and London, and their chief places of residence were Seville, Grand Malaga and St Lucar. Hugh Tipton's house at Seville was their common meeting ground, and they had an influential friend at Court in the Duchess of Feria, once the English Jane Dormer, and a kinswoman of the Dudleys and Sidneys.

The changes of religion in England involved the overseas merchants in great difficulties, and many of them took Spanish names and Spanish wives, conforming outwardly at least to the Catholic worship. Not infrequently they obtained positions of trust in the country of their adoption, and they had the privilege of engaging in the West India trade, greatly envied by their countrymen at home. One of the most remarkable of these Hispaniolised Englishmen was Roger Bodenham, whose career may be taken as typical. Sprung from a younger branch of the Bodenhams of Rotherwas near Hereford, and a distant kinsman of Sir James Crofts, he is first heard of in 1550 as captain of the *Bark Aucher* on which Richard Chancellor was trained to sea-service. The dangers encountered on that voyage at the hands of the Turks brought the English Levant trade to an end, and it was not revived for thirty years. Captain Bodenham settled therefore in Spain and engaged in the Barbary trade, thus becoming familiar with the people, rulers and cities of Morocco. This business also proving too dangerous and uncertain to be profitable (although in other hands it continued to flourish) he next turned his attention to the West Indies and took a cargo out from Spain in the summer of 1563. On his return to St Lucar in the spring of 1564 he learned that John Hawkins was to make his second slaving voyage the occasion of a reconnaissance of Florida, which certain Englishmen<sup>2</sup> had planned to colonise in co-operation with the French. Hawkins

<sup>1</sup> The name of Richard Wigmore appears in a list of these merchants in 1539, and the young man may have been his son, and the 'cousin Wigmore' later referred to by Hakluyt of Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> "5 July 1563. This daye Stukely and his Company to the number of 500 gentlemen...doth hoysse up saylles...out of the temes towards that land called Terra Florida." Harleian MSS. No. 253, fol. 99.

had consulted Sir Thomas Challoner, the English Ambassador at Madrid, as to whom he should take with him out of Spain to act as interpreter in the Indies, and hence Bodenham solicited Challoner's recommendation. It was given, however, to Anthony Parkhurst, a Kentish gentleman, who immediately left Cadiz for England, and who subsequently proved a valuable informant on American matters to the elder Hakluyt. Bodenham was given a recommendation to the Duchess of Feria, who in turn gave him a letter of introduction to the Earl of Leicester which he presented in London. In 1565 he again freighted a ship from Spain to the Indies, sailing in company with the great fleet of Pero Menendes de Aviles, but in the spring of 1566 he was back again in London, where his knowledge of cosmography and navigation made him the centre of an eager circle of Englishmen.<sup>1</sup> A small syndicate gave him the command of a ship laden with goods for Spain, but almost in sight of port she was seized by Turkish pirates and her crew either drowned or held for ransom. Bodenham's letter to a bereaved father (as it seems) of one of the young gentlemen who had sailed with him has survived and is printed in this volume<sup>2</sup> as typical of the man and of the times.

The Ambassador de Silva had marked him down in London as a man of ability, and he is next heard of in service of the King of Spain, who chose him as one of five (according to the evidence of his friend Leonard Chilton) to make the new voyage to the Philippines in 1567.<sup>3</sup> That Bodenham actually went is probable, for such a voyage would take rather more than two years and he is not heard of again until August 1571, when he prepared for Burghley a very practical little pamphlet on English foreign trade and the means for enlarging it. While retaining the confidence of the Spaniards, he subsequently acted as an English spy, as did his son William: of this his letters to Burghley and Walsingham afford ample proof.<sup>4</sup> His English friends included Michael Lok and Edward Dyer, and no doubt he was directly approached by one of the Hakluyts for the two contributions

<sup>1</sup> Details of Bodenham's career can be gathered from the Calendars of State Papers (Foreign) and from his contributions to the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 3, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 4, p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Both Bodenhams served from time to time with the Prince of Parma in the Low Countries.

which he made to the notes on America that they were collecting. Between them they obtained a very considerable body of material from the Anglo-Spanish merchant group, and especially from those who had visited New Spain. Among these was Bodenham's friend Henry Hawke or Hawks, just such another Hispaniolised Englishman as himself, with a Spanish name, and a Spanish wife, and a home at Grand Malaga since 1552. Business took him to Mexico in 1567, but there he unfortunately fell into the hands of the Holy Inquisition, and after escaping to Spain, got back to England in 1571. Hakluyt's young kinsman from Malaga may have introduced the lawyer to Hawks at the Law Courts, for the latter appeared as a witness in the *Querela*<sup>1</sup> lodged against the King of Spain by John Frampton, a merchant of Bristol. Frampton had twice been seized in Spain by the dreaded Familiars, the second time at Grand Malaga, and Hawks, mingling with the crowd, had watched his ignominious entry into Seville with his feet tied underneath a mule's belly.

The lawyer Hakluyt's request to Hawks for an account of New Spain resulted in a very valuable document,<sup>2</sup> for it contained the first English report of the discovery of King Solomon's Islands and the supposed rich mainland beyond them. This news had spread like wildfire through Mexico when, on January 24, 1569, two battered ships had arrived on the west coast, newly back from this remarkable discovery. Hawks was in the confidence of the cartographer-pilot Diego Gutierrez<sup>3</sup> and nothing of geographical importance therefore escaped him.

By 1572, it will be recalled,<sup>4</sup> the harrying of the Indies by English as well as French pirates was in full swing, and the records of the Court of Admiralty reveal the Englishmen as hand in glove with all the noted Huguenot corsair sea-captains, Bontemps, Blondel, Le Testu, Sores, Loder, Nepeville and the rest. Francis Drake was then only one among many, although

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Williamson in *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1930, and H.C.A. Examinations, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 16, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Gutierrez was one of those who made the first voyage to the Philippines and back across the North Pacific, by the route determined by Andrew Urdaneta.

<sup>4</sup> *I. A. Wright*, *Hak. Soc.*, 2nd series, lxxi., and H.C.A. 13, No. 24.

destined to out-soar his rivals, and behind the scenes, supplying ships and money, were men of the English governing classes, the Hawkins brothers, the two Winters, Edward Cotton and Henry Knollys. Quite apart from the passionate spirit of revenge aroused among seamen by the treachery of Don Martin Enriques towards Hawkins at San Juan de Ulloa, there was very general resentment at the exclusion of foreigners from the West Indian trade, for it was held to violate a 'natural' right of all men to freedom of the seas.<sup>1</sup> The dreadful end of the French colony in Florida made clear the temper of the Spaniards towards 'intruders', and the best brains in England were at work upon schemes for breaking their monopoly of the riches of the New World, while yet keeping the peace with them as the Queen was resolved.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. SCHEME FOR WESTERN PLANTING

During this time of swelling anti-Spanish feeling, the younger Hakluyt was pursuing his formal studies at Christ Church, Oxford, a Queen's Scholar as he had been at Westminster.<sup>3</sup> After

<sup>1</sup> It was commonly held that the diversity of natural products between one country and another was divinely appointed to promote intercourse between nations, and hence that God intended the sea to be free to all. Politicians and lawyers threshed the matter out in the seventeenth century, when Dutch and English were the conflicting parties. John Dee declared for a 'closed sea' in 1576, in his *Pety Navy Royall*.

<sup>2</sup> The question of insisting on their exclusive rights to newly discovered lands was debated by the Emperor and the King of Portugal when the French King sent Jacques Cartier to Canada. The Portuguese King wisely decided that it was folly to forbid what could not be prevented, while the Emperor himself wrote to the Cardinal of Toledo: "In regard to this you think that stress should be laid chiefly upon the fact that they were discovered, conquered and peopled by ourselves and our predecessors at great cost, and that we have continued in the peaceful possession and ownership of these lands, and not to insist much upon the concession by the Apostolic See, as the said King of France attaches but little importance to this; you have therein spoken well." (H. P. Biggar, *Documents relating to Cartier and Roberval*.) Before Cartier's objective was revealed, the Emperor was seriously uneasy about the Strait of Bahama (Florida Strait), which was well known to be the most vulnerable spot in the Spanish Indies. In view of the correspondence quoted above, the Emperor's public assertion of his rights under the Papal Bull in a treaty of 1544, after the Cartier-Roberval voyages had failed, must be looked upon as mere bluff.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Records of the Skinners' Company*, he had also an exhibition of 53s. 4d. a year from this body.

taking his first degree in February 1574 he was free to specialise in cosmography, and with Ramusio's collected *Voyages* as his starting point, made himself master of the voluminous literature of the subject, both ancient and modern. But cosmography was a living and growing subject, and following the example of Peter Martyr and Richard Eden, the example, too, of his cousin and namesake the lawyer, Hakluyt began to take notes and records from returned sailors, his intelligent insight into their problems readily admitting him to the acquaintance and confidence of "the chiefest captains at sea, the greatest merchants and the best mariners of our nation". Such men were to be found chiefly in London and in Bristol, the latter a principal seat of the old established Anglo-Spanish merchant houses, and Hakluyt was soon a familiar and respected figure in both seaports. In his Oxford circle were men like William Camden, the Savilles, and at a greater distance, Philip Sidney and the Earl of Cumberland; in London he joined his cousin's circle which included Emanuel van Meteren and John Dee, while community of interests led him to a close friendship with Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, who was the chief organiser of the three Frobisher expeditions. Abraham Ortelius visited his kinsfolk in England in the early summer of 1577, and it is on record that he spoke with William Camden of his researches upon Ancient Britain, with John Dee upon the subject of the north-east passage, and with the younger Hakluyt concerning Frobisher's prospects of success. Perhaps he also met Walsingham, for he later on corresponded with the English Secretary of State, and became acquainted with his stepson Christopher Carlisle when the latter was soldiering in the Low Countries.

By the year 1577 the active, restless brain of Humfrey Gilbert had been at work on the problem of America for well over a decade, and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that he called on Dee<sup>1</sup> the day before he affixed his signature to the document<sup>2</sup> entitled: "How her Majesty may annoy the King of Spain." Passages of a geographical character in this document suggest the assistance and influence both of John Dee and the younger

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed. Halliwell, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* 118, No. 12.



Hakluyt, but since it is written in a copyist's hand, there is no direct evidence of its authorship. Meanwhile, wiser counsels prevailed and Gilbert shortly obtained a colonising patent in lieu of permission to 'annoy'. His backers included Sir George Peckham, Richard Wigmore, William Hawkins, Customer Smith, and his brother Adrian Gilbert.

It was for this group that the lawyer Hakluyt had (no doubt in his professional capacity) written his earliest extant pamphlet<sup>1</sup> on the choice of a Seat overseas and the establishment of a Plantation, but Gilbert continued to toy with the idea of a warlike raid on the Indies and did not get to sea until late in August 1578. Bad weather further delayed him, and in November he was still at Plymouth where, after much petty quarrelling, he had the mortification of being deserted by Henry Knollys and some others of his company with six out of his eleven ships.<sup>2</sup> Personally brave and able though he was, Gilbert had not the qualities which make a man a successful leader of his social equals, and after some months at sea the enterprise was abandoned. His young half-brother, Walter Raleigh, then about 25 years old, served with him on this occasion. Hakluyt had meanwhile handed a copy of his notes to a member of Frobisher's expedition of 1578, in case they should succeed in reaching the South Sea and the Sierra Nevada (California), the latter recognised long before this date as a promising locality for an English 'Seat' or way-station. This expedition likewise failed to reach its objective, but the notes were preserved and printed in 1582<sup>3</sup> for the sake of their general usefulness.

It is evident from the wording of Gilbert's patent<sup>4</sup> and of Hakluyt's pamphlet that two voyages were in contemplation for the year 1578. The first 'for discovery' was to be a rapid reconnaissance and choice of a site for first settlement, which need occupy less than two months. The second 'for conquest' involved the actual settlement, and the participators could set out in the autumn, carrying seeds, plants, live stock and all the

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 18, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 22, p. 135. His letter of complaint to Walsingham is inserted for the light that it throws on his character. Knollys went off on a pirating expedition, of which the H.C.A. Examinations afford evidence.

<sup>3</sup> In *Divers Voyages to America*.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

necessary equipment for a permanent colony. This was on the assumption (made by the elder Hakluyt) that a site would be chosen in a region having a climate similar to Spain and the South of France, open and mild during the winter season; for the lawyer kept constantly in mind the desirability of having English-grown supplies of olive-oil (so essential in the national woollen industry), wines and Mediterranean fruits.

The whole of eastern America from lat. 30° northwards was without any Spanish settlement, and in view of Cabot's 'first discovery' of the coast could legally be appropriated. Moreover, there seems little doubt that Hakluyt had before him John Sparke's unpublished report<sup>1</sup> of Hawkins' homeward voyage of 1565, which contained an account of Laudonnière's short-lived Florida Colony (visited during the month of May) and of the prospects afforded by the region to English enterprise. Anthony Parkhurst had been on this voyage, and to him Hakluyt applied on behalf of Gilbert's backers for further details about Newfoundland.<sup>2</sup> Parkhurst had been adventuring privately to St

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> The elder Hakluyt viewed proposals for colonisation from an economic angle, and there is good reason to believe that he had studied Coligny's project for the Huguenot settlement of Florida and Brazil very carefully. On Ribault's report, made to the Queen in 1562, a group of English settlers had been licensed to join him the next year, and following the breakdown of this project, several gentlemen had joined Hawkins' expedition of 1564-5 with the purpose of studying the Spanish position in the Indies. Hakluyt's economic theory was that subsequently known as 'mercantilism'. Imports should be reduced to a minimum, exports expanded to a maximum, with a view to the accumulation of a favourable balance of 'treasure', i.e. bullion. Imports should be of necessities rather than luxuries, while exports should consist of highly finished articles, towards the price of which the cost of labour contributed a maximum proportion. England should be made self-sufficient as regards fish, timber, naval stores, dye-stuffs and vegetable oils, and failing home-production this should be effected by extension of English territory and jurisdiction overseas, i.e. by colonisation. New markets should be vigorously sought. The results of such a policy of industrial and trade expansion would automatically solve the unemployment problem. The crucial factor, as Hakluyt saw it, was to foster an expanding cloth industry, necessitating an alert and progressive manufacturing and merchant class, ready to sense and supply the needs of particular markets, and to ensure goods of uniform quality. Anthony Parkhurst differed from Hakluyt in putting the greatest stress on cheap food, such as would be afforded by the development of a fishing colony in Newfoundland. He, too, stressed the importance of avoiding the dissipation of 'treasure' abroad. Among subsidiary problems of which both men felt the force was that of obtaining fresh sources of supply of salt. The evaporation of brine in England involved a

John's and the Gulf of St Lawrence for the last three or four years and his reply<sup>1</sup> was penned from Bristol on November 13, 1578, immediately on his return from that summer's voyage in the course of which he had made some special surveys. About a year previously he had sent a much briefer despatch on the same subject<sup>2</sup> to an unnamed gentleman at Court who may well have been Edward Dyer, since Dyer was then very active in assisting all schemes for overseas expansion. Parkhurst was enthusiastically in favour of a permanent settlement in Newfoundland, and of a large-scale development of the Banks fisheries. His views probably influenced the route taken by Gilbert in 1583, but meanwhile funds were exhausted, and the only work done in 1579<sup>3</sup> was a rapid reconnaissance of the American coast in middle latitudes made by Simon Fernandez, a Portuguese pilot in the employment of Sir Francis Walsingham.

The services of the elder Hakluyt were now requisitioned in another direction. It had been decided to send to Persia at the charges of the Dyers Company and certain City merchants a skilled dyer, who was to travel as one of the personnel of the sixth Persian voyage. This man was provided with written instructions, drawn up by Hakluyt,<sup>4</sup> relating to the enquiries he

heavy consumption of wood for fuel. Even heavier was the fuel demand of the expanding iron industry. Hence Parkhurst's insistence on the importance of the iron-ore resources of Newfoundland, occurring where fuel and water-power alike abounded.

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 21, p. 127. Parkhurst was familiar with the Belle Isle entry to the Gulf of St Lawrence, the north-eastern arm of the latter being the *Grand Bay* of the French rutters. Here the French were already fishing in 1541, and a French sailor spoke of seeing an English ship among them. Barter with the Indians for furs was carried on by the fishermen. (H. P. Biggar, *loc. cit.*)

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 20, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> On the first day of the new year 1579 (i.e. March 25th) Adrian Gilbert obtained his Patent for a Corporation to trade with the North-west, and to discover the North-west Passage (*S.P. Domestic*, cxx). There is an obscure reference to a voyage "for the discovery of certain islands not yet trafficked in" in H.C.A. 25, Bundle 1. One of the participators, Thomas Baylye, is described as 'Servant of Sir Christopher Hatton'. Letters Patent to discover strange islands and foreign countries were granted to Thos. Baylye and Edward Elliot on May 9, 1579. (*Acts of the Privy Council* under date named.) John Dee, who worked hard to ensure the discovery of Cathay and New Guinea, had addressed his propaganda particularly to Edward Dyer and Hatton.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 23, p. 137. Hakluyt speaks elsewhere (see p. 187) with impatience of the conservatism of the English dyers, and he may have been the moving spirit in sending Martin Hubblethorne to Persia.

was expected to make. English woollens at this period were debarred from the best markets by their lack of beauty and finish, and Hakluyt appears to have paid particular attention to the problems involved in improving the English technique, especially as regards dye-stuffs. As a Londoner with the *entrée* to rich merchants' houses he must have been familiar with the beauty of the carpets and fabrics from Persia. To send a tradesman so far to learn how such colours were obtained was undoubtedly costly, but could he bring back the seeds or roots of the dye-plants employed there for introduction into England, and possibly a skilled workman, too, the results would be of incalculable value.

The lawyer's young cousin never showed the same interest in purely technical matters, but his interrogations of returned seafarers were soon to bear fruit in other ways. Whether he learned of Drake's exploits in Panama in 1572-3 directly or indirectly is not known. He certainly collected (in 1578) the survivors' stories from those Bristol men who, led by Andrew Barker, had gone out to the Indies on the same business in 1576.<sup>1</sup> Drake's plans for the South Seas and Molucca voyage were a well-kept secret. John Dee had some hand in them, and probably the Hakluyts were consulted on particular points. The first direct evidence of any connexion, however, is afforded by Hakluyt the younger's searching enquiries among the sailors who returned with Winter in the *Elizabeth* in 1579 after re-passing Magellan's Strait.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Griggs, the steward, an intelligent man, had come up to London and was lodging with his brother in Holborn in expectation of being employed on a new voyage. Hakluyt had the opportunity, therefore, to talk to him at length. John Winter himself was for some months

<sup>1</sup> The story told to Hakluyt about the genesis of this voyage was incorrect in material particulars. Proceedings taken at the High Court of Admiralty (H.C.A. 13, No. 24) show that Barker and his Bristol ship, the *Speedwell*, had been plundered by the pirate Nepeville at Madeira in 1574. The crew then allied themselves with Paul Blondel to prey upon both English and Portuguese ships in Atlantic waters, and with this apprenticeship to piracy made for the Caribbean. Nepeville was identified by several witnesses as a man held in custody at the Admiralty Court in June 1577 under the name of Stephen de Brisa. He was already active in the West Indies in 1569.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 24, p. 139.

a fugitive from justice, as he was called to account for the piracies committed by Drake against Portuguese nationals off the African coast at the commencement of the voyage. Hakluyt of Oxford, as his earliest writing shows, was evidently possessed with a burning desire to witness the destruction of the sea-supremacy and monopoly of Spain. The political situation had recently been aggravated by the death in Africa, under romantic circumstances, of the young Portuguese King Sebastian. This was in August 1578. His successor, the aged Cardinal Henry, was necessarily childless, while the man who had the strongest claim to the reversion of the throne was Philip of Spain. The union of the two crowns, and the consequent joining of the East to the West Indies under Philip's rule, was imminent during the winter of 1579-80. The 'proud Spaniard' would become prouder still, and England's chances of sea empire more remote. Hakluyt therefore prepared a scheme,<sup>1</sup> while Drake's fate was still unknown, for seizing and fortifying the key to the South Pacific and Peru, namely Magellan's Strait. According to Griggs' information, timber, water, game, fish and sea-birds were available in quantity sufficient for the initial support of a colony, until cattle and agricultural crops could be introduced. The working element could be provided by introducing a large body of Drake's devoted adherents, the Cimarrones, a suggestion that makes it clear that Hakluyt knew of the Panama episode. Failing Drake as a leader, a bold man such as the notorious pirate Thomas Clarke<sup>2</sup> could be offered the position, with at the same time a promise of pardon. It would be advisable to take simultaneous possession of St Vincent (in Portuguese Brazil) both as a way-station, and as a source of supply of such food-stuffs as Magellana

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 24, p. 139. This Document is not signed, but the handwriting is Hakluyt's (see Plate IV), and the contents also point to Hakluyt's authorship. The reference to the political situation and to 'Mr' Drake are among the points that refute the date of 1589 assigned to the document in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Lemon).

<sup>2</sup> There were two (if not three) pirates of this name, one was active in the Azores in 1581-2 and subsequently died at Gravelines. Another is referred to in a popular ballad licensed on March 17, 1580: "A passport for pirates wherein they maye marke: And shun their abuse by the Death of Thomas Clarke." Richard Madox records in his *Diary* of the Fenton voyage (1582) that "pirate Clarke in his bravery" saluted them as they sailed out from Southampton.

could not produce. English criminals and undesirables could be sent out as colonists, and even if they seized the reins of government of the new community, the Strait would still be in friendly and not enemy hands.

There is no record of any reply to Hakluyt's proposal, but when King Henry died early in 1580, the Queen lent English support to the pretender Don Antonio, and Hakluyt put forward his plan again<sup>1</sup> with the request that he be given the latter's commission. The idea was obviously impracticable, as the Spaniards proved to their cost, for unknown to Hakluyt, Pedro Sarmiento had already been despatched from Peru to Spain to obtain leave and means to plant the doomed Spanish garrison in the Narrows of the Strait. However, the English certainly showed a quickened interest in St Vincent at this time. Thomas Griggs<sup>2</sup> was sent out there in the *Minion* to do some trade in sugar, and Edward Fenton spent some time there after abandoning the idea of reaching China in 1582. Drake himself despatched a bark to Brazil in May 1582, and Fenton expected to meet Frobisher thereabouts. The money for Griggs' voyage was put up by Christopher Hoddesdon, brother-in-law to Christopher Carlisle, and by Anthony Goddard, the "ancient and worshipful citizen of London" who told Hakluyt about the Brazil voyages of King Henry VIII's days. It is worth remark that 'old' William Hawkins had Don Antonio's commission when he made his mysterious voyage 'towards Brazil' in the autumn of 1582, but his plans miscarried, and the defeat of the Pretender in the Azores in 1583 put an end to all such projects.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, when Drake's fleet put to sea in September 1585, the Lord High Admiral of Spain believed that his plan might be to establish a base near St Vincent and seize Magellan's Strait.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 28, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Griggs had spent several days at the settlement in 1579, as the hostage left by Winter.

<sup>3</sup> William Hawkins brought home great booty from the West Indies in November 1583, and legal proceedings followed. In the course of these proceedings (H.C.A. 25, No. 1) the voyage is referred to as 'towards Brasil'. Drake's bark is mentioned in the *Diary* of Richard Madox.

<sup>4</sup> *Principal Navigations*, vol. x, p. 88. The ship sent out by Edward Cotton in the spring of 1583 was to make St Vincent its first objective. Hugh Smith, who had been with Winter in 1577-9 was the pilot. The voyage miscarried in Guinea.

Hakluyt, however, had urged a second step,<sup>1</sup> outlined in the same document in which he advocated the seizure of the Strait. This was to renew the intermitted search for the North-east Passage, and whether or no his appeal had any weight, this search was certainly renewed in 1580. John Dee was a strong believer in this passage as affording the shortest and safest way to Cathay, and to this theme he had devoted the greater part of his *Volume of Famous and Rich Discoveries*.<sup>2</sup>

William Borough saw to the practical arrangements for the voyage (which set out in May 1580), but both Dee and the elder Hakluyt were called into consultation by the Muscovy Company, the former as expert in navigation and cosmography, the latter as an economist and adviser on matters of trade. Hakluyt of Oxford had to be content with an onlooker's part, but in April he wrote to Mercator at Duisburg (pledging him to secrecy), in order to take up some doubtful points, as it seemed to him, in the views upon the Passage expressed by John Dee, views in which he had at first concurred.<sup>3</sup> Mercator (as his reply indicated) was vexed that the letter had been received too late for him to give Captain Arthur Pet some practical advice.<sup>4</sup> He dissented entirely from the theory (based on a sentence of Abulfeda's) that the north coast of Asia bowed southwards from the Vaigatz Strait and thenceforward the way lay open to Canbalu. The north-stretching Cape Tabin of the classical writers did actually exist, he claimed, and on the hither side of it lay an ice-choked sea, which as the event proved, forced Pet and Jackman to return. In spite of this practical disappointment, Hakluyt continued to share Dee's high opinion of the authority of Abulfeda's *Geography* (known in Europe only in Ramusio's epitome) and tried in vain to get a copy of the original from Syria or Persia.

His cousin took a more cautious view of the doubtful topography of the North-east Passage region, and it may be inferred from what he wrote that he had studied both Dee's and

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 24, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> As shown by a comparison of Doc. 24 cited above and Dee's notes for Arthur Pet which Hakluyt subsequently published.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 26, p. 159.

Mercator's maps. His notes, which supplemented his verbal advice, were probably given into the hands of Nicholas Chancellor, the purser, who wrote one of the chronicles of the voyage. These notes were incidentally illustrative of the major economic problems of the day, and of Hakluyt's economic theories as already outlined.<sup>1</sup> First and foremost there was the need of new markets for the expanding manufacture of English woollens, especially for the coarser types of cloth for which there was a very limited European market. It was also very desirable that information should be obtained about Eastern dye-stuffs and dyeing methods, in order to lessen the need for importing continental dyes. Next there was the problem of the unemployed. If a vent could be found for knitted wares such as caps and stockings, for linen thread, for small iron goods such as pots, locks, bolts and hinges, for pewter ware and for saffron, all of which were cheaply produced in England, then large numbers of people, including unskilled workers, could be absorbed into industry. The burden of 'over-population', as it was loosely termed, could be relieved in another way. Were an English route to the Far East opened, way-stations after the model of those established by the Portuguese along the Cape Route would be necessary. These could be planted with what the lawyer termed 'the offals of our people'. The idea that undesirables could be shipped abroad, and would immediately become successful colonists, was as widespread in Elizabethan days as in later times. Nevertheless, it was recognised by the humane, among whom the two Hakluyts most certainly must be numbered, that there were many who could be redeemed from evil courses: the prevalence of vagabondage and petty crime was largely the result of unemployment and dire poverty rather than of vice.

Since the Pet and Jackman expedition proved a failure, the lawyer's careful notes and advice bore no fruit, but his young cousin preserved them and later on printed them for their general usefulness. A man of such sound judgment was not likely to lack employment for his talents, and in June 1581 the Privy Council called upon him to assist at a conference upon

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 14 n.



the restoration of Dover Haven.<sup>1</sup> The Navy Board was naturally strongly represented on this commission, and in 1581 the inclusion of Francis Drake's name was a matter of course. The lay members were the courtier Edward Dyer, the mathematician and designer of surveying instruments Thomas Digges, and the lawyer Richard Hakluyt. The last named found himself without doubt among old friends and acquaintances, for all alike were men who had shown an interest in 'sea-causes'.

Neither his plan for seizing Magellan's Strait nor his study of the North-east Passage problem sufficed to occupy the active mind of Richard Hakluyt of Oxford during 1580. He must have shared his cousin's disappointment over the dismantling of Humfrey Gilbert's fleet in 1579, for his reading of the Spanish and Portuguese histories had convinced him that 'planting' was the only sure road to new trades. To prevent loss of public interest in colonising schemes, and to inform public opinion thereon, he therefore handed over one of his volumes of Ramusio's *Viaggi* to the young Italian tutor and writing-master John Florio (then following his profession at Oxford), commissioning him to translate into English Jacques Cartier's *Voyages to Canada*.<sup>2</sup>

Florio's genius was for language and letters rather than science, and on the evidence alike of the cosmographical knowledge displayed, and the propagandist attitude adopted in the Preface to the Reader<sup>3</sup>, it is permissible to infer that the inspiration of this Preface was Hakluyt's. Here for the first time appeared in print the claim that the discovery of the Cabots gave the English a legal title to temperate North America. Here for the first time in print Norumbega and Saguenay were named as potential theatres for English planting. Here in outline form were to be found the views of the men who were the brains of the early colonising movement, John Dee, the Hakluyts, Sir

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, under date cited. Complaints as to the silting up of Dover Harbour had long been rife, and a petition for its repair, accompanied by a map drawn by P. Symons, is dated 1577 (*S.P. Dom.* cxx, 24). The technical problems presented were very intricate, and hence there was much disagreement between the experts, among whom William Borough and Thomas Digges must be included. A report by Digges dated 1583 indicates the slow progress of the work. Hakluyt's name is not again mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> F. A. Yates, *John Florio*, 1934.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 29, p. 164.

George Peckham, Walsingham, Lok, and Gilbert himself, views that had hitherto been a carefully guarded secret. Both Dee and the younger Hakluyt had pored deeply over the third volume of Ramusio, which contained the whole history of the exploration of the New World during the first half of the century. But there is material in the Preface to Florio's *Cartier* not to be found in Ramusio, notably the reference to an English fishing fleet 50 to 60 strong on the Grand Banks. From being almost negligible, the English fleet had reached those dimensions only during the last four or five years, and this information was to be found in Anthony Parkhurst's recent report to the elder Hakluyt<sup>1</sup> on Newfoundland. Florio, as a professional translator, may have echoed the wish that a wealthy patron would come forward and finance a complete English *Ramusio*, but the wish itself was surely Hakluyt's. It was his constant fault to give overmuch weight to the older printed authorities, while relying too little on his own collation and interpretation of more recent evidence. In Ramusio, the worthless and the precious were closely commingled.

### 5. DIVERS VOYAGES TO AMERICA

The failure to find a North-east Passage in 1580 was offset by Drake's success, and the year 1581 was spent in formulating plans for again reaching the Pacific and the Moluccas by a southern route. The interest displayed in St Vincent (Brazil) has already been spoken of, and plans for seizing the Azores, St Helena, and other of the Portuguese possessions along the great shipping routes took many men to sea.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, French official interest in Canada was reviving, and Sir Humfrey

<sup>1</sup> Docs. 20 and 21, pp. 123 and 127. *Supra*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Docs. 30 and 31, pp. 168 and 169, are inserted to illustrate the situation in 1581. The fact that Richard Hakluyt the younger was committed by his convictions to the support of American enterprises perhaps explains why neither he nor his cousin apparently had any connexion with the Fenton voyage (originally intended to be led by Frobisher and Carlisle) of 1582. Fenton had orders to go by the Cape route direct to the Moluccas and China, but he planned to seize St Helena instead. Gross indiscipline and mismanagement combined to make the voyage abortive, although this is scarcely apparent in the official narrative. A certain Samuel Symbarbe joined the expedition as a 'traveller', i.e. private passenger. It is just possible that he provides a link with Hakluyt, who numbered a William Symbarbe among his fellow dons at Christ Church.

Gilbert's supporters began to put pressure on him to act, for he was not only threatened by French rivals, but with the withdrawal of his patent. It was expected that he would sail in 1582, but as a matter of fact the greater part of that year was spent in preparations, including the careful sifting of all available evidence as to the products and potentialities of eastern North America, and especially Norumbega. Sir Francis Walsingham associated himself closely with all the western voyages, and his daughter's husband Sir Philip Sidney was one of the subgrantees of a great tract of America. To the latter, whom he and his brother Oliver had known at Christ Church, Hakluyt dedicated a timely work which was, in effect, an exemplification and a development of the points made in the Preface to Florio's *Cartier*. The title, *Divers Voyages to America*, was descriptive, for the text included narrations of voyages to every part of the coast claimed for England. But it included, in addition, documentary evidence of the English title to the area, and an all-important Dedicatory Preface. The Preface<sup>1</sup> set out plainly the case for English planting, not only as an outlet for 'our superfluous people', but as making much more immediately practicable the discovery of a western passage to Cathay. Hakluyt had had the privilege of conversations with the Portuguese Ambassador, Antonio de Castilio, just before his recall in April 1582, and these had turned, as might have been expected from the Englishman's St Vincent project, upon the successful Brazilian sugar colonies, of which St Vincent was one. Were he a young man like Hakluyt, de Castilio said, he would risk all that he had to establish similar colonies in North America. The recent failures, alike of Frobisher's three voyages and Gilbert's enterprise of 1578-9, Hakluyt put down to faulty motives. Greed of gain rather than the promotion of religion and of public good had inspired them. But there was, he believed, another serious weakness that struck at the roots of English success at sea. This was the lack of systematic training in the art of navigation. Hakluyt had had his attention drawn to this matter by Steven Borough, one of the Masters of the Queen's ships, for it had been Borough's preoccupation

ever since, in Queen Mary's reign, he had witnessed the solemn admission of pilots at Seville. He had secured Richard Eden's interest, and Eden had published an English version of the best of the Spanish *Manuals for Seamen*, but both Cortez and Medina, the standard Spanish writers, were now out of date, and Eden had died four years previously. As both Hakluyt and Borough well knew, John Dee had for the last thirty years been teaching the use of new and improved instruments, charts and sailing methods, but in spite of his friends' importunities he would put down nothing on paper.<sup>1</sup> Less than a year before Hakluyt wrote his Preface Robert Norman, an instrument maker, had published important new discoveries about the seaman's compass, and Steven Borough's brother William had written a tract on the importance of magnetic variation.<sup>2</sup> But even William Borough could not distinguish between Mercator's and the Plain Chart, or explain the "plat of spirall lines" devised by Dee. The need for systematic instruction was urgent, and Hakluyt, besides discussing the matter with Alderman Barnes, the Governor of the Muscovy Company, had approached the man of the hour, Sir Francis Drake.<sup>3</sup> Now Drake himself usually adopted the expedient of seizing Portuguese and Spanish pilots as and when he needed them and used foreign rutters and charts,<sup>4</sup> but he genially promised to contribute to the stipend of a lecturer, and to fit him out with the necessary instruments and apparatus. Hakluyt had introduced a suitable man to Drake, but, in the absence of other patrons, the money offered was not enough, and the project fell through. Nevertheless, Hakluyt

<sup>1</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, pp. 108, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Norman, *The New Attractive*, with (by) W.B., *A Discourse on the Variation of the Compass*, 1581. In the same year, John Frampton (encouraged by Edward Dyer) had brought out a translation of Medina's old-fashioned *Art of Navigation*.

<sup>3</sup> Details regarding the events of the early months of 1582 can be gathered from the *Diary of Richard Madox* (Cotton MSS. Titus B VIII). Madox was chosen by the Earl of Leicester to go as chaplain of the party which Christopher Carlisle was to land in China. He was one of the University Proctors in Oxford, where Leicester was Chancellor. It appears that Drake sat beside Sir George Barnes during the deliberations upon the voyage at Muscovy House, and Hakluyt may have brought up the matter of a Lecture on Navigation before the two men simultaneously. Barnes, it may be noted, was Carlisle's maternal grandfather.

<sup>4</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Pacific Historical Review*, Sept. 1932.

had not ceased his efforts, and as he had taken care to ascertain before mentioning it in print, Drake's offer of assistance still held good. The identity of Hakluyt's mathematical friend who was prepared to give the lectures on navigation for a sufficient stipend, and who was present during the discussion with the Portuguese Ambassador on planting, is nowhere revealed. It may have been Thomas Hariot, but equally it may have been Walter Warner (later with Hariot one of the Earl of Northumberland's 'magi'), for as appears from John Newbery's letter written in 1583<sup>1</sup> Warner was at the time one of Hakluyt's immediate circle. A third possibility is Nathaniel Torporley, a young mathematical student of Christ Church, who was in London in the spring of 1582. In company with Richard Madox, who was about to sail with Fenton, he paid a visit to Robert Norman's workshop in Ratcliff and looked at his new compasses. Madox was then lodging with Hakluyt's acquaintance Cyprian Lucar, whose cousin had sailed with Drake.<sup>2</sup>

This Lucar had furnished Hakluyt with the Thorne documents, already well known in manuscript<sup>3</sup> but printed for the first time in the *Divers Voyages*. They were relevant to the English claim of 'first discovery'. Search for further evidence had taken Hakluyt to the house of John Stow, the antiquarian tailor, who allowed him to copy a manuscript English chronicle in his possession. But his chief assister had been Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, not long released from his unjust imprisonment. Lok had a great deal of American material, including an old map by Verazzano, and from it he prepared the map which illustrated Hakluyt's book. The narrative of Verazzano's voyage (of first importance for its description of Norumbega) was borrowed from Ramusio, as was that of the

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 39, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 282. The three mathematicians Robert Hues, Thomas Hariot and Walter Warner were all Hakluyt's contemporaries at Oxford, although four or five years his junior. Nathaniel Torporley was still an undergraduate in 1582. On William Gager's list of the senior members of Christ Church in 1583 the names of a Thomas Torporley and a Hugo Newbery occur. The latter may supply a link with John Newbery, but by this date Hakluyt needed no introduction to men who contemplated sea voyages.

<sup>3</sup> *Tudor Geography*, p. 123.

Zeni brothers, then generally accepted as authentic. From his silence on the point, Hakluyt perhaps did not adopt Dee's view (as it had been explained to his cousin) that Zeni's Friseland and Estotiland must have been colonised by the British kings Arthur and Malgo, and were consequently already appendages of the English Crown.<sup>1</sup>

The *Divers Voyages to America* as thus compiled formed a very complete manual for readers anxious to form an opinion on the merits of the North-west Passage and Western Plantation schemes. Doubtless the author carried a copy in his hand when he went down to Bristol in the autumn of 1582 to secure from the citizens a promise to equip two ships to sail with Humfrey Gilbert.<sup>2</sup> Their favourable answer was sent to Sir Francis Walsingham in November, but the Secretary of State, who kept a careful and considered control over all the different American projects, did not accept the offer until the following spring. He then chose Hakluyt as bearer of his reply, giving him at the same time a formal letter<sup>3</sup> acknowledging the services he had performed for the advancement of cosmography. From Mayor Aldworth's subsequent letter to Walsingham concerning this mission it is clear that Hakluyt was *persona grata* in the western seaport, and that he had explained the proposed enterprise very lucidly. It was agreed that the Bristol ships should be at the disposal of Christopher Carlisle (Walsingham's stepson) who was to plant a hundred men at some spot other than that chosen by Gilbert. Assured of the Bristol support, Carlisle immediately proceeded to appeal to the Muscovy Company for the balance of the money needed, but the committee appointed to consider the matter<sup>4</sup> stipulated that he must first obtain a

<sup>1</sup> *Diary of Dr John Dee*, ed. Halliwell, p. 4. Dee had explained to the Queen her title to Greenland, Estotiland, Friseland, etc., presumably on the same grounds, when he visited Windsor in November 1577. In his *Pety Navy Royall*, he put forward the view that possession of opposite sea-boards gave to a Prince the dominion of the intervening sea, but Hakluyt subscribed to the view that the sea was free to all.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony Brigham went on a similar mission to Devonshire. As Bristol was the metropolis of western England and Wales, a Herefordshire man like Hakluyt would have plenty of acquaintances there. Philip Jones, to whom John Newbery sent greetings by Hakluyt, was probably the young Bristol man of that name who matriculated at Christ Church in 1581.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 38, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Lansdowne MSS. 37, No. 72.

patent clearly defining the exclusive rights of their colonists. Gilbert, it will be remembered, had made extensive assignments of his original privileges to men like Sir George Peckham, John Dee and Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Peckham in turn had re-assigned to Sir Philip Sidney and others.<sup>1</sup> Carlisle was therefore most probably acting for a sub-patentee, and, having failed to satisfy the committee, did not in fact follow Gilbert as he had intended.

Hakluyt meanwhile had returned to London, where he rejoined his Oxford 'bedfellow', Stephen Parmenius, a scholarly Hungarian refugee, whom he had earlier introduced to Sir Humfrey Gilbert, then in the thick of his preparations.<sup>2</sup> It was essential for a colonising expedition to carry an educated man whose sole business it would be to prepare a suitable record of the observations made and knowledge gained during the preliminary voyage of reconnaissance. Parmenius was accepted by Gilbert with this idea in view, and sailed with him in June. Hakluyt hoped to follow in a later ship, no doubt one of Carlisle's, but he was not a free agent, and Walsingham had other ideas for a man with such obvious capacities for usefulness. A new ambassador was leaving for France in September, and Hakluyt was appointed as his private chaplain.<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Stafford, to whom he found himself thus attached, was a man (or so the Spanish Ambassador said) of no great ability, who had been useful to the Queen in the matter of her suitor the Duc d'Alençon.<sup>4</sup> His mother was a principal Lady of the Bedchamber and slept with the Queen, while his wife was the lovely and charming Douglas Sheffield,

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert decided in February that he must sail, whether ready or no, and in consideration of further support from Peckham made to him and his son a specific grant of a block of country running for 60 miles west of Narragansett Bay, the 'Cinque Islands' of Verazzano's narrative. John Dee helped to select and define this choice section of territory, as is clear from the Articles of Agreement, quoted from the *Close Rolls*, 1154, by W. B. Goodwin. (Rhode Is. Hist. Soc. Collections, xxvii.)

<sup>2</sup> There were many such foreigners at Oxford. Some had lectureships, others gained a living by teaching privately.

<sup>3</sup> The date of Hakluyt's ordination is not known, but there is no reference to him as being in Holy Orders before 1583.

<sup>4</sup> There are numerous references to the comings and goings of 'Monsieur' in Dee's *Diary*, not all of them printed in Halliwell's transcript. The original of the *Diary* is among the Ashmolean MSS.

sister of Lord Charles Howard, and mother of the Earl of Leicester's eleven-year-old son, Robert Dudley. Douglas was both very kind and very useful to the dazzled chaplain, and he came to know the young Robert well.<sup>1</sup>

Before following Hakluyt's career in Paris it is necessary to turn back once more to the events of 1582, in which year the careful preliminary work of a group of London merchants since 1575 had resulted in the launching of the Levant Company.<sup>2</sup> A number of agents, factors and consuls were appointed to establish and supervise a chain of English factories in Constantinople and the principal Levantine ports, and for the assistance of certain of these men the elder Hakluyt provided notes on relevant points of economic geography of which his cousin preserved copies.<sup>3</sup> As it was naturally hoped that the new venture would lead to sales of English broadcloths and kerseys, these notes had special reference to the production of dye-stuffs and woollens. The first and shorter set, given to a personal friend, merely epitomised the lawyer's earlier advices to Hubblethorne the dyer. The second and longer document was addressed to the most capable of the newly appointed factors, named only as Master S., and contained suggestions as to the technical knowledge with which he should equip himself before sailing, and the information he ought to seize the opportunity of acquiring while in the East. It is in this paper that the elder Hakluyt reveals most clearly the deep and close attention which he paid, not only to the technical side of the woollen industry, but to the economic and social problems of the day. Not in almshouses and doles, but in increased employment lay the true cure of the poverty and distress everywhere evident in England. The way to achieve increased employment was by the expansion

<sup>1</sup> The Sheffieldes were a Lincolnshire family. Douglas was widowed in 1568 when she was left with a little daughter and a three-year-old son. The daughter subsequently married the Earl of Ormond. It is significant that Lady Sheffield is not mentioned in her first husband's will (Lansdowne MSS. 116, 5). She married Edward Stafford in 1576, an admission that no valid marriage had taken place between herself and Leicester. When he was about twenty-two, Robert Dudley described himself as "Having ever since I could conceive of any thing been delighted with the discoveries of navigation", through Hakluyt's influence, as we may suppose.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Wm. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, chap. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 36, p. 182; Doc. 37, p. 184.



of industry, and the way to expand industry was to substitute the export of completely finished goods of high quality for that of coarse and partly finished goods, and for the raw materials then commonly exported. The introduction of foreign dyeing technique, and the naturalisation of plants yielding dye-stuffs might effect, so Hakluyt urged, a revolution in English industry, and Master S. might win for himself eternal fame if he made good use of the golden opportunities afforded by travel through the Turkish Empire.

The younger Hakluyt's services were likewise utilised in respect of this reopening of the Levant. It was felt that the overland route to India still afforded possibilities of competition with the Cape route, and on the return to London of John Newbery, an experienced Eastern traveller, in the autumn of 1582, he was engaged by the Levant Company to proceed to Hormuz by way of Aleppo. Before starting his voyage early in 1583 he visited and conferred with Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, who gave him, for the purpose of copying, a letter from Thomas Stevens, one of his Oxford contemporaries, who had recently gone out to Goa as a Jesuit priest. The letter was addressed to Stevens' father, but from its long narrative character was doubtless intended for wider reading in the writer's circle of acquaintance. Newbery unwittingly carried it away, with some other notes lent him by Hakluyt, and it is his letter of apology that has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally this letter reveals the group of people whom Hakluyt had about him in the autumn of 1582—Philip Jones, later the translator of Meierus, Walter Warner the mathematician, and Peter Guillame who is otherwise unknown, although the name is a Herefordshire one.

While, as has been related, Hakluyt found time in 1582-3 to pay two visits to Bristol in Gilbert's interests, and to spend much time in London, he was still attached to Christ Church College. Indeed it is quite possible that his official duties there had stood in the way of his accompanying Stephen Parmenius when the latter sailed in the *Admiral*<sup>2</sup> of Gilbert's fleet. Since

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 39, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> The ship second in importance to that of the General or Commander-in-chief.

1581 he had held the office of Censor<sup>1</sup> and he was probably in attendance at the ceremonies which, within a fortnight of Gilbert's sailing, were held at the university in honour of the visit of Prince Albert Laski. Laski visited the Earl of Leicester and John Dee before leaving for Oxford in the company of Philip Sidney. On his return he again spent hours in close conference with Dee, for he was deeply interested in the occult. At the university he was entertained with public debates and learned disputations, in which battle of wits the famous Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno took part. That Hakluyt met this great exponent of the Copernican doctrine is very likely, for John Florio, who was still at Oxford, formed a link between them. But Bruno's belief in the stars as inhabited worlds, equally with Dee's belief in the stars as ruling man's destiny, were alike ideas alien to Hakluyt's always orthodox mind. The two Italians, Florio and Bruno, went from Oxford to the French Embassy in London just at the time that Hakluyt went to the English Embassy in Paris.<sup>2</sup> As Embassy Chaplain Hakluyt was often to and fro between the two cities, and could have sought the company of the Italians had he wished. But his genius was eminently practical; he eschewed philosophy, and chose his friends accordingly.

As a thankoffering for his appointment at her hands, Hakluyt wrote out for the Queen an epitome<sup>3</sup> of Aristotle's *Politics*, the subject on which he lectured at Oxford, but he was afforded no opportunity for presenting it before he crossed the Channel, a crossing made during a terrible storm.<sup>4</sup> His heart must have

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 41, p. 203. The Censor of Christ Church to-day combines the functions of Dean and Senior Tutor. Direct evidence is lacking as to the duties of the Censor in 1581 other than those Hakluyt specifies (*loc. cit.*), but as Lecturer and Tutor on Aristotle he would be brought into close contact with the undergraduate students. A remark of Anthony à Wood suggests that the Censor was Dean of students as to-day. Toby Matthew, afterwards Archbishop of York, was Dean of Christ Church Cathedral at this time, while John King (afterwards Bishop of London) was one of the M.A.'s. The list of the dons in 1583 as given by William Gager (Add. MSS. 22,583) does not include any other distinguished names. Of Oliver Hakluyt Gager writes: "Dum tu, Haklete minor Galenum hinc, hinc Paracelsum | Expendis, medici spem facis eximii."

<sup>2</sup> F. A. Yates, *John Florio*, 1934.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 41, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Stafford wrote to Walsingham, Sept. 29, 1583: "Being yesterday arrived here at Boulogne, we came in so high a sea, that I, my wife and all my folks were so sea beaten that we were half dead" (*S.P. Foreign*, under date cited).

been heavy, for on the heels of the news of the loss of Gilbert's *Admiral* with the parson's Hungarian friend aboard came the strong rumour that the little *Squirrel*, the frigate on which Sir Humfrey himself was returning, had foundered with all hands during a dark and wild night.

## 6. IN PARIS

When all hope of Gilbert's survival had to be abandoned, the group of men who had been his financial supporters, and those to whom he had made assignments under his patent, took counsel together. Unless America was actually colonised by June 1584 the patent lapsed, and hence a desperate bid was made for new subscriptions so that an expedition could start at the earliest possible date in the spring. The principal member of the group was Sir George Peckham, who issued a pamphlet, extolling the proposed venture and offering attractive terms of participation, in the autumn of 1583.

Sir Francis Walsingham continued to take a close interest in the proceedings, and his stepson Carlisle was chosen to be the new leader. Before Hakluyt's departure the Secretary of State had discussed the whole enterprise with him, and the new Embassy Chaplain had received his instructions as to the sort of information he was expected to collect. Particularly was it important to watch closely the recently renewed semi-official French voyages to Canada, for there was no more certain means of maintaining interest and securing a flow of subscriptions than by pointing out sources of immediate profit. Such a profit the Frenchmen had discovered in the fur trade, a trade necessitating, however, friendly contact with the Indians of the great coniferous forest belt.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally, in his conferences with Walsingham, Hakluyt did not forget once more to press the point of the need of establishing a Lecture in Navigation.

Throughout the winter of 1583-4, Hakluyt was sending information to Walsingham, or (during the Secretary's illness)

<sup>1</sup> This trade, centring on Tadoussac, had no doubt been carried on by obscure individuals (as had the Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries) for many years prior to this date. The French have always shown great talent for establishing intimate relations with native peoples.

directly to Carlisle. As late as April 1st he had every expectation of the proposed Norumbega expedition's sailing.<sup>1</sup> Indeed in January he had professed himself ready to hurry back from Paris to England and take part in it himself if Sir Francis would arrange with the Ambassador and his College for his release from his duties.<sup>2</sup> No voyage, however, was undertaken. Carlisle had disappointed his stepfather before, for he should have commanded the landing party in Fenton's voyage of 1582, just as he should have commanded a colonising party in 1583. He was, however, by training, temperament and experience, a soldier rather than a coloniser, and in 1585 he found congenial employment with Drake in fighting in the Indies.

Meanwhile Walter Raleigh, who had followed his half-brother's schemes closely, was biding his time. Directly it became apparent that Gilbert's assigns could not take possession of a colony before the date on which their patent lapsed, he secured a new patent for himself, and prepared instructions for the two ships which were waiting his orders in the Thames. The patent was signed on Lady Day 1584. By April 27th, Captains Amadas and Barlow, accompanied by Simon Fernandez ('Secretary Walsingham's man') as master and chief pilot, were leaving the Channel for the voyage of reconnaissance. Richard Hakluyt's services were at once transferred to the new leader, and before the ships returned from Wingandacoa in mid-September, he had at Raleigh's request put down on paper the sum total of his reading, his reflection, and his direct enquiries since his arrival in France. The ambassador had his spies in every port,<sup>3</sup> and these served Hakluyt's purpose also, while at 'my lord's table', and among the distinguished and varied company that attended at the Embassy, he was free to prosecute his researches. Apart

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 45, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 44, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> See *Calendar of State Papers* (Foreign) where the sources of Hakluyt's information can be traced. No doubt his French friends also drew on Hakluyt for information, since at this date both Catholics and Huguenots were planning overseas enterprises. On April 24th, for example, Philip du Plessis Mornay presented the French King with a *Discours sur les moyens de diminuer l'Espagnol*, which included schemes for securing the overland route from the East and the Isthmus of Darien, the latter with the help of the revolted natives. Du Plessis' English friends included Philip Sidney and Walsingham.

from his official position, the fact that he possessed a wide and deep knowledge of all matters of navigation and discovery, made him welcome in the society of French cosmographers, men of letters, overseas merchants, sailors and sea-captains, just as it had earlier made him welcome among their English confrères.

Chance threw yet wider opportunities in his way, for France, in succession to England, had now offered hospitality to the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio. The royal exile condescended to discuss cosmographical matters personally with Richard Hakluyt, and together they looked at ancient maps. More important still, the Don had about him a number of experienced East Indian residents, travellers and pilots, and the Queen Mother of France had in her employ a member of the famous family of cartographers, the Homems.<sup>1</sup> Anxious for English aid and for Spain's abasement, these men were ready to give the chaplain all the information that he desired, and what was irrelevant to the western endeavour he stored for future use.

It was in July that he found himself temporarily back in London, and free to gather up his material into the tract which he entitled: *A particular discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde commodityes that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted*.<sup>2</sup> Known more shortly as *The Discourse of Western Planting*, this persuasive and logical pamphlet was not meant for the public eye; its purpose was to gain over the Queen, and to provide a textbook on colonisation for Sir Francis Walsingham.

From internal evidence it can be gathered that Hakluyt began the task of writing it in July 1584, and that he was then on a visit to London. Here he could personally consult alike his new patron Raleigh who resided at Durham House, and those of his own friends who might be of any direct assistance to him, or who could lend him books or maps. The work, involving as it did lengthy quotations from a wide range of printed authorities, occupied the writer right through August and into September,

<sup>1</sup> Andre Homem had been employed in Paris since the middle of the century under Royal patronage (G.J., vol. 77, p. 250).

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 46, p. 211.

but before it could be completed and utilised it was necessary to await the results of the preliminary voyage of Captains Amadas and Barlow. Their two barks arrived in the west of England in mid-September, and by the time they themselves had reached London and presented Raleigh with their glowing report of the discovery of Roanoke and Wingandacoa it was the end of the month. On October 5th Hakluyt was commanded to wait on the Queen with his *Discourse* and, after handing her also his treatise on Aristotle, he received from her the gracious grant of the first canonry or prebend to fall vacant at Holy Trinity, Bristol.<sup>1</sup> It is to be presumed that Hakluyt's own wishes had been indirectly consulted, and that it was no mere chance that opened out to him the possibility of a residence and an official status in the seaport which, after London, had the closest connexions with the Atlantic and the New World.

By October 7th he was at liberty to return to his duties in Paris, leaving the Queen to digest the *Discourse* at her leisure. Sir Walter Raleigh had, of course, no intention that others should reap where he had sown, and for the time being no one else was allowed a glimpse of the precious pamphlet.

The chapter headings were so framed as to provide a précis of the whole argument, and they reveal the clear and logical mind of the writer while reflecting also his strong nationalism and anti-Spanish prejudices. Originality of ideas was not to be looked for, since the main arguments for colonising America had already been formulated in the public and private statements issued by Gilbert, the elder Hakluyt, Anthony Parkhurst, Sir George Peckham and Carlisle, all members of a group of men with common aims to which the younger Hakluyt had for a decade been attached. Custom and true piety alike demanded that Hakluyt the Preacher should put the religious arguments first: the Protestant Church must remove the reproach that it

<sup>1</sup> "5 Oct. (1584) The Queen grants to Richard Hakluyt master of arts and professor of Theology that canonry or prebend within the cathedral church of Holy Trinity, Bristol, which shall be first become vacant, with all its appertaining emoluments, To hold for life provided always that if the same grant cannot take effect by reason of any prior grant that then the present grant shall extend to the second or third vacancy of any canonry or prebend within the said Cathedral Church. By writ of Privy Seal." Cited by Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*.

had no missionary fervour. Catholicism (which spelt disloyalty to the Crown) was encouraged among seamen by trade with Spain, and it was easy, by means of particular instances, to prove that all other customary trades of English merchants into the Old World had grown either 'beggarly or dangerous'. Colonisation was to prove a panacea both for 'decayed trades' and for unemployment, since America would afford supplies of cheap raw materials of every kind, and provide a new market for English products. Six chapters are devoted to the subject on which Hakluyt felt most strongly, the effectiveness of English colonisation as a 'bridle' to the King of Spain. On the one hand he could point to the economic mischief wrought in Europe by the stream of treasure pouring into Spanish coffers, on the other to the newly revealed weakness of the hold of Spain on her American possessions. A repetition of the story of Spanish atrocities as told by las Casas was intended to arouse the moral indignation of the reader, while the geographer in Hakluyt could make plain not only the need but the strategic value of a British America which would command the Newfoundland fishing banks on one flank, and the homeward route from the Indies on the other. Winds and currents held the returning Plate fleet within striking distance of the mainland for some distance north of 30°, as experience had proved, and this advantage was to be exploited.

Leaving Spain out of consideration, the establishment of an English trans-Atlantic trade would involve no such friction with other nations, as did, for example, the Guinea trade, or that to the Levant, or that through the Sound to the Baltic. There was the further positive advantage that by using the southern and western ports of Ireland as bases for this new trade, that restless and backward country might be bound in its own interests to peace and progress. The new inland and outward customs would increase the royal revenues without the need of obnoxious levies, while the new ships built for colonial trade would be those of considerable burden, so essential for naval purposes in times of war. This list of positive gains is skilfully followed up by a warning that if England does not seize her chance some foreign nation will forestall her, but Hakluyt had lived too closely in the company of the recent adventurers and their backers to be

unaware of the reaction of doubt and disaffection which had resulted from the successive failures of Frobisher, Fenton and Gilbert. Would not this new enterprise result merely in shame and dishonour for the promoters? He answers this by a promise of immediate profits, such as the French were now making year by year in Canada from furs and fish.

But there was still a school of thought which held that England's economic salvation lay in the discovery of a direct route to Cathay and the Moluccas. To it Adrian Gilbert and John Dee adhered, and they had some direct support from Sir Francis Walsingham. To meet this point Hakluyt pointed out that the new colony would serve as a far more convenient base for the search for the North-west Passage than England itself, while there was strong hope of an inland passage such as was suggested by Verazzano's maps.

Another grave objection remained to be met, Would not an English colony be immediately dislodged from America by the Spaniards or the French? The Queen would countenance nothing illegal, and to win her over, proofs of her title to America were therefore set down by Hakluyt much as Dee had set them down some years earlier, and he next attempted to show that the grants made under the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI were *ultra vires*.

It only remained for the author to draw his arguments together in a final chapter, but (urged perhaps by his more practical cousin) he subsequently added to his pamphlet some detailed notes on the necessary provision to be made for a colony in the wilderness, together with a warning that such provision involved a lengthy period of preparation before the voyage should actually be made. In the event, Raleigh, like Gilbert, was too impatient to follow such sound advice; minute planning spells delay, and cooling of enthusiasm; moreover, it smacks of pedantry!

In spite of the more brilliant capacities and more up-to-date knowledge of the younger Hakluyt, the latter had not yet entirely superseded his elder cousin as a colonial adviser. The lawyer's assistance was invited, and he wrote a tract<sup>1</sup> entitled

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 47, p. 327.



*Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia*, which was intended for the information and encouragement of the actual colonists. As might be expected this pamphlet dealt chiefly with the economic aspects of the new enterprise. The region chosen for settlement lay in the latitudes which the writer had always deemed best for the purpose, namely, those of Spain and Italy. He envisaged an agricultural colony based on the production of sugar, olives, vines, mulberries, oranges, figs, and other Mediterranean staples, and he provides careful information as to the methods by which such plants could be introduced into Virginia and the number of years within which they would begin to bear. The elder Hakluyt, using as he did the phrase 'Traffique followeth conquest', was in this pamphlet enunciating the principle that 'Trade follows the flag', and he was emphatic that in face of all annoyances and even injuries, peaceful and friendly relations with the aborigines must be established and maintained. Hence he would have no hot-head leader, but "it is to be wished that some ancient captaines of mild disposition and great judgement be sent there". Since an agricultural colony takes time and skill to establish, possible sources of immediate profit were to be keenly looked for. Buffalo hides could be shipped home immediately, brine could be evaporated for salt, the forests were to be exploited for naval and marine stores, the fisheries for immediate food-supply. New markets would eventually be opened, English merchant shipping increased, unemployment reduced, and industry developed. Trade with Spain would automatically disappear as the colonial produce became available.

Such were the unexceptionable views and aims of all the statesmen and thinkers behind the earlier colonial ventures. But the actual promoters were looking for wealth and fame: private financial backers expected cent. per cent. profits: the colonists themselves dreamt of filling their pockets with treasure such as had traditionally rewarded the Portuguese and Spanish pioneers. Only a negligible minority faced the reality of the situation, namely, that a picked personnel and a large capital are alike necessary for successfully opening up virgin territory. As long ago as 1565, John Sparke the younger had pointed out

that the task of colonising Florida was an enterprise for the purse of a prince, and beyond the scope of private individuals. Hakluyt had by him, too, the sobering letter of Stephen Parmenius written from Newfoundland only a short time before he met his death by drowning. Such a sum as £4000, which had been estimated as adequate to equip and maintain the first hundred colonists to be taken out by Carlisle in 1583, was absurdly inadequate even if the higher value of money in the sixteenth century is taken into account. But optimism prevailed, and (although not on this occasion) the English eventually learned how to plant a colony by the traditional method of trial and error.

What had been in the minds of Raleigh and Hakluyt, probably too of Walsingham, when they drew up the general scheme for colonisation, can be gathered from the *Discourse of Western Planting*. The practical notes mentioned above form merely an appendix, and the true close and climax of the document was Chapter xx. That chapter drew all the previous arguments together, but what is most significant is its title: "A brief collection of certaine reasons to induce her Majestie and the State to take in hand the western voyage and the planting there". That was the crux of the matter. If colonisation was to bring about all that Hakluyt promised, it must be undertaken on a magnificent scale. Moreover, the benefits that were to accrue were to be national benefits or even international, if the parson's dream of providing "a safe and sure place to receive people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truth of God's word" was to be fulfilled. Hence while the preliminary reconnaissance and experiments might be carried out by patriotic individuals like Raleigh, the main undertaking was one for State enterprise.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, only the State purse, which in Tudor days was the Queen's purse, was deep enough for the purpose. But Queen Elizabeth at fifty was not sanguine of new enterprises, and the still older Burghley

<sup>1</sup> Peckham, on the contrary, insisted "that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the ayde of the Princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons". (*True Report*, Chap. 7.) He could not, of course, expect Royal support for the settlement of Catholic noblemen and gentlemen which he had in mind.

probably thought that in spite of unemployed sons, wandering beggars and old soldiers from Flanders, England's man-power could not bear large-scale depletion. The Queen read Hakluyt's *Discourse*, she rewarded the writer, she confirmed Raleigh's patent, but that was all.

That preparation was made for a wider publicity is suggested by a further pamphlet of this date (1584-5) that has survived in manuscript. It consists of two parts, the first the deposition of David Ingram to Walsingham, Peckham and others made in 1582, purporting to describe eastern America from the Gulf of Mexico to Cape Breton; the second, *Inducements to the lyking of the voyage intended etc.* which embodies material taken (sometimes verbatim) from the longer tract by the elder Hakluyt, and from the younger man's *Discourse*. Addressed to the general public, it stresses the openings for the unemployed in new colonies, and may safely be attributed to the lawyer.<sup>1</sup>

During the winter of preparation for sending out the first actual colony the younger Hakluyt was back in Paris, and continued to send to Raleigh all the additional information he could collect.<sup>2</sup> Once the fleet was well away, he crossed over to England and fulfilled his promise of presenting Walsingham personally with a copy of his *Discourse*.<sup>3</sup> The Earl of Leicester had repeatedly written to him for a sight of it, but Hakluyt was never Leicester's man, and he preferred to offer the next transcript<sup>4</sup> to an unknown 'your worship' who may have been Thomas Smythe, already active in promoting the Levant Company. Meanwhile the coveted prebend had fallen vacant at Bristol, and Hakluyt (who had been anxiously dreading to be forestalled) hastened down to take up the appointment in person before returning once again to Paris.

The Virginia colonists must have included many of his friends. Thomas Hariot and Thomas Cavendish were among them, but unfortunately none of the letters that they doubtless wrote to

<sup>1</sup> *The Relacon of Davyd Ingram*. Sloane MSS. 1447. Doc. 48, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> Raleigh had taken to heart his views on the importance of mathematics in the Art of Navigation, and was already supporting Thomas Hariot in his household so that he could study the problems involved.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 49, p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 50, p. 346.

him have been preserved. The Governor, Ralph Lane, an elderly soldier full of 'plots' and schemes for England's betterment (he claimed to have seven ships ready to attack Spain at Christmas 1584<sup>1</sup>), was the contemporary and friend of the elder Hakluyt, and perhaps one of the 'ancient captains' he had in mind as leader in writing his tract. Lane wrote from Roanoke to the lawyer, and this letter<sup>2</sup> was subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*.

Sir Richard Grenville returned on October 29th with the report that he had safely landed the colonists and their stores, and their letters and messages home led everyone to believe that the enterprise was safely launched. Hakluyt had arranged with his friend Martin Basanier for the publication of Laudonnière's manuscript *Histoire de la Florida*, and so he caused the editor to address a timely laudatory dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh<sup>3</sup> giving prominence to his promotion of Virginia. Hakluyt himself added a Latin verse<sup>4</sup> in which he linked Raleigh's name with those of Vasco da Gama and Cortes. Before the volume was actually issued from the press, the chaplain was back in England, and only a few months later, in July 1586, the news was public that the first colony had failed. Seized with panic the planters had begged Drake to bring them home, without waiting for the supply ship which was on the point of reaching them. Raleigh had all his work to do over again, and he again enlisted Hakluyt's aid.

A bookish man himself, Hakluyt believed that books were the most convincing propaganda. He once more turned to Basanier, and induced him to edit a French edition of the recently published narrative of the voyage to New Mexico of Antonio Espejo.<sup>5</sup> Its importance lay in the fresh news it contained of mineral wealth

<sup>1</sup> A few years earlier, in 1579, he was asking Burghley's leave to engage the kings of Algiers and Fez to ally themselves with the English and harass the Spanish shipping. The scheme of an Anglo-Moroccan alliance, and an English settlement on the North-west African coast on the flank of the Canary Islands, was one which Roger Bodenham earnestly pressed on Queen Elizabeth's Minister. Whether bound for the West or the East Indies, all Spanish and Portuguese shipping followed the 'Portuguese trades' to the Canaries, which formed the true point of departure from Europe as the Azores formed the common point of return, in accordance with the general set of winds and currents.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 51, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 54, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 53, p. 349.

<sup>5</sup> Hakluyt had paid for the Paris reprint of 1586.

in the interior of North America. Hakluyt further commissioned the famous Portuguese cartographer, André Homem, to draw for Raleigh a new map in illustration of this voyage.<sup>1</sup> For his own part he proposed to bring out a complete edition of the *Decades* of Peter Martyr, a work which contained, so he considered, valuable lessons for the English colonists, who could there read of the early failures and successes of the Spaniards. The publication also afforded him the opportunity of penning a long Preface<sup>2</sup> in Raleigh's praise, and reasserting the English claim to America by prior right based on Cabot's discovery. This Preface is dated towards the end of February 1587, and contains an eloquent appeal for Virginia, with a prophecy of immortal fame to the promoters and undertakers, and a censure of all detractors. The fourth voyage, carrying the third group of colonists (for Grenville had left fifteen men at Roanoke in 1586) was then in preparation, although the ships did not actually leave Plymouth until May 8th.

The three publications mentioned above with which Hakluyt was concerned all appeared in Paris, but during the summer of 1587 an English version of Espejo was independently published in London.<sup>3</sup> The slanders circulated by the disappointed members of the first group of colonists were doing serious harm, and to combat them Thomas Hariot wrote his *True Report of Virginia*, which was at first privately circulated and then printed in 1588. Hakluyt, meanwhile, did not rest, but gave himself up to the task of translating Laudonnière's *Florida* into English. In October 1587, Captain Edward Stafford returned with the news that he had safely landed the large group of men and women known as the Second Colony of Virginia. Hakluyt was therefore able to preface his translation with fresh praise of Raleigh,<sup>4</sup> and of his enterprise, and there is no doubt that such prefaces and dedications were planned as mediums of publicity and propaganda.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 55, p. 353. See also A. Cortesão: *Cartografia e cartografos portugueses*.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 56, p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> A.F. (trans.), *Voyage of Antonio de Espejo to New Mexico in 1583*. 1586.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 58, p. 372.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 355 n. This impression is conveyed by the terms in which Hakluyt writes to Raleigh. Ortelius saw an advertisement of Hakluyt's *Decades* in the catalogue of Frankfurt book-fair in 1589, and wrote questioning his nephew Cole about it, as being Hakluyt's intimate friend.

But Hakluyt's was no feigned enthusiasm. When he wrote, John Davis was not long back from his third voyage to high latitudes, and the chaplain believed that the discovery of a sea-way that bowed from the north round to the west of Virginia, was imminent. An English America and an English way to Cathay combined to make a golden prospect. Actually, the colony was doomed. Sir Walter Raleigh furnished a supply fleet in the following spring which Sir Richard Grenville was to lead across the Atlantic. But this was the *Annus Mirabilis*, 1588, and both general and fleet were stayed in England on the rumour of the Spanish Armada. Governor John White, who had come home in the last autumn against his own wish, had left a daughter and a new-born grandchild in Virginia. His earnest entreaties secured two tiny ships in lieu of Grenville's fleet, and with fifteen new planters and some scanty supplies he left the coast of Cornwall on April 22nd. But war was in the air, and the ship-master and seamen thought only of prizes. White got no farther than Madeira, and in a month's time was back in England, badly wounded. Three years passed before he could again secure a ship, this time as a solitary, unwanted passenger. A flying visit revealed that Roanoke had been deserted: the master would search no further, and John White came home, refusing still to abandon hope although admitting that he himself could do no more.<sup>1</sup>

When he first went out to Virginia in 1585, White's position was that of official artist and cartographer. He had drawn a map of Virginia (to accompany Hariot's *True Report*), and made a set of pictures of the Red Indians and their surroundings, acting on Raleigh's instructions. The latter had commissioned a similar set of illustrations of Florida from Jacob Le Moyne,<sup>2</sup> an aged Huguenot refugee who had been with Laudonnière more than twenty years previously. Jacob was engaged on this work and living in London at Raleigh's expense in 1587, but about a year later he died. There was in England no engraver capable of handling such work nor were the pictures suitable for the modest

<sup>1</sup> "Thus committing the relieve of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia to the merciful help of the Almighty." See *infra*, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Or Morgues (see *infra*, p. 373).

format of Hariot's or Hakluyt's publications. The latter, however, had met either in Paris or London the famous Dutch engraver, Theodore De Bry, who with his two talented sons now had an atelier in Frankfort-on-Main, where the great book-fairs were held. Continental interest in the recent English enterprises was extraordinarily keen (witness the rapid appearance of two continental editions of Frobisher's adventures) and Hakluyt drew De Bry's attention to the unpublished material of White and Le Moyne, which suggested to him the plan of a new large-scale *History of Voyages*. De Bry himself fetched the pictures and descriptive texts from London,<sup>1</sup> probably in 1589, and handed the latter (including Hariot's *Report*) over to his friend, the botanist Charles de L'Escluse, who was at the time also residing in Frankfort. L'Escluse prepared a French and a stately Latin version<sup>2</sup> while another translator rendered the material into German. The letterpress attached to White's pictures appears to have been prepared from the Englishman's own notes, for the first person is used, but the English original could not have been suitable for publication as it stood, since for the English edition Hakluyt retranslated L'Escluse's Latin. When doing so, he also seized the opportunity to correct an error made in the editorial preface by De Bry to the effect that he had actually seen Virginia himself.<sup>3</sup>

On April 1, 1590, the work of Hariot and White, sumptuously

<sup>1</sup> "Welches Original ich von Johan With (*sic*) Engelländischen Mahler bekommen, durch den fleiss Herrn Richarten Hackluyt von Ochsfurt dess Göttlichen Worts Predicant, der die Landschaft selbst gesehen, mir auch gerahten ich solte diss Buch in Truck aussgehen lassen." The Latin version reads: *Volui hoc liber vobis proponere veras eorum picturas, mihi opera Domini Richardi Hackluyt Oxoniensis, verbi Dei Ministri (qui eam regionem vidit, et auctor fuit ut hic liber in publicum prodiret)*. De Bry was in London in 1587 for the purpose of engraving the plate depicting Sir Philip Sidney's funeral procession.

<sup>2</sup> "Touching the still of both Discourses I have caused yt to be reduced into very Good Frenche and Latin by the aide of a verye worshipfull friend of myne" (Preface to English edition).

<sup>3</sup> See note above. "The true Pictures of those people wich by the helpe of Maister Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Minister of Gods word, who first incouraged me to publish the work, I creaved out of the very original of Maister Jhon White.... A vistorye (*sic* for history) so rare as I thinke the like hath not been heard nor sene. I creaved both of them at London, and brought them hither to Frankfurt." Thus Hakluyt translated the editorial note of De Bry for the English version, but as the printing was done abroad he could not correct the proofs.

printed and engraved, appeared simultaneously in four languages as Volume I of the *Peregrinations* of De Bry. The English version, as was only meet, was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh. Less than a year later the second volume appeared, containing Laudonnière's *History of Florida* with the illustrations of Le Moyne. The linked names of Raleigh, Hakluyt and Virginia were thus made known to every cultured reader in Western Europe, a magnificent tribute to the enterprise of the small nation that had recently astonished the world by the defeat of the Armada.

Apart from literature, however, the Spanish War had naturally put a temporary check on the business of promotion of overseas enterprise, and the elder Hakluyt engaged in it no more. He had made his will<sup>1</sup> in the autumn of 1587, apparently when an epidemic was raging, and appointed Oliver Hakluyt of Christ Church his principal heir. He was living down in Herefordshire at the time and appears to have been devoting himself to the care of his estates. Then, as now, the country about Leominster was noted for its fine cattle, and Hakluyt did considerable business as a grazier, that is to say he fattened oxen for the butcher. During the years 1588-9, the Purveyor for the Royal Household took up several of his great stall-fed beasts, with the result that Hakluyt in the spring of 1589 made a complaint, first to the Privy Council and then directly to Lord Burghley.<sup>2</sup> He could not, it appears, obtain the substantial sum owing to him from the Royal coffers for his cattle, and, further, the amount due was disputed by the Purveyor. Instead of paying the price at which the animals were valued when they left the farm, he was prepared to pay only the far lower price offered by the London butchers when they arrived. Hakluyt's letter in which he states his case reveals the lawyer, as might be expected, as a keen man of business, but from the memoranda<sup>3</sup> that have been preserved of the Purveyor's reply, made when an enquiry was ordered, it would seem that he did not succeed in getting redress. No further records of his life exist, and he died at

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 57, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 62, p. 382. He possessed twenty-three oxen in 1583.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 63, p. 384.



Eyton early in 1591, to be followed to the grave<sup>1</sup> two years later by his nephew Edmond. He had never married, but after his death his nephew Oliver migrated to Eyton, and brought up a family there. The lawyer's nature was a gentle one. From the way in which he dwells upon them in his writings, it would seem that he was a lifelong lover of flowers and herbs and trees. He knew and treasured the names of those who introduced new species of plants into England and besides his studies of law and economics he was learned in the botanical works of Drs Pena and Lobel,<sup>2</sup> Rambert Dodoens<sup>3</sup> and Charles de l'Escluse. The latter he may have met when he visited England in 1571, and again in 1581, and their common interests suggest that he was the acquaintance of Dr Lobel (who was first in England from 1569 to 1571), and of William Gerard, the famous herbalist, who kept Lord Burghley's garden.<sup>4</sup> He lived to see his nephew

<sup>1</sup> He was buried at Leominster.

<sup>2</sup> The *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* by Pena and Lobel was published in London in January 1571.

<sup>3</sup> An English edition of Dodoens' *Cruydtboek*, translated by Henry Lyte appeared in 1578. Hakluyt suggested that a copy should be carried by Pet and Jackman to delight the Emperor of Cathay.

<sup>4</sup> Charles de l'Escluse, Peter Pena, and Matthias Lobel were a trio of famous herbalists who had studied at Montpellier University about the middle of the century. The Wars of Religion drove l'Escluse and Lobel from France, and they became closely associated with the Antwerp intellectuals, including Ortelius and the publisher Plantin. The English voyages to the West Indies from 1563 onwards led to the introduction of many rare or unknown plants, such as tobacco, sweet potatoes and agaves, into London gardens. Lobel came over to England to study the local flora in 1569, and wrote his *Stirpium Adversaria Nova* (in collaboration with Pena) the following year. In this work he states that Hugh Morgan, a noted herbalist and pharmacist (whom Gerard also names among his friends), had brought plants from the Indies, while others had been obtained from the ship-masters of a fleet which had returned 'this last summer', presumably in 1570. This may have been one of Drake's unrecorded voyages. Secretary Cecil (as he then was) already had his famous garden in the Strand, which Lobel knew well, and Lord Hunsdon was another collector of rare plants. Lobel went to Antwerp in 1571, the year in which l'Escluse came to London, and made acquaintances there. During his later travels in Central Europe he corresponded (according to Gerard) with Dr James Garret and Richard Garth, the latter named as one of his own friends by Hakluyt of Oxford. Somewhere about 1577-8 de l'Escluse sent the first tulip bulbs seen in England to his London friends, a fact recorded by the elder Hakluyt. It was his translation of Rambert Dodoens' *Herbal* that was retranslated into English by Henry Lyte, and in this version recommended by Hakluyt. The news of Drake's circumnavigation drew him once more to London in 1581, and he states that he was much in company with Laurence Elyot, one of the gentlemen who accompanied Drake, as well as with the

Richard a successful and well-known man; his many-sided interests and many friendships with men of mark must have made his own life a rich and full one.

The younger Hakluyt was engaged during 1588 chiefly on diplomatic work, including the carrying of despatches between London and Paris. As a letter he wrote in April to Lord Burghley shows, the Embassy was a hotbed of spying and intrigue.<sup>1</sup> The exiled Earl of Westmorland had been importuning the chaplain to act as intermediary to secure for him the Queen's pardon. A spy had assured him that the fleet at Lisbon (the Armada) would never sail. My Lord Ambassador himself was growing weary of the dangers, expenses and difficulties of his position, and longed to be home. In July he was trying to arrange for a recall, but he wished his wife (who was to be his suitor to the Queen) to believe that this was because his friends were urging his return to England.<sup>2</sup> Douglas Sheffield's charm had made her a favourite at the French Court and in French society<sup>3</sup> and her husband may have feared that she would not wish to leave Paris. Actually, however, Sir Edward served for another three years, while in the winter of 1588-9 the chaplain had the honour of escorting his enchanting mistress to London.

leader himself. That he mixed even more widely with the men interested in overseas expansion is suggested by his dedication of a work written in the same year to Philip Sidney and Edward Dyer. The re-establishment of the Levant trade gave further opportunities to the English plant lovers. Sir William Harborne sent bulbs home to Lord Burghley from Constantinople, Nicholas Leate (one of the merchants) instructed his factor in Syria to collect plants, and Gerard the herbalist sent one of his own servants as surgeon in the *Hercules*, presumably in the voyage of 1586, for the same purpose. Dr Lobel travelled in Europe with Lord Edward Zouch, and returned to England in 1590. His daughter married Hakluyt's friend Jacob Cole (Ortelianus). Hakluyt of Oxford met Dr Pena in Paris in 1584, and from their community of interests and of friends it is safe to assume that both Hakluyts were acquainted with all the notable botanists who have been named.

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 60, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> This can be gathered from his letter to Walsingham written July 7, 1588: "...for in truth I should be loth to have her conceive otherwise of me than in truth it is, for indeed I have found her as loving a wife to me as I would be loth to have her conceive a thought of unkindness". In the same letter he writes "I have at length...with gentleness and reason persuaded my wife that she is contented to be a suitor to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to do somewhat for me".

<sup>3</sup> She was the confidante of the Queen Mother (Catharine de Medici) and the intimate of Mme Joyeuse, wife of the Lord Admiral, the latter a favourite of the king's.

Perhaps he brought her to take part in the solemn thanksgiving of November 29th for the victory over the Armada, for her eldest son, Lord Sheffield, had been knighted in the engagement. Hakluyt never left England again.

Whilst he must have been heart-sick at the neglect of the Virginia enterprise, the parson was still full of plans. How he fostered the great work of De Bry has already been told, and he had also in mind the preparation of an edition of the *Geography* of Abulfeda, news of which reached Ortelius through Emanuel van Meteren.<sup>1</sup> More important still he was now revolving and maturing his plans for publishing an English *Collection of Voyages*,<sup>2</sup> a task which a period of comparative leisure would make possible. Long before Virginia was known to be doomed, the many-faceted mind of Raleigh had been playing with new ideas. Among the prisoners brought home from the Azores by two of his ships in 1586 was no less a person than the renowned Spanish navigator, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.<sup>3</sup> In England Sarmiento was treated rather as an honoured guest than as a captive, and Raleigh made so much of him that Don Antonio of Portugal, who was once more enjoying the Queen's hospitality, showed himself bitterly jealous. The man who had been in King Solomon's Islands, who had planted a colony in the Strait of Magellan, who had written with authority on the history of the gorgeous Incas and the legend of El Dorado, had ample means to fire Raleigh's imagination afresh in what was an hour of disappointment. "Many years since", Sir Walter wrote in 1596, "I had knowledge *by relation* of that mighty, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana, and of the great and golden city...." Sarmiento was set at liberty and travelled towards Spain through France, where he was when Richard Hakluyt sent Raleigh news of him on December 30, 1586.<sup>4</sup> He had just been taken prisoner again by the Protestants, when within four

<sup>1</sup> T. Smith, *G. Camdeni Epistolae*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Which he mentions in his *Preface* of February 1587; see p. 369.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Whiddon was in command and the prizes were brought into Southampton. Hakluyt published John Evesham's narrative of the affair, and it seems that a copy of Sarmiento's map of Magellanica was hastily thrown overboard.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 55, p. 354.

stages of the Spanish frontier. Hakluyt speaks of him with indignation as having intrigued against his protectors with a well-known Spanish merchant in London, Peter Zubiaures,<sup>1</sup> but doubtless the chaplain did not miss the opportunity of seeing and speaking with him during his brief stay in Paris. Information about Magellan's Strait and the Spanish colony there was of very special interest, for (following on the heels of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet) Hakluyt's friend Thomas Cavendish had set out to pass that way into the Pacific only a few months earlier in the same year. He had been one of the members of the first Virginia colony, but he needed money, and the emulation of Drake's exploits was more to his taste.

#### 7. OPUS MAJUS

Cavendish came home rich, but to Hakluyt it was of greater importance that he brought back much geographical material, including a great map of China, and bestowed it on his friend. He brought, besides, two intelligent men from Japan and the Philippines respectively, whom the parson interrogated, but without making any notes of these conversations for publication. Hakluyt's collection of notes and documents must already have been very large, but so far it had been made with particular reference to America, and consequently, now that he had in view a complete and balanced survey of all the English voyages of which he could find record, a tremendous task still remained to be done. The work occupied, in fact, the greater part of a year (from about November 1588 to November 1589), and as he held no appointment besides the Bristol prebend, it is reasonable to suppose that the editor divided his time between the latter city, London, and possibly Oxford.

A very substantial proportion of the first edition of the *English Voyages* consisted of reprints of works already, and in most cases quite recently, published in London. For such reprinting, how-

<sup>1</sup> This was the man who undertook the negotiations regarding Drake's robberies of 1578-9. There is little doubt that he acted as a spy. Sarmiento (according to a report by the Ambassador) had scoffed at the kindness of the Queen and Raleigh as evidence of weakness when he was among the enemies of England, although professing his gratitude and ready service when he believed his words would reach Stafford's ears.

ever, Ramusio's *Viaggi* afforded a precedent of which Hakluyt had already proved the usefulness. No library of separate works could have provided the reader with so telling and illuminating a review of English maritime history as his single-volume collection with its careful arrangement of matter according to time and place. Ramusio, however, had linked the original narratives, or introduced them, by pieces from his own pen, and this, fortunately or unfortunately, Hakluyt failed to do. His personal contributions were limited to the Dedication,<sup>1</sup> Preface<sup>2</sup> and Table of Contents, with a very few critical notes<sup>3</sup> and comments, and an occasional compilation of material not available in narrative form.<sup>4</sup> From time to time he acted as amanuensis to travellers who were unable or unwilling to face the task of writing down their experiences, but it is a matter for surprise that such services were so rarely needed. The average Elizabethan merchant, factor, purser or pilot was capable of expressing himself fluently, often dramatically, and a comparison of the few original manuscripts available with the printed versions suggests that Hakluyt made few changes, save in the spelling of words.

According to Hakluyt, it was Edward Dyer who had chiefly encouraged his undertaking, but Walsingham's position as Secretary of State, and the part he had played in fostering Western discoveries, made him the fitting recipient of the Dedication, which is largely autobiographical. The names chosen, in addition to Dyer's, for special mention in the Preface are those of Richard Staper, one of the founders of the Levant Company, William Borough, Clerk to the Navy, Anthony Jenkinson, formerly Ambassador to Russia, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple. They make an imposing group enough, and the more closely the elder Hakluyt's work is examined, the more it becomes plain that it was no mere family sentiment that gave him a place beside these distinguished men.

Oliver Hakluyt was still at Christ Church in 1589, having recently taken a degree in medicine, and the date when Richard

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 65, p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 66, p. 401.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 64, p. 395.

<sup>4</sup> Doc. 64, p. 385. There were serious errors in this compiled material, so that it may perhaps be fortunate that the editor obtruded himself so little.

resigned his studentship (the equivalent of a fellowship) is obscure. In the Index of his *Principal Navigations*, presumably compiled when the work was practically complete, he describes himself as 'of Oxford', but on the title-page, which would be printed just before the book left the press (in late January or February 1590) he is called 'student some-time of Christ Church, Oxford'. His studentship was only necessarily terminable on marriage, and it is not unlikely that he relinquished it on his betrothal to Douglas Cavendish,<sup>1</sup> and that his marriage took place in the spring of 1590 (1589 old style). The daughter of John Dee's scholarly friend Richard Cavendish, a Suffolk man well known in London and at Court, her name suggests that she may have been a god-daughter of Douglas Howard, Lady Sheffield. Certainly, just at this time Lady Sheffield presented Hakluyt to a living in her gift, that of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, to which he was inducted in April 1590. Her son, Sir Robert Dudley, went up to Christ Church in 1587, and married a first cousin of Douglas Cavendish in 1592, when only nineteen. This girl was sister to Thomas Cavendish the navigator. At the date thus problematically assigned to Hakluyt's marriage, his youngest brother Edmond was tutor to Lord William Howard, nephew to Lady Sheffield.<sup>2</sup> The whole situation is typical of the relations existing in Tudor times between the nobility and the gently born professional and intellectual classes. The tutor, the chaplain, the physician, the librarian, were treated by those employing them as members of the family, and intermarriage was not uncommon.

In March 1589, Hakluyt had become one of the second group of assigns of Raleigh's Virginia patent, for his views on colonisation remained unchanged. Among the notable men associated with him as patentees were Thomas Smythe and William Sanderson, the former the patron of Thomas Hood the mathe-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Parke, who translated Mendoza's *China* at Hakluyt's request, referred to him towards the close of 1588 as 'late of Oxford' (in the Dedication prepared for New Year's Day 1589). It would, however, be natural for a layman who knew that Hakluyt had exchanged Oxford residence for a chaplaincy in Paris to use such an expression.

<sup>2</sup> John Dee's third wife, Jane Fromonds, was a lady of the household of Lord Charles Howard's wife, Lord William's mother. Leland says that both the Cavendish and the Sheffield families belonged to the Isle of Axholme.

matical lecturer, the latter the patron of John Davis the navigator and Emery Molyneux the globe and compass maker. But the enterprise remained in abeyance, and Hakluyt's first years at Wetheringsett were spent in quiet domesticity.<sup>1</sup> His cousin the lawyer died in March 1591, his brother Edmond less than two years later, by which date his eldest brother Thomas was now also dead. Edmond Hakluyt's will<sup>2</sup> reveals a curious personality not without charm. Written while he was in perfect health, it yet breathes a nostalgia for death, for Edmond had found no dearer objects in life than the cousin and brother who had pre-deceased him, although he could speak tenderly of Richard Hakluyt the preacher. The ring to be given to 'my gentle cousin Vernon at her house' hints at a romance, but this lady cannot be identified. As tutor to William Howard, the Lord High Admiral's son, Edmond had lived at Court, and his wardrobe, which filled three trunks, included satin suits, and two magnificent silk cloaks, one black, the other peach-colour lined with taffeta, which he bestowed on the parson as his executor. He left directions that borrowed books, which he had lent again to a clergyman at Twickenham, were to be returned to their owner or their value made up. Stock held in Ireland was to be realised, and his landed property at Eyton was to go to his brother Richard and his heirs male, or failing them to the issue of his brother Oliver or of his sisters. Thomas had died leaving no son, and Richard was childless when the will was written. Six months later Edmond was dead and Richard came to London to obtain probate of the will in the beginning of February 1593. Oliver was married by this time and had consequently left Christ Church for Eyton, where he founded a family of sons and daughters.

The first traceable return of Richard Hakluyt to his geographical work is in 1594, when at his own request he received

<sup>1</sup> But he found occasion to visit his London friends, and sent through Cole a message to Ortelius referring to his edition of Laudonnière's *Florida*, and asking the great cartographer to publish a map of the region to the north of Mexico. Ortelius replied in August, 1590, that he would gladly do so if Hakluyt would furnish him with material, "*non sine honorifica Domini Haccluti mentione, in ea*". (Hessels, *loc. cit.*, p. 443.)

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 68, p. 413.

from the ex-Governor John White an account of his last attempt to reach the unhappy Virginia colonists of 1586. Young Sir Robert Dudley at about this time planned a voyage for the South Seas, but being refused permission to sail, took his ships to Trinidad and the West Indies instead. Hakluyt begged him to keep a Journal, and although Dudley declared the voyage to be so common "as it is not worth the registering", he adds: "Nevertheless, I have yeilded to your former importunity", and his narrative was added to the parson's collection on his return. In May 1594 James Lancaster and his lieutenant Edmund Barker reached home from the pioneer voyage by the Cape to the East Indies. Barker was an Ipswich man, and Hakluyt interviewed him, writing down from his lips the narrative subsequently printed in the *Principal Navigations*. Later on in the same year Hakluyt received through his old friend Emanuel van Meteren a request for his expert opinion on points concerning the north-east passage.<sup>1</sup> Immediately he was full of ardour, for Barker (confirmed by Lancaster) had informed him that the Portuguese had discovered the coast of eastern Asia to 59° N. "giving great hope of the north-east or north-west passage".

Since the disappearance of the Spanish menace, the Dutch had pursued a forward policy as regards overseas expansion, and although they had their own geographical expert in Pastor Peter Plancius, differences of opinion naturally arose. It was the scholarly Governor of Zealand who wished to consult Hakluyt. He recalled the long-ago debate upon Arctic problems between Gilbert and Jenkinson, with the Queen and Privy Council as audience. He had been reading, too, such writers as John of Plano Carpini, and Abulfeda, and found their interpretation difficult. Hakluyt was very ready<sup>2</sup> to set out fully all the information he had on the whole question of the Arctic passages, but as to do so would involve a journey from Suffolk to London, and a stay of several weeks, he stipulated first for a suitable fee. Van Meteren, who had watched his career for twenty years, was well aware that no one in England was so fully informed as Hakluyt, and, after spending a day with him discussing the material to be used, he wrote to the Governor to advise com-

<sup>1</sup> Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.* p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 71, p. 418.



pliance with the Englishman's demands. From a phrase that he uses it is possible to infer that the last few years of geographical inactivity had been very grievous to Hakluyt, who saw his former friends and patrons interested only in war and plunder, rather than in discovery and overseas planting. Sir Francis Walsingham, who had been so staunch a supporter of the various American enterprises, had died less than seven months after the publication of the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*, and no great officer of State carried on his policy of expansion.

In his very first letter to his old friend, Hakluyt pledged van Meteren to secrecy, which he declared was of great importance to himself, and it is indeed somewhat surprising to find the ardent English patriot assisting a rival power. Perhaps pique had something to do with it, perhaps the need for money, for it was over a year since the birth of his only son Edmond. Two years later, in 1597, Douglas Hakluyt died,<sup>1</sup> and the widower was set tragically free to absorb himself again in the publication of chronicles of travel and discovery. Once more he is seen to be arranging or encouraging among his friends the publication of translations of foreign voyages to new or little known lands, at this period particularly those of the Dutch<sup>2</sup>, and as was the case in his Paris days he found ready support from the printer John Wolfe, to whom he indicated suitable subjects and introduced competent translators.

In 1598 the idea of peace with Spain and the consequent formulation of a new commercial treaty was under discussion. Some relevant notes, which from internal evidence can be assigned to this year, follow so closely on the lines of certain sections of the still unpublished *Discourse of Western Planting*,

<sup>1</sup> The Parish Registers of Wetheringsett contain entries of the christening of Edmond Hakluyt on June 3, 1593, and the burial of his mother on August 8, 1597.

<sup>2</sup> Of these the most important was Linschoten's collection of Voyages, rich in practical information about the East Indies and the voyage thither. The translation, by William Philip, was accompanied by the numerous maps and illustrations which beautified the original, the maps being newly engraved by English craftsmen. The contents included a version of Pigafetta's *Relation of Congo*, the translation of which Hakluyt had earlier induced Abraham Hartwell to undertake from the original of 1591. Hartwell was the Archbishop of Canterbury's secretary, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries.

that they may fairly certainly be assigned to Hakluyt.<sup>1</sup> They deal with the limits of the actual occupation of the New World by the Spaniards, as opposed to the extent of their discoveries, and with the general question of the freedom of the seas, while they emphasise the rights of England to the vast area north of 32° lat. "which countries being greater than all Europe, and in goodness nothing inferior thereunto, are by no meanes by us to be given over unto them who have already a great deal more than they can weild". Reference is made to the colony "yet there remaining", a reminder that John White in his recent report to Hakluyt of his visit of 1591 had taken the hopeful view that as he did not find at Roanoke the agreed signal of distress, the colonists had merely moved up country of their own volition.

To draw up such notes as these was a trifling task compared with the labours involved in the preparation of the great new edition of the *Principal Navigations* which Hakluyt's circle of friends now demanded from him. How tedious was the work of searching among the records kept at the Tower of London only those who have worked through uncalendared manuscripts can realise. Bristol archives, too, were not neglected and a nephew of the Robert Thorne of King Henry VIII's days brought out the old account books of the family firm for the prebendary's inspection.

The dedication<sup>2</sup> of Volume I was to the head of that family to which Hakluyt held himself so deeply beholden, the Howards of Effingham. But not only was the Earl of Nottingham a Howard, and so for personal reasons the fitly chosen patron of a work by a Hakluyt, he was also the victorious admiral of the *Annus Mirabilis*, and so for public reasons the rightful recipient of a work that was essentially England's sea-story. As courtesy demanded, all mention of the earlier edition offered to the late Sir Francis Walsingham was suppressed, nor was the topic of colonisation (an activity in which the earl had played no part) mentioned in the Dedication. But Hakluyt's prefatory epistles were never merely laudatory, they were a means by which he gave publicity to such problems or plans as he deemed of importance. The Lord High Admiral might be expected to interest

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 72, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 73, p. 426.

himself in the training of seamen, and hence the case for the establishment of a Lectureship in Navigation was once more persuasively put forward by the parson of Wetheringsett, who (although no mathematician himself) had continued to make a most careful study of the Spanish methods of admission and training of pilots and of their Navigating Manuals. The Gresham lectures "some of them...tending to the advancement of Marine causes", and begun in the previous year 1597, are duly mentioned, but something much more practical and directly adapted to seamen's needs was in his mind. There were plenty of men who, like Thomas Hood,<sup>1</sup> gave lessons in the use of charts and instruments for a fee, but as Hood's extant works show, his abilities were not of a high order, and this may be why Hakluyt makes no mention of his mathematical lectures given under Lumley's and Sir T. Smythe's patronage. Fortunately (for although Lord Charles Howard made vague promises he took no active steps in the matter) the brilliant Edward Wright was already at work on the subject even as Hakluyt wrote, and, before another year was out, England ceased to be dependent upon foreign writers for any really able exposition of the science of navigation.<sup>2</sup>

During the nine years that had elapsed since the publication of the first edition of the *Voyages*, Hakluyt's prose style had altered and become more mannered, more stilted and more ornate. This may be explained by his passage from the prime of manhood to middle age, but also by the changing fashions of the times. A host of neologisms which formerly good taste had barred, most of them words built up from Greek and Latin roots, had now gained currency and even welcome. With the elaboration of vocabulary, style tended also to become more exuberant, and these new trends, carried to a fantastic extreme, had been crystallised and made fashionable by Lyly in his *Euphues*.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth twinned adjectives, matched phrases, far-fetched metaphors, rhetorical questions, and a general overload of ornament, bade fair in lesser men's hands to destroy the

<sup>1</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 73 *et seqq.* See also below, p. 431 n.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of *Euphues* was published in 1579, but it takes time for a new style to reach those who are not professional *littérateurs*.

shapely beauty of Elizabethan English. How disastrous it was for Hakluyt to attempt 'fine writing' may be judged by contrasting the opening sentences of his two *Prefaces to the Reader*. "I have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee briefly with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand by whose friendly aide in this my travel I have been furthered...." Thus in musical and limpid prose he wrote in 1589 but in 1598 we read: "Having for the *benefit* and *honour* of my Country, zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much *traveile* and *cost*, to bring Antiquities *smothered* and *buried* in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the *greedy* and *devouring* jawes of oblivion: to *gather* likewise and as it were to *incorporate* into one body, the *torn* and *scattered* limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandize by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true *joints* and *ligaments*..." and so on for half a dozen lines more before he brings his laboriously turned euphuistic sentence to a close. 'Reputation', 'inauguration', 'surcease', 'alacrity', 'ambiguous', 'pertinent', 'unaffected', 'provident', 'profound', 'achieved', 'munificent', 'magnanimity', 'intercept', 'epiphonema', are but a handful of examples of the new words or new usages of then rare words which Hakluyt employed in his later writings. He even thought it necessary to apologise for the 'harsh and *unaffected* style' and the 'unpolished' manner of the writer of the *Libell of English Policie*, a work which his excellent geographical judgment led him to praise, and to include in his collection after (as he claims) a careful collation of the several manuscript versions.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless when he loses himself in the eager narration of events, his own style becomes once more, if not quite 'unaffected', yet virile and musical as though he is now substituting Sidney for Lyly as his model: "Then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmarke, to

<sup>1</sup> By modern standards of scholarship Hakluyt's version is a poor one.

double the dreadfull and misty North Cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the sevenfold mouth of Dwina." Such passages of pure poetry seem to flow from Hakluyt's pen almost unawares, and when he forgets to clothe them in Latinisms his antitheses and his imaginative metaphors charm us by their surprise. How vivid is the picture of the fleeing Lathyrus "valing down the Arabian bay" and of the humiliation of the Spanish flotilla when Lord Charles Howard "enforced them to stoope gallant and to vaile their bonets for the Queene". The charm of paired phrases is seen in: "Suppose that Columbus...escried unknowen lands", "did not Sir Hugh Willoughby...accoast Nova Zembla?" Or again: "Our English nation", he says of the Dutch explorers, "led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch".<sup>1</sup>

When he wrote his Dedication<sup>2</sup> to Lord Charles Howard in October 1598, Hakluyt planned to have the second and third volumes published in the following spring. But his patron apparently failed to obtain for him the material assistance for which he had hoped, and it was not until October came round again that the second part of the collection was ready, and, as Volume II, was offered not to the Lord Admiral but to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State.<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt was, of course, well known to Cecil, who had consulted him in the summer that his wife died about the aptitude of Guiana for English settlement. This was no doubt on the occasion of the return, in June 1597, of Raleigh's third expedition commanded by Captain Berry, which arrived in England when Raleigh himself was away in the Azores with Essex. Cecil was no friend to Raleigh's colonising schemes,<sup>4</sup> but he carefully weighed all the pros and cons, and his exact knowledge of America was a matter of surprise to Hakluyt. The Secretary had subsequently, as it appears, by his "favourable letters written in my behalfe" furthered Hakluyt's material interests, and the phrase probably

<sup>1</sup> The satirical meaning of 'leading someone a dance' had not yet appeared.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 73, p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 76, p. 453.

<sup>4</sup> But he had given Raleigh some financial support in 1595, and the *Discovery of Guiana* (1596) was addressed jointly to Admiral Lord Howard and Cecil.

refers to efforts to obtain for him some church preferment. A month after the second Dedication was written, Hakluyt was granted, at Cecil's request, the next reversion of a chaplaincy of the Savoy, and in the following May he was recommended by the Privy Council to a London living likely soon to fall vacant. The reason given for this recommendation was that his services in the matter of discovery were valuable, and it was desirable to provide him with a residence in London. The living did not fall vacant, but at the end of August Hakluyt became unexpectedly assured of a far more important position in the capital. Some time since, Lord Admiral Howard and Cecil had jointly recommended the Queen to grant him the next vacant prebend at Westminster. She had decidedly refused, and, when Hakluyt had given up all thought of the matter, had as suddenly changed her mind. Four days after this alteration in his prospects the Dedication to Cecil of Volume III was written.<sup>1</sup>

Both the epistles to the Secretary of State are cautiously worded, for these were days when it was easy to give cause of offence. Nevertheless, it is clear that Hakluyt's heart was still set on two projects, the colonisation of Virginia and the improvement of the training of pilots and seamen. As a sincere Christian, war must have been hateful to him, and still more hateful the current argument that peace was not desirable because it would throw so many active young men out of employment. "There is under our noses [he wrote] the great and ample country of Virginia", where "the superfluitie of every profession in this realme" might find room. Such was his unalterable conviction, although it is clear that he had now no real hope of the survival of Raleigh's second colony, unheard of for over twelve years.

#### 8. A CLERICAL DIGNITARY

John Pory's *Africa* was ready for publication rather more than two months after the completion of the *Principal Navigations*, and, as it was intended to be a 'large illustration' of the more general work, it was dedicated likewise to Robert Cecil.<sup>2</sup> If

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 79, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 80, p. 475.

Hakluyt had hoped that Pory (whom he had been training since the year his wife died) would take his place as national geographical adviser and leave him free to devote himself to clerical and domestic duties, he was to be disappointed, for the younger man wrote no more.<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of 1599 schemes for the establishment of an East India trade were well advanced, when renewed plans for peace with Spain made them appear untimely to the Queen's advisers. A document<sup>2</sup> was drawn up on behalf of the disappointed promoters, and for the assistance of the Commissioners for the Peace Treaty, which set out the areas in the East to which Spain could have no possible claim, and which cited such a wealth of authorities as only Hakluyt is known to have had at his fingers' ends. The document resembles in several particulars that drawn up two years earlier regarding the West Indies, and while neither is in Hakluyt's handwriting, nor in all probability finally worded by him, there seem to be conclusive proofs of his authorship. The English translation of Galvano's *History of Discovery*, for example, is mentioned, although at this date it existed only as a manuscript in Hakluyt's hands; so too, the name of the author of the *Description of China*, Duarte Sande, is here given for the first time. Hakluyt had translated this *Description* from the precious Portuguese original which had been one of the spoils from the *Madre de Dios*, but he had printed this translation in the *Principal Navigations* without assigning the authorship to Sande. All the geographical materials (including maps) obtained from this prize were handed over to Hakluyt, and they included the Register of the East Indies also mentioned in the Notes of which the provenance is under discussion.<sup>3</sup>

The East India Company's Charter was finally obtained on December 30, 1600, and within a month Hakluyt was reading

<sup>1</sup> He went into Parliament, and twenty years later, to the American colonies.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 78, p. 465.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Burrough took the *Madre de Dios* in the Azores in 1592. The writer of an account of the action says that by the capture the English gained "the broad light of full and perfect knowledge" of "those secret trades and Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden" (*Principal Navigations*, VII, p. 105). For Duarte Sande, see A. Cortesão, *loc. cit.* p. 162.

to the Committees his *Advices* of which the written Notes (completed subsequently) are extant.<sup>1</sup> The Court Minute relating to the payment made for these services (which included the provision of maps<sup>2</sup>) refers also to assistance which the parson had given in the previous year, doubtless in drawing up the document already discussed.

The annotation of the anonymous English manuscript version of Galvano, and its publication in 1601, seems to have been undertaken by Hakluyt as a compliment to Cecil, whom he named in the Dedication as the only patron who had rewarded his cosmographical labours.<sup>3</sup> The Secretary of State had in fact appointed him to be one of his own chaplains, pending the falling in of the promised reversions. Within six months, however, the new prebend sat in his stall at Westminster,<sup>4</sup> and within a further two years he was enjoying a chaplaincy of the Savoy. In March 1604 he married a comfortable widow of about his own age, and henceforth played a less active part in affairs outside his profession. By this time little Edmond Hakluyt was about eleven years old, and a scholar at his father's old school.

The year 1602, however, had seen a renewal of interest in Virginia, and his late cousin's *Inducements*, prepared for the Old Colonists, were added, no doubt at Hakluyt's instance, to a little volume of propaganda narratives and essays that appeared towards the end of that year.<sup>5</sup> In the New Year he went down to Bristol, to induce his friends there to assist matters by sending an expedition to North Virginia, and, at their request, he visited Sir Walter Raleigh (accompanied by two of Captain Gosnold's men) in order to be able to assure them that the

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 81, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> One of these was an Italian map taken from the great carrack *Madre de Dios* referred to above.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 82, p. 483.

<sup>4</sup> He was Archdeacon for the year 1603-4.

<sup>5</sup> Dr Fulmer Mood (*New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. 83) has shown that Gosnold whose voyage is recorded, and Brereton under whose name the work appeared, were Suffolk men, and county neighbours of Hakluyt's. He is thus linked indirectly with the activities of 1602, as well as directly with those of 1603. The year 1602 also saw a renewal of the search for the North-west Passage, led by Captain George Waymouth, who was subsequently employed (1605) on a Virginia voyage. The two enterprises, for a Passage and a Colony, are not to be separated, for they were not separable in Hakluyt's view.



latter's original patent was not being infringed, for Raleigh had lodged a complaint with regard to the voyage of 1602. A few days before the ship from Bristol sailed, the Queen had died. On the accession of James I, the negotiations for peace with Spain were again opened, and this time brought to a successful conclusion. It was in this connexion that a note was prepared, on the general lines of that made in the year 1600, setting out the places in the East Indies where the Portuguese had settled, and those with which they had nothing to do.<sup>1</sup> This note may merely have been drawn up by some clerk from Hakluyt's earlier ones, but equally it may have been his own.

Hakluyt continued to add to his collection of geographical manuscripts all his life, for each glimpse we have of him in his later years reveals that navigation and navigators were still his chief preoccupation. Once the breach with Spain was healed he had fresh opportunities for international friendships of the kind that had so delighted him and proved so fruitful in Paris. The old Portuguese pilot Simon Fernandez was back in England, and related to the parson the story of a recent voyage from Peru to Solomon's Islands while he was sitting in the midst of an interested circle of Portuguese friends. He had conversations in the Spanish Ambassador's house with Luis Tribaldo, and these, like his subsequent correspondence with the same gentleman, turned chiefly on the South Seas, which Quiros' *Memorials* had made an absorbing topic.

Nevertheless, he remained true to Virginia as holding (if colonised) the key to English problems, and when the Virginia Company was chartered in 1606, Hakluyt's name was in the list of the patentees. He even obtained a dispensation which permitted him to go out himself to America and become if he chose a clerical dignitary in the proposed colony without relinquishing his four English preferments (for he appears not to have been actually inducted to the London living sought for him in 1600). Wisely enough, he did not go, for he was four and fifty years old, but doubtless he had some part and some pleasure in drawing up the *Instructions by way of Advice* prepared by the Council for the first colonists.<sup>2</sup> His great knowledge and

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 84, p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 87, p. 492.

experience formed too valuable an asset to be neglected, but there is no direct evidence on the point.

The year 1608 had been marked by the dispute between the United Provinces and the King of Spain concerning the right of other nationals to trade in East India. A pamphlet published on the subject in London in March was suppressed at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador,<sup>1</sup> but in April 1609 a treaty was concluded between the parties and still later in the year the brilliant young Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, published his famous tract entitled *Mare Liberum*. This work so delighted Hakluyt, who had long urged on the English behalf its doctrine of *Lex naturae*, that he rendered it into his mother tongue.<sup>2</sup> But the growing Anglo-Dutch trade rivalries were giving a new turn to English ideas of freedom of the seas and the translation (which was not accompanied by any notes or comments) never went to press.

Only one further piece of Hakluyt's writing (apart from his will) has survived: the Dedication of his translation of de Soto under the title *Virginia richly Valued*.<sup>3</sup> It reveals him steadfast as ever in his belief in the wide potentialities of the New World, careful as ever to give chapter and verse for his beliefs. A short time before he wrote he had been listening to his old friend Thomas Hariot putting before the Council of Virginia certain conclusions as to America's resources which could be drawn from the experiences of the Old Colony. A few days later the Rev. Wm. Symonds was preaching a farewell sermon to a new batch of colonists. In May they left the Channel and in the same month Hakluyt took up shares in the Company under its second charter.

At long last Virginia had been finally and successfully launched: so too had England's Far Eastern trade. The work now to be

<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register (Arber's *Transcript*) on March 5, 1608, as follows: "A Declaracon of the proceedings of the Peace nowe intreatinge of betweene the kinge of Spaine and Th'archduke and the generall estates of the United Provinces. With an abstract of Diverse reasons and arguments aleged by the Netherlands to prove that the Generall States ought not by any meanes to grant unto the Discontinuanee of their trade and traffique with the East Indies."

<sup>2</sup> A specimen of Hakluyt's translation is given in Doc. 88, p. 497.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. 89, p. 499.

done was not that of literary propaganda, but of wise administration. Meanwhile a certain Samuel Purchas was already engaged, as a humble admirer and imitator of Hakluyt, in collecting geographical histories, relations and references to delight a new generation with changed tastes and views. But the elder man had not quite ceased work. At the first inception of the East India Company, the promoters had thought it wise to bear in mind the possibility of a shorter and safer way thither by the Arctic. Hakluyt had then<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* in 1601) offered them the fruits of twenty years' study of the Arctic Passage problem, his notes going back to the days when he wrote to Mercator about the voyage of Pet and Jackman. To these twenty years' observations he had now added yet another ten, for from Josias Logan's letters<sup>2</sup> to him in 1611, it is clear that he was still arranging to receive information about the north Siberian shores and rivers. The rival views of John Dee and Mercator had not yet been resolved, and Hakluyt's interest was unabated.

Much more important than Logan's letters were the reports of Hudson's last voyage which came into Hakluyt's hands the same year. The discovery of Hudson's Bay naturally revived the hopes of a sea-way through it to Cathay, and Hakluyt became a Charter member of the new North-west Passage Company which was incorporated in 1612. Sir Dudley Digges, son of John Dee's old friend Thomas, was a leading figure in this enterprise, but it was Sir Thomas Smythe's house that was the scene of geographical consultations and the centre and clearing-house for information of every sort, whether it dealt with the north, south, east or west. Hither Hakluyt brought a piece of work that he thought might prove of practical use,<sup>3</sup> an English rendering of a *Conversation Manual* originally written by a Dutchman for use in the East Indies. The Dutch sentences had been turned into Latin by Gothard Arthus, and in this form the dialogues were published in the *Grand Voyages* of De Bry. Hakluyt translated the Latin into idiomatic English, and when Sir Thomas Smythe received his version he turned it over for revision to an East India merchant who had a dozen years' experience behind him. Consequently, when the English-

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 81, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 90, p. 504.

<sup>3</sup> See also p. 510, n. 1.

Malayan *Dialogues* appeared in 1614, they bore the name of this merchant, Augustine Spalding.<sup>1</sup> They make entertaining reading. The conversation describing a supper party for example gives a delightfully intimate and touching picture of a Dutch interior of the period, but it is difficult to imagine that it could be of much use to a factor in the Far East.

Of the closing years of Hakluyt's life our knowledge is very scanty. In 1611 his son Edmond was elected to a studentship at Trinity College, Cambridge (as over forty years earlier his uncle Thomas had been), and the next year Richard himself was presented to the living of Gedney in Lincolnshire by his brother Oliver. This was the year in which he made his will,<sup>2</sup> most probably on some threat of serious illness. In it he left a trifling sum to Michael Lok the younger, son of his dead friend, whom in the same year he had induced to prepare and publish an English translation of his own edition of Peter Martyr's *Decades*, first published a quarter of a century earlier.

It was in November 1612 that Purchas's *Pilgrimage* had first made its appearance, a work well calculated to delight Hakluyt, who made himself known to the author and took a grave pleasure in displaying his treasures in the shape of maps, manuscripts, pictures and curios to the new recruit to historical geography. As Purchas understood it, he was eventually to possess all this wealth of material, and edit it in Hakluyt's stead. The elder man possibly intended to add a codicil to his will, but in the year of his death, either through some misunderstanding, or through some irritability of Hakluyt's over the sudden popularity of his successor, the two men were estranged. Hence, although *Hakluytus Posthumus* at length saw the light, it was only after Purchas had been at great pains and gone to some expense to secure the precious manuscripts. This is not difficult to understand. Edmond Hakluyt was barely twenty-three when his father died, and had no interest in discovery: nor had his stepmother. They therefore naturally regarded only the pecuniary value of the manuscripts. It must be looked upon as fortunate that so much that might have been irremediably lost was in fact preserved

<sup>1</sup> Doc. 92, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> Doc. 91, p. 506.

for posterity by the pertinacity and devotion of Samuel Purchas. For this his faults as editor can be forgiven, the more so as his labours shortened his life.

Of Hakluyt's character we can form at least some estimate. Bred up at Oxford on Aristotle, he was not an original thinker, and neither scientific problems nor philosophical speculations appealed to him. Yet, because the geography and cosmography of a New World afforded a stimulus both to the imagination and the intellect, Hakluyt was welcomed and admired in two of the most famous coteries of his day, though a member of neither. Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Edward Dyer, who gathered their fellow poets about them, were among his earliest patrons, while Sir Walter Raleigh and Thomas Hariot, whose daring speculations invited the darkest suspicions of the conservative and ignorant, were his intimate friends. To such men Hakluyt must have seemed a little old-fashioned. He was plain and practical, loving his Queen, his country, his Church and his fellow-men just as he found them.<sup>1</sup> But he had a passion for the truth, for collecting and sifting evidence, and for presenting it without distortion. This lent him distinction above his fellows. It is perhaps to his early association with his cousin the lawyer that we may trace that insistence on giving the *ipsissima verba* of his witnesses and authorities which prevented him from writing a *History of Discovery* or a *Cosmography* in his own words. His university training in logic and formal disputation influenced him in the same direction, and he was early familiar with the minute documentary analysis by which a Mercator or a John Dee sought to deduce the trend of a coast or the existence of a strait. The single long *Discourse* of 1584 remains to show what he might have accomplished as an original writer, but as the event has proved, his care to give the reader only exact transcripts of documents and records of first-hand statements has proved infinitely precious to later historians.

A winning and persuasive manner must have been among his gifts, for he was as successful in his interrogations of returned

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt appears to have been sincere in his religious convictions, but he was no puritan, just as he was no idealist. He saw no incongruity in a Church organised to subserve the interests of the State.

travellers as in his fruitful interviews with business men. It is permissible to believe that the affectionate respect of three practical seamen prompted the naming of Hakluyt's Headland, Mount Hakluyt, and Hakluyt Island by Hudson, Fotherby and Baffin respectively. It was only his due, for he was importunate in their interests.

Hakluyt continued to make Wetheringsett his home from time to time, and carried out his duties there down to his death. But this cure of souls was not a large one, and he was also able to maintain (and presumably use) his chambers in Bristol, at the Savoy, and in Westminster.<sup>1</sup> It was in London that he died. In William Camden's notes upon the reign of James I we read: "1616, Nov. 23. *Richardus Hakluyt, Prebendarius Westmonasterius obiit.*" A scholar of Westminster School, he was buried in Westminster Abbey where as a boy he had worshipped. But his grave is unknown, his works are his sole monument.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Parish Registers of Wetheringsett show an average of nine burials, fourteen christenings and four weddings annually during Hakluyt's incumbency. He kept a curate, as is proved by the registration of the burial of Antonie Harvey, the holder of this office, in 1608. It may be assumed, perhaps, that he resided in London during term, for he boarded a few of the scholars attending Westminster School (Bruner Parks, *op. cit.*).

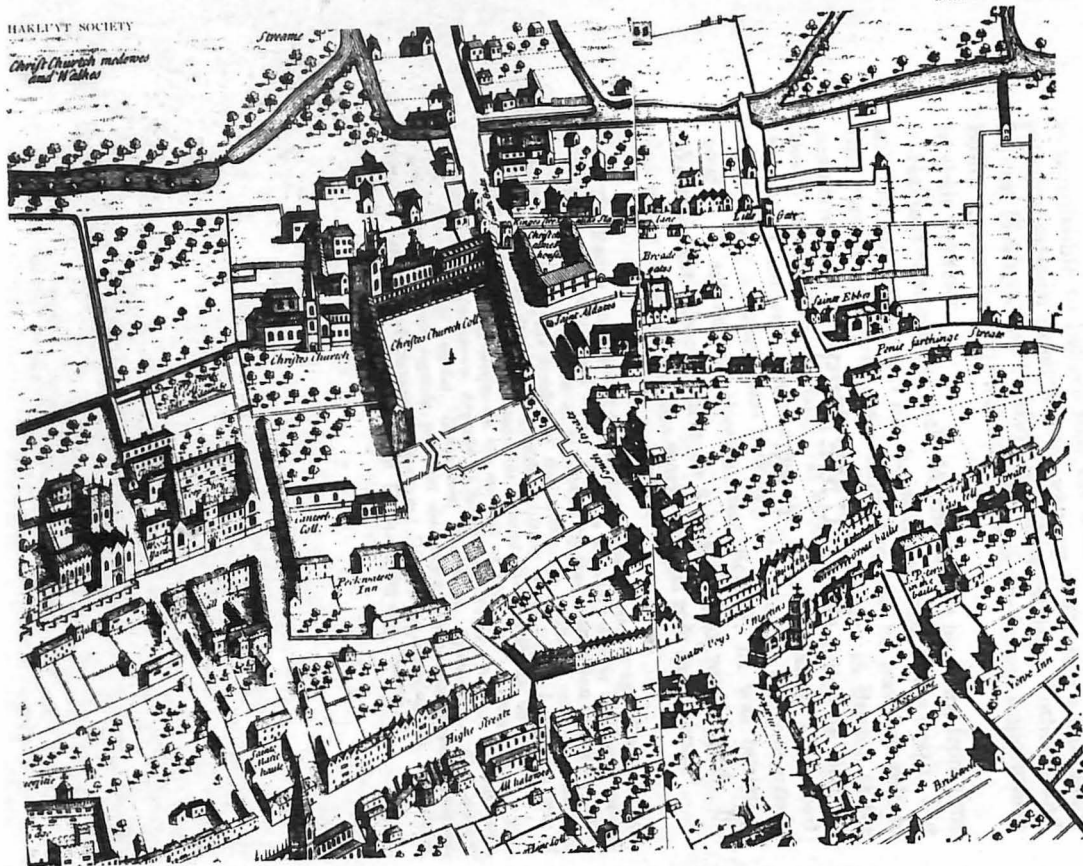
<sup>2</sup> Gabriel Harvey wrote on the margin of his copy of Quintilian: "*Tria vividissima Britannorum ingenia, Chaucerus, Morus, Juellus. Quibus addo tres florentissimas indoles, Heiudum, Sidneium, Spencerum. Qui quaerit illustriora Anglorum ingenia, inveniet obscuriora. Perpaucos excipio; eorumque primos, Smithum, Aschamum, Vilsonum; Diggesium, Blundeuilum, Hacluitum, mea corcula—Digges, Blundeville, Hakluyt, my dear hearts!*"

# DOCUMENTS

I-45

HAKLUYT SOCIETY

*Christ Church meadows  
and Walkes*



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD, AND BRODSEGATES HALL.  
From Robert Whittlesey's engraving of Ralph Agas' Plan of Oxford, 1578.



## Document 1

WILL OF RICHARD HAKLUYT, Skinner

31 March 1557

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The last daye of Marche in the yere of our Lorde God a thousand five hundreth fiftie and seaven, and in the thirde & fourthe yeres of the Reigne of our soveraigne Lord and Ladye Phillip and Marie by the grace of god Kinge and Quene of Englande Spayne Fraunce both Cicilles Jerusalem and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austriche, Dukes of Burgundie Millayne and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge Flaunders and Tiroll. I Richard Hachelett Citizen and Skynner of London dwelling within the Parishe of St. Augustines at the lower ende of thold chaunge at Paules gate within the Citie of London being sicke in bodie with the visitation of almightie god that notwithstanding I am in good and parfyt mynde and memorie lawde and prayse be unto Almightye God, make declare and ordeyne this my presente testament and last will in manner & forme followinge (that is to saye) First and principally I do commende my soule into the handes of Almightye god my maker redeemer and onelie Savyor in whome and by the meretts of whose blessed passion I do verilie beleave to have free and clere remission and forgiveness of all my synnes which I have done and commytted againste god, either in worde thought or dede. And I will my bodie to be buried in the paryshe church of saynt Augustines aforesaid so nere unto the litell pulpitt in the same churche as maye conveniently be. Item I give and bequethe to the high Aulter of the same church for my tithes and oblacions by me negligently forgotten (yf any such be) iij*s*. iiij*d*. Item I give and bequeathe unto my Cosyn Richard Hachelett xls. in money. The residue of all my goodes moveable and unmoveable debts and other things whatsoever yt be or wheresoever it may be founde or knowen, my debts which I doe owe of right and justice first truelie and fullie contentyd satisfied and paid, and theis my legacies done and

performed and my bodie honestlie buried my funeralls discharged. I will and my verie mynde ys, it shalbe equally devyded into three equall partes according to the lawdable custome of the Citie of London (that is to saye one parte to my self, another to Margerie Hackelett my welbeloved wief And the thirde parte to be devyded amongst my children, parte and porcion lyke and every one of my childern to be others heyre) And I make of this my present testament and last will my said wief Margerie my sole executer desiring her to do for me deedes of pitie and charitie as she wolde I shulde for her (yf she were in case lyke). And I will and desire my said cosen Richard Hackelett to be overseer of this my presente testamente and last will, willing hym alwayes to be aydinge assisting and comfortinge of my said Executrix. And I give hym for his paynes therein taken the xls. above wrytten. Item. I will that according to my brother Sir Walter Hackeletts will and testament soche money be bestowed upon the poore and otherwyse at Oxforde as his will and testament purporteth at large. Amowntinge to the some of vijli, that ys to saye, to the poore in the parishe of St. Tolle vis. viijd. and to a priest of Brodegates<sup>1</sup> fyve markes for one yere and fyve markes for another yere to preche goddes worde and to praye for all christen soules. And I do utterlye revoke and disannull all and every former testaments wills legacies executors and Overseers by me before this tyme in anywise willed given or bequeathed. And I make and ordeyne this to be my verye last will and testament and none other but this onely. In wytnes whereof I the said Richard Hackelett to this my last will and testament have put my hande and seale the daye and yere first above wrytten. Thes being witnesses and testes of the same, that is to saye, sealed signed and knowledged to be his last will and testament in the presente of John Thatcher Willyam Burde Thomas Pope Merchant Taylors and Robert Davison Scryvener Citizens of London.

[Probate granted before Dr Wm. Cooke 27 May 1557 to Margerie Hacklett.]

<sup>1</sup> Broadgates was a Hall of Residence at Oxford.

## Document 2

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1560-1563

The Abby also of Westminster . . . she [Elizabeth] converted to a Collegiate Church: and there she instituted to the glory of God, and increase of good literature, a Deane, twelve Prebendaries, a Schoole-master, an Usher, forty Schollers (called the Queenes Schollers, whereof sixe or more, are preferred every yeere to the Universities<sup>1</sup>), Ministers, Singing-men, twelve Almes-men, etc. and this certainly with happy increase of learned men both for the Church and Common-wealth. . . . (1560.)

Now was Shan O'Neal come out of Ireland . . . with a Guard of Ax-bearing Galloglasses, bare-headed, with curled haire hanging downe, yellow surplices dyed with saffron, or mans stale, long sleeves, short coates, and hairy mantles: whom the English people gazed at with no lesse admiration than now a dayes they doe them of China & America. (1562.)

In the meane time, the French hostages which were sent into England for five hundred thousand Crownes for restoring of Calice, when they saw all things tend to warre, made preparation for their flying away, but when they were ready to take shipping, they were brought back againe, together with John Ribauld that famous pilot, who was come secretly into England to convey them away. . . . From this time the Spaniard was more incensed against the English, taking occasion for that the English pirates invested<sup>2</sup> the French upon the coastes of Spaine, and intended to set forth a voyage into West India.<sup>3</sup> (1563.)

<sup>1</sup> Richard Hakluyt and his two brothers, Thomas and Oliver, were of this number. Richard and Oliver were awarded studentships at Christ Church, Oxford, while Thomas went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, removing subsequently to the sister University, where he died.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* attacked (O.E.D.).

<sup>3</sup> These extracts are chosen as illustrating the atmosphere of England when the elder Hakluyt was making his way as a lawyer, and the younger was a Westminster boy. Jean Ribault's visit to England took place between his two colonising voyages to Florida. The Queen gave the subsequently notorious Thomas Stukeley a patent to plant English colonists on the River of May beside the Frenchmen: fortunately his party never reached America and so escaped massacre at the hands of the Spaniards. Yearly voyages to the West Indies were, however, now made by Hawkins, Lovell, Drake and others.

### Document 3

#### LETTER FROM ROGER BODENHAM<sup>1</sup>

31 August 1566

To the worshipfull Mr. ANTHONY PENNE, gentleman, be thies delyvered. (Recd. 19 Octr. 1566.)

What awaylithe [availeth] dilligens, labor or pollicie of man, yef it be not derected by godes will all is vayne. Hit is most surtayne that man may purpos but god doth despose. As now hit hath pleezed god to deale w<sup>th</sup> me and torne all my Joye in too sorow, in sowche wize as w<sup>th</sup> owt dowght yf he send me not paycons too suffer it, I am not able to bare it. I am sarten or this come to yo<sup>r</sup> handes ye have harde of my great misfortune. I wolde have wreten you of hit lounge or this, but that by no meanes I cowlde sete my penne to the paper, and now god knowes how I doe it and w<sup>th</sup> what payne, onlie bycawse I wil satisfye yowe howe it paste. The 29 daye of July, in the morning before daye at the cape sanct marye, being the coast of portugall, not past xxv leagues from Sainct Lucars or Cadyx whether I was bownde, even at home at myne owne dores, being calme w<sup>th</sup> owt brethe of wynd, I was besett w<sup>th</sup> seven gallies of towrkes of argell.<sup>2</sup> And all thowghe the matche was too moche for me, being so few men as I had w<sup>th</sup> mee, yet I put my selfe in order. And fought w<sup>th</sup> them frome the morning tyll noon, in the w<sup>ch</sup> fyght manye of my men were slayne, and all the reste sore hurte, soe that by no meanis we cowlde make any farther defens. And soe we wer all taken and striped nakyd, and put in too the gallis, the shippe soe beaton that I feare me shee sonke, for after the torkes had taken owt of her what they wolde, they lefte her driving in the see. In the serche of hir I can not fynd hir. The nexte daye after I was taken, the torkes went too Cadix, and there made sale of sarten [of us] to the number of a tenne persons, a mounge the w<sup>ch</sup> I was one, and p<sup>d</sup> for my bodye seven hunderd duckatts, w<sup>ch</sup> a ffriend of myne layd owt for me, and how I shall paye it

<sup>1</sup> For the occasion of this letter, see *supra*, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Turks of Algiers.

ageyne god knowis. All the reste he caryed away in sorrowfull captyvete, and the greatyste greaffe that I have, one of them is the small remedy that I fynde for there redemtion. The worste of them will not be redymed w<sup>th</sup> 300 ds. God send the remedye. The daye before I was taken the same torkes toke iij shippes that came out of thindias, with above 3 C thousand docattes, and manye men, women and childern, and were in one companye xxij shippes laden w<sup>th</sup> the kinges provizion, and more iiij lisbayne shippes, and iiij hulkes that came owt of fflaunders, and w<sup>th</sup> divers others. The lyke was never sene in thies partes nor harde of, nor I think wilbe ageyne. This notwithstandinge, if the shippe doe come to my handes as I hope she shal, yf she be not sonke, yf god be pleased I maye make a vyage w<sup>th</sup> her I dare saye that I will save the princypall of all mens partes, but and she be gone there is no remedy.

Whether Water<sup>1</sup> be alyve or deade I knowe not. God helpe them all. For sartenly how moche this grevis me, I am not able to expres. I praye you let me heare from yow and the lorde send you<sup>r</sup> hiltthe.

from Seville the laste of Auguste A<sup>o</sup>. 1566

by yo<sup>r</sup> sorrowfull

*Roger Bodenham*

Hit was never sene nor harde that the torkes dyd enye soche thyng in thies partes. Wherefore all men were owt of dowght of any sowche mater and dyd not mystrust any sowche thyng. Heare is many a hevvy harte, for it hath done moche harme in this citty, the takyng of the iij shippes that came out of thindias. And dayly they loke for the flett to come from thens and the torkes be heare tarieing for them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Walter Penn, to whose father Bodenham is writing.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is printed as showing how perilous had become the position of merchant shipping in waters infested by Turkish and Algerine pirates. Sixteen years earlier, Bodenham had been captain of the last English ship for a generation to make the Levant voyage to Chios. At the time of writing, he enjoyed the confidence alike of the Spanish and the English authorities, and there is little doubt that he acted as a spy for both.

## Document 4

### LETTER FROM LEONARD CHILTON

5 July 1567

LEONARD CHILTON to HENRY HAWKS: Jesus, the v of July, an<sup>o</sup>. 1567 in Cales [Cadiz].

Worshipfull after my ryght harty comandacyons, yo<sup>r</sup> helthe w<sup>th</sup> contentt desyred and the plezure of God etc. — dayes past I herd by the waye of Syvell of yo<sup>r</sup> saffe aryval in the palma, w<sup>ch</sup> I was glad to here of and doo truste in God or yt be longe, to here of yo<sup>r</sup> safe aryvall also in the Nova Espanya, w<sup>ch</sup> I shall thinke longe to here of. After your departing I went to Sentlucars, where I found yo<sup>r</sup> bedfellowe sycke, but now is well thanks be unto God, and is in Thomas Walles house mery, as I am sewere you shall have lettars by this flete. As also yo<sup>r</sup> brother Edward goes in wone of the shipes at Sentay lucars, of whome you may be informed of things nedeful.

This weeke paste yor ffrend Valde Ramees was here, and dyned at my howse at the request of Robard Harvy, who saythe that for the spase of one yere he will bere w<sup>th</sup> you, butt afterwards yf yo<sup>w</sup> do not remember him w<sup>th</sup> somewhat, he will seeke you thowghe it be to the worlds ende, as he saythe. Yowre ffrend John Frampton is at a pownt with all his credytors, howe to paye them in thre yeres and thre months. Umfreye Rickthorne came hether twyse, and thowt to have bound beares,<sup>1</sup> butt he was ffayne to do what Seroudo would have him do, and reseves the moste parte of the dett there upon Mr. Tiptons aventar [adventure].

This yere, thankes be unto God, we have no ffere of the Tork and More, ffor that the coste is well kepte with the galles esspayña and Italia, and at this present John Andrea Dorya is here with 34 galles, and hath don myche good upon the coste, as you shall here of other.

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to elucidate this idiom (*Editor*).

Newes out of Ingland I have not to wryte you, butt that all is in good pese and quyetnes, and an Imbasytor loked ffor, who I suppose be there or this, ffrom the emperador, to have his brother to marrye w<sup>th</sup> the queenes Majestye, w<sup>ch</sup> many thinke will take plase.

The mattars of Flandars are stablyshed, God be prayed there fore, in a maner as the Kings majestye of esspayne wold have yt, yet yf his Majestye go not thether himselffe, I fferre me it will not rest so. The sayinge was that the Docke of Alva was upon Geneva w<sup>th</sup> his campe, butt yt is not so. Here is grete preparasyon still for wares, som sayethe for one place, and som ffor another. I suppose they will give a sawyte [an assault] upon Argel.<sup>1</sup> God give his Majestye<sup>2</sup> good succes and vycторыe.

I praye you yf you tary there any tyme, to wryte me from tyme to tyme of yor helthe and prosedings, and how all our ffrends dothe there and howe they prosper, and there menyngs as nere as you maye towching ther comyng ffor espayne. Here of I praye yo<sup>w</sup> to ffayle [not] and to be a mene that my brother Robard Swyting have more remembrance of his parents than he hath had. Also I praye you lett my brother Andres have yo<sup>r</sup> good consell, and to be his ffriend in that you maye, as I knowe yo<sup>w</sup> ar. I do not wrytt unto him till I here of his aryvall ther, therffore I praye you lett this suffyse unto him for the present. Here with I do wrytte unto my brother Robard Swything, and to our ould ffriend Rafe Sare, and to John Umpton,<sup>3</sup> to the w<sup>ch</sup> do reffar me.

<sup>1</sup> Algiers.

<sup>2</sup> Philip II.

<sup>3</sup> There is a strong possibility that this man was that Juan de Anton whom Drake took prisoner and fraternised with in 1579. In English documents concerning this adventure Anton is called John Ampton. This letter illustrates the intimate relations preserved among the Anglo-Spanish merchants who were to be found both in Spain and Mexico (New Spain). Henry Hawks, who had left for New Spain *via* the Canaries in 1567, was known to the Spaniards as Pero Sanchez. Robert Sweeting, Chilton's brother-in-law, was a son of John Sweeting, by his Spanish wife. He later proved a good friend to Miles Philip and his companions who were left in New Mexico by Hawkins. John Sweeting was one of the English merchants living in Spain in 1538, and spent part of his life in Mexico. John Frampton was a Bristol man, who after his retirement contributed an important series of translations to the cause of English expansion. Henry Hawks, John Chilton (Leonard's brother), Roger Bodenham, and Robert Tomson (also Bristol bred and a friend of Hawks and the Sweetings) all contributed information to the Hakluys which was eventually published in the *Principal Navigations*.

All yo<sup>r</sup> ffrriends here and in Sent Locars ar hethe [healthy], thank be unto God, and here we have us all [co]mended unto you, and thus ffor the present I sease, and do rest allways att your comaundment.

I am wrytten ffrom Corte that Roger Bodnam is apoynted by the Kinges Majestie to goe for the nova esspaine, and from thens to be one of the fyve that his Majestie has apoynted to go ffor the chyna.<sup>1</sup> As yet I have res<sup>d</sup>. no letter from Roger Bodnam thereof, butt do locke every daye ffor [one] ffrom him, to whom it maye plese god to give so good suces as I desyre.

*Leonard Chilton*

## Document 5

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1567

About this time there came into England Stephen Twerdico and Theodor Pogorella, from that most potent Emperour John Basilides,<sup>2</sup> Emprour of Russia & Muscovia, with rich furies of Sables, Lusers and others, which at that time and in former ages were in great request among the English, both for ornament and wholesomenesse.

With these Russian Ambassadors returned into England Anthony Jenkinson, who tooke a most exact survey of Russia, described it in a Geographical map,<sup>3</sup> and was the first Englishman that sayled on the Caspian Sea, and pierced to the Bactrians.

<sup>1</sup> The Philippines, to which the Pacific route had been opened in 1564-5.

<sup>2</sup> Ivan the Terrible.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ortelius' *Catalogue of Authors* this map was dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney (patron of Richard Chancellor) and published in 1562. George Best wrote in 1578: "Master Anthony Jenkinson made thereof a platt with the first particular description I have seen of the whole country of Moscovia, which is yet extant."



## Document 6

### EXTRACT FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1568

GUZMAN DE SILVA to PHILIP OF SPAIN. London 3 Jan. 1568.

[The Queen] said she longed for the time of your Majesty's voyage, in the hope that she might see you, although she did not think you would recognize her as she is changed so much and become so thin. I thanked her from your Majesty for forbidding Hawkins and the rest of those who are going to Guinea from proceeding to your Majesty's Indies<sup>1</sup> and assured her with all possible emphasis how much importance you attached to this proof of her regard, in order to fix her more firmly. She made me great promises about it, and said she would cut off Hawkins' head if he exceeded by one tittle the orders that had been given to him, and would punish his associates as well.

## Document 7

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer<sup>2</sup> 1567-8 (*circ.*)

DOMINO ORTELIO cosmographo, in Flandria

Nota Domino Ortelio cosmographo pro majori explanatione  
Tabule annexe etc.

Quoniam pleraque hominum aedificia intus aut non adeo  
spaciosa sunt aut tam lucida ut amplam in his cosmographiae

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins did go to the Indies, and the outcome of his voyage was the tragedy of San Juan de Ulloa, from which Drake escaped scot-free.

<sup>2</sup> The content of the letter makes clear that it was written at a time when the North-West Passage was under discussion, but before the publication of Ortelius' *Theatrum*, which replaced cumbersome large sheet maps by an Atlas. John Dee, in his Preface to Billingsley's *Euclid*, states that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was anxious to venture on a voyage to the north-west in 1567, and this is confirmed by a report to his royal master by the Spanish Ambassador de Silva.

chartam percommode ponant aut collocent, nonnullis igitur pugnatum erit hujusmodi chartam excogitatam habere quae late extensa aulae vel cuius ejus generis spacioſo loco non ſolum bene quadret et conveniat, ſed etiam ut ita in tabula quadrata trium aut quatuor fere pedum concinnetur, ut duabus teretibus volventibus columnis ex utraque extremitate circumvolvatur. Ideoque percommoſum eſſe ſentio chartam duodecem pedum longitudine excogitandam eſſe, trium vero aut ad ſummum quatuor pedum altitudine: in medio vero meridianam collocari lineam a ſeptentrione ad meridiem ſuper Canarias inſulas primumve longitudinis gradum cadentem, et ſic ad orientem verſus in dextro illius chartae latere in ſex pedibus qui ſunt a dextra parte praedictae lineae meridianae Europa, Affrica, et Asia collocentur uſque ad Gangetem flumen aut eo uſque verſus orientem dum ad numerum 180 graduum longitudine perveniatur, quod certiffimum eſt circumferentiae dimidium. Et ubi in orientalibus India ſeu Catay regno ceſſaris; iterum incipies in initio chartae in primis ſex pedibus qui a ſiniſtra ſunt liniae meridianae, ibique cum 181 gradibus in longitudine incipias, gradusque continuos in deſcribenda Catay, America, Florida, Terraque Bakalaos, facias, donec ad lineam meridianam redeas, et illic in 360 gradus in longitudine compleantur. Gradus

Gilbert and his friends had been making uſe of a world map by Ortelius (1564) that measured five feet across, and was, moreover, on a heart-shaped projection which greatly diſtorted ſhapes and directions. This may well have been the Universal Map which was ſpread out on the lawyer's table when his young couſin viſited him (about 1568-9) in his Chambers in the Temple, for we are told that the older man pointed out its features with a wand, which ſuggests a large ſheet. A map mounted on vertical rollers, drawn on a cylindrical projection, ſuch as Hakluyt here aſks Ortelius to make for Engliſh ſtudents, would obviously be eaſier to handle and read. Had Mercator's World Map of 1569 been available, we ſhould have expected ſome mention of it, but one of the lawyer's ſources of information was evidently Gemma Frisius' popular Globe, for he particularly wiſhed to ſee on his map the *Strait of the Three Brethren*, which was ſhown on this globe opening directly from the Atlantic Ocean to Cathay. Since Ortelius began upon the *Theatrum* not later than 1568, and this project muſt have been known to his kiſnman Daniel Rogers, who carried Hakluyt's letter, the moſt probable date for the latter would be 1567, rather than 1568. John Aſhley, who ſeconded Hakluyt's requeſt, ſold his intereſt in the ſhip *Caſtle of Comfort* in 1569 or 1570, and hence had then a leſs direct intereſt in world maps. A careful examination of the original letter itſelf, and of the paper on which it is written, has yielded no direct clue as to the date, but nothing about it contradicts the date propoſed.

longitudinis super equinoctalem lineam sunt collocandi, quò in medio per totam duodecem pedum longitudinem trahantur ut tum septentrio tum meridies omnesque ibidem regiones describantur. Neque ullo modo omittendum est Fretum Trium Fratrum suo in loco ab oculos proponere, quoniam adhuc spes is tandem aliquando id inveniri posse, sic autem in charta collocari ad confringendum eorum cosmographorum errorem qui hujusmodi fretum nequaquam expriment; asserendo Fretum Trium Fratrum nomen sortitum fuisse a tribus fratribus, qui ut recitat Gemafricius, ex Europa navigantes ea loca praeterierunt. Pliniumque introducendo lib: 2, ca; 67, ex Cornelio Nepote (qui ante Christum natum 57 annos scripsit) commemorantem quosdam Indos ad littora Germaniae tempestate appulsos, et a Sueviae rege Quinto Metello Celeri in Gallia tum proconsuli allatos: et Dominicum Marium Nigrum pagina 590 *de Mari Indico* verba facientem inferendo. Historiam insuper a Francisco Lopete de Gomara prolatam de Indis quibusdam in littore Germanico, tempore Frederici Barbarossae imperatoris projectis, adhibendo. Othonem denique in Gothica historia de quibusdam Indis in eandem terram vi tempestatum projectis adjiciendo: qui varias ob causas nulla alia via agi potuerunt.<sup>1</sup> Quibus aliisque ejusmodi nostri aevi si qua

<sup>1</sup> The strictly parallel passage in Chap. 4 of Humfrey Gilbert's *Discourse* (written in 1566 and revised in 1576) is suggestive. Here the 'various reasons' referred to are set out at length. He writes as follows: "First as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it took the name of *Fretum trium fratrum*."

"Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos (who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ) that there were certain Indians driven by tempest, upon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Suevia, unto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconsull of France...."

"And for the better proof that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to prove my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer, Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth itselfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driven through the North Seas from India, upon the coastes of Germany, by great tempest, as they were sayling in trade of merchandize."

"Also while Frederic Barbarossa reigned Emperour, Anno. Do. 1160 there came certaine other Indians upon the coast of Germanie."

"Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, upon the coast of the said cuntry...."

sit, superveniret experientia. Ut certo sciant homines hujus modi fretum esse. Pervulgatum est enim (sed praeter auditum habetur nihil) nostra aetate Hispanos quosdam ab ulteriore parte Floridae hoc fretum praeteriisse, orisque Germaniae appulisse.<sup>1</sup> Collocentur autem ex utroque latere equinoctialis duo tropici, et circulus arcticus et antarcticus. Quò etiam facilius latitudo appareat, non nocebit lineam meridianam a septentrione ad meridiem per chartam perducere ad singulos trium pedum fines, ita ut teretibus circumvoluta columnis in quadrata tabula trium quatuorve pedum semper quancumque quove in loco aperta fuerit, omnes in eadem lineae et circuli exactissime appareant, locorum distantias tum longitudine tum latitudine ostensis. Utque ad pauca redeamus, erit perquam facile, praedicto ordine conservato, scalam constituere qua locorum intervalla cito adhibito circulo inveniantur. Hoc pacto nonnullis Anglorum legibus incumbens et utriusque academiae tum Oxoniae, tum Cantabridgiae studentibus, Londinique civibus pergratum feceris, et chartam cunctis Europae urbibus vendibiliorem quem ullius alterius formae reddes.

*Manus Ricardi Hacluit*

Figura tabule in qua volumus mappam volvere et revolvere mocione columnarum [Diagram].

Umbra forme universalis cujusdam Mappe per celebrem illum cosmographum Magistrum Ortelium exculpande et producende, ad voluntatem et rogatum Ricardi Hakluyt generosi, Anglorum legibus incumbentis, et Johannis Acheley mercatoris celeberrimi civitatis Londini, cum nonnullorum tum mercatorum tum in eadem urbe et alicubi studencium desiderio et comprobacione, per Daniele Rogerium, magistri Ortelii consanguinem, in Flandriam transmittende, cum pleniori alia pererrata explanacione eorum que facienda sunt, idque articulatim per se adhibita [Diagram].

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert heard this story told by a Spanish gentleman to Sir Henry Sidney when he was in Ireland in 1568. According to this version, Andrew Urdaneta made the voyage in that year, but it appears to have been a story commonly current in Spanish America, and may have reached Hakluyt through another source. Urdaneta died in New Spain in 1568, after visiting Spain in 1566. The expression 'ab ulteriore parte Floridae' means 'from the west coast of North America'.

*Translation*

TO MASTER ORTELIUS, Cosmographer, in Flanders.

Note to M. Ortelius, cosmographer, for the better explanation of the annexed plan etc.

For as much as men usually live in houses which are neither spacious enough nor light enough within for them to be able to place or spread out conveniently a large world map in them, it will be most gratifying to many to have a map thought out on the following lines: namely that when spread out to its full extent it is quite fit and suitable for a hall or other spacious place of that kind, and also when rolled up at each end on two smooth revolving rods it lies conveniently on a table about three or four feet square. And so I think it best for the map to be planned with a length of twelve feet, and a height of three or at most four feet. In the middle is to be placed the meridian line or first degree of longitude running from north to south through the Canary Is., so that eastwards on the six feet of the map to the right of this line will be found Europe, Africa, and Asia as far as the river Ganges, or as far towards the east as longitude  $180^{\circ}$ , which is just half the circumference. And just where you stop in East India or the Kingdom of Cathay you will start again at the edge of the six feet to the left of the meridian, where you will begin with longitude  $181^{\circ}$  and continue the degrees of longitude, inserting Cathay, America, Florida, and Baccalaos, until you get back to the meridian line and the 360 degrees are completed. Let the degrees of longitude be marked on the equinoctial line drawn through the middle of the whole twelve feet, so that both north and south and all the regions in them may be marked. Nor must you omit to place before our eyes the *Strait of the Three Brethren* in its correct position, since there is always hope that at some time it may be discovered, and by marking it on the map the error of those cosmographers will be refuted who deny that such a Strait exists: and it should be stated that the *Strait of the Three Brethren* derives its name from three brothers, who as Gemma Frisius recounts, passed that way on a voyage from Europe: and Pliny, Bk 2, chap. 67 should be quoted, himself quoting Cornelius Nepos (who wrote 57 B.C.)

to the effect that certain Indians were driven to the shores of Germany by a storm, and were brought by the King of Suevia to Quintus Metellus Celer, at that time proconsul in Gaul: and the story as told by Dominicus Marius Niger on p. 590 of his *De mari Indico* should be adduced: and further the story put forward by Francis Lopez de Gomara, about certain Indians cast away on the shores of Germany, in the time of Frederick Barbarossa: finally there should be added the authority of Otho in his *History of the Goths* about certain Indians cast away in the same country by the violence of the tempest: who for various reasons could have been driven no other way. To these accounts and to others of similar import might be added the experience, such as it is, of our own times, so that men may know for certain that there is a strait of this kind. For it is commonly asserted, though only by hearsay, that in our own day certain Spaniards passed through this Strait from the further shores of Florida, and landed on the shores of Germany.

Now let there be placed on either side of the equinoctial line the two Tropics, the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. And that the latitude may be more easily seen, it will be as well to draw north-south meridians for every three feet of the map's breadth, so that when it is rolled up to a size of three or four feet square, at whatever place it is opened all the lines and circles will appear exactly on it, showing the distances of places according to their longitude and latitude. And coming to small items, it will be easy, if the above arrangement is followed, to construct a scale by which the distances between places may quickly be found by using a circle.

In this way you will perform a most acceptable service to a number of English lawyers, to the students of both Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and to the citizens of London, and you will produce a map that will sell better in every European city than any other kind.

The hand of *Richard Hakluyt*

Diagram of the way in which the map can be rolled and unrolled by turning the rods. [*Omitted*].

Sketch [*Omitted*] of the general form of the map to be engraved

and produced by the celebrated map-maker, M. Ortelius, to the design and at the request of Richard Hakluyt, gentleman and lawyer, and of John Acheley, a well-known merchant of the city of London, with the approval and approbation of several merchants and students of that city and elsewhere. To be sent to Flanders by the hand of Master Daniel Rogers, kinsman of M. Ortelius, together with other fuller details of what is wanted to be put forward clearly by him.

## Document 8

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1568

... This usage towards her Ambassadour<sup>1</sup> she tooke in ill part, as done in disgrace to her: and no lesse the injury done at this time by the Spaniards to Sir John Hawkins. This Hawkins had arrived at Saint John de Ullua, in the Bay of Mexico, with five ships for commerce, laden with merchandises and Black-more slaves, which were now commonly bought in Africa by the Spaniards, and by their example by the English, and sold again in America, how honestly I know not. The next day arrived there also the King of Spaines Royall Navy, which... set upon the English, slew many, tooke three ships, and pillaged the goods.... Hereat the military and sea-faring men all over England fretted and demanded warre against the Spaniards, exclaiming that they were League breakers....

[The Queen] entertained with all kinds of courtesie such French people as fled into England, as also the Netherlanders, of whom a great multitude had withdrawne themselves into England as to a sanctuary, while the Duke of Alva breathed nothing but death and blood against them: who by the Queens permission seated themselves at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone and Hampton, to the great benefit and commodity of

<sup>1</sup> Dr Man was expelled from Madrid and suffered indignity on a charge of having spoken in an unseemly fashion of the Pope.

the English: for they were the first that brought into England the art of making those slight stuffs which they call Bayes and Sayes, and other such like stuffs of linen and woollen weaving.<sup>1</sup>

## Document 9

### EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1569

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP. London 12 March 1569.

On the 16 ultimo [February] ninety one boxes of [Italian] money were brought hither from the west and put in the Tower,<sup>2</sup> Hawkins accompanying them with four or five boxes of gold brought from the Indies. During his voyage he has lost at the rate of 50 %, besides the loss of his sailors, not fifteen persons having survived. They said that he had left in Florida some of his men, but they tell me now he left them in Panuco.<sup>3</sup>

I have already written to your Majesty how the French and English pirates, together and separately, have sallied forth from the ports of the west to plunder vessels of your Majesty's subjects, and have brought them into the ports, getting and distributing their booty as they pleased, without any measures being taken to prevent it. Indeed, many of the Council received great presents from the pirates. This Queen thinks that your Majesty should send some person here to treat with her, without considering how badly she and her people have behaved. But

<sup>1</sup> The year 1568 thus saw two events of critical importance in directing English public opinion towards a new geographical orientation, namely the affair at San Juan de Ulloa, and the military occupation of Antwerp, which had been the headquarters of the English Merchant Adventurers in Flanders. Plans for a renewed search for the North-east Passage were drawn up this year by William Borough, but were not carried into effect by the Muscovy Company.

<sup>2</sup> This was money loaned by the Genoese bankers for the Duke of Alva's campaign. The Italian ships put into English ports on their way to the Low Countries, and the Queen 'borrowed' the money.

<sup>3</sup> This was correct.



really, considering how things are going on here, it will not be conducive to your Majesty's dignity to send anyone, but rather to punish these people in a way that shall make them realise their offence. It is disgusting to hear Cecil talk of the Queen being the only monarch, and that no other Christian prince is a monarch but she!

SAME to SAME.

London 2 April 1569.

. . . Hawkins is reported to have brought back 28,000 dollars in gold and a box of pearls. Some silver was also brought in a ship of his<sup>1</sup> that was thought to be lost but which has arrived in Ireland, and has on board a gentleman of Alava called Don Juan de Mendoza. He was in one of the islands of the Indies, and out of friendship for the English had them supplied with water and victuals. Going on board one of their ships, they sailed away with him in payment for his simplicity. He is now in Ireland and thinks Hawkins will liberate him, in which I believe he is mistaken. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *The William.*

## Document 10

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1569

And now the English merchants conveyed their merchandise to Hamburgh in Germany, as to a new Mart or Staple.

...In Spaine...the English mariners were drawn in the Inquisition, and condemned to the Galleys and their goods confiscate. And the King of Spaine commanded...that no oyle, allum, sugar, spices, or other such like commodities should be transported into England, supposing that if the English were debarred these things, they would soone breake forth in rebellion....

As soone as this was knowne to the Maritime people of England, incredible it is with how great alacrity they put to sea, and how largely they carried piracy against the Spaniards, inso-much as Proclamations came forth to restraîne them.<sup>1</sup>...

And now the English began more confidently to survey those [eastern] Countries, carrying their merchandises up the River Dwina in boates made of one whole piece or tree, which they rowed and towed up the streame with halsers as far as Wologda, and from thence by land seven dayes journey to Yeraslaw: and then by the Wolga (which is about a mile over, and runneth thorow a clayish soyle, beset with Oakes and Birchen trees) thirty dayes and as many nights journey downe the river to Astracana. And from Astracana (where they built ships) they did by a very great and memorable adventure, many times crosse the Caspian Sea, which is very full of flats and shelves, and pierced thorow the vast desarts of Hircania and Bactria, to Teherin and Casbin, cities of Persia, in hope at length to discover Cathay. But the warres which shortly grew hot betweene the Turkes and Persians, interrupted this laudable enterprise of the Londoners.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Such a Proclamation was issued on 27 April and again on 3 Aug. 1569, but it had very little effect. An examination of the High Court of Admiralty Records reveals a state of disorder at sea which makes it difficult to understand how any legitimate trade could flourish.

<sup>2</sup> The last Persian Voyage took place 1579-81. Camden seems to have had the *Principal Navigations* in front of him.

## Document 11

### EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS*, 1570

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP. London 19 April 1570.

I have been informed that the Council was discussing the selection from amongst the corsairs' ships of some to go out and meet the fleet from the Indies: and although no decision has been come to, it is possible that Captain Sores<sup>1</sup> may do this on his own account....

I have reported the arrival here of Bartolomé Bayon, a Portuguese, who has been made much of by the merchants, and some of the Councillors.... They invite him to return with a good number of ships to Guinea,<sup>2</sup> and some of the Council have communicated with him about a project that was discussed here before, to occupy and colonize one or two ports in the Kingdom of Magellanes, in order to have in their hands the commerce of the Southern Sea, and that of Guinea and the coasts of Africa, as well as getting as near as they wish to Peru.<sup>3</sup>

ANTONIO DE GUARAS to ZAYAS. London Aug. 1 1570.

The alarm publicly expressed by the people here, and their fears of being ruined are perfectly incredible, and the whole talk at

<sup>1</sup> Captain Jacques Sores claimed to be a nephew of Jean Ribault. He was one of the many Huguenot corsairs who were harrying the Spanish Indies during this period.

<sup>2</sup> For the interdiction of the English Guinea trade, see below, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> This scheme was on the lines of that later developed by Richard Hakluyt (see p. 139). The Kingdom of Magellanes was the great unoccupied area south of the Plate River. This is the earliest mention of the projects for occupying various regions in the Southern Hemisphere which were under discussion between 1570 and 1588 among English geographers and sea-captains. Drake was to explore what was supposed to be a South Pacific continent in similar latitudes to the Kingdom of Magellanes, according to the Draft Plan for his voyage of 1577 (Cotton MSS. Otho EVIII, and G.J. 1930). In 1572 it was rumoured that the French intended to seize St Laurence Is. (Madagascar) as a base for exploring New Guinea, supposed to be part of Terra Australis.

Court consists of discussions as to how they will defend themselves and how they will perish.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that Secretary Cecil, on returning from the Queen's rooms to his own, said in great distress to his wife "Oh wife! if God do not help us we shall all be lost and undone. Get together all the jewels and the money you can, so that you may follow me when the time comes, for surely trouble is in store for us!"

## Document 12

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1571

There was a prodigious moving of the earth in the east part of the County of Hereford, at Kinneston, a small village. For the 17th of February at six of the clocke in the evening, the grounde sunke, and an hill with a rocke of stones at the foote of it, lifted itself up as if it had risen out of a large sleepe, with a very great roaring at the first, and a voyse, that it was heard by the neighbours a farre off, and ascended to a higher place, leaving a deepe pit behinde it, and carrying with it trees growing, sheep-coats, and flocks of sheep. Of the trees, some lay covered with earth, and others growing fast in the hill as it went stood upright, in such sort as if they had taken root then at first. In the place whence it departed, it left a pit forty foot wide, and four-score elles long. The ground in all was about twenty acres and in going it overthrew a chappell that stood in the way. A Yeugh tree which stood in the Churchyard it removed from the west to the east. With the same force it thrust forward the high wayes,

<sup>1</sup> This was a period of plots and rebellions which naturally resulted in nervous tension. The Pope had excommunicated the Queen in March 1570. On November 17th special celebrations were ordered to commemorate the completion of twelve years of Her Majesty's reign. It was the year in which the younger Hakluyt went up to Oxford. It is not difficult to understand the bitterness against Spain and against the Papacy which often characterises his writings. His cousin, whose most impressionable years had been passed in Queen Mary's reign, showed no such feelings.

with sheepe coats, hedges and trees in them. Of arable ground it made pasture and of pasture arable ground. The higher ground which it met with, it went over, and crushing it together with great force, made it into an higher hill, as it were with a mount cast up. Thus when it had walked on from Sunday in the evening until munday at noone, at length, as if it were weary of the journey, and laboured with its owne weight, it stood still.<sup>1</sup> . . .

There had been now for certayne yeares some variances betwixt the Portuguese and English Merchants, whilst the English from 1552 exercised a painefull trading for gold with those Negres or Blacke-moores into their coast of Affrica, which they call Guinea, and the Portugals which had just discovered those coasts, did the best they could by force and armes to prohibit them so to do, inasmuch as sometimes they had conflicts at sea and stayed the shippes on both sides.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So striking a calamity in their home county must have engaged the attention of both the Hakluyts. The winter of 1570-1 was one of storm and flood, and it is probable that the earth movements which Camden describes were due to a land-slide.

<sup>2</sup> A treaty was therefore made between King Sebastian and Queen Elizabeth, which allowed the English to trade freely to Portugal, Barbary, Madeira and the Azores, but restrained them from the lands and seas of the Portuguese 'conquest'. English writers continued to maintain, however, that lands 'not occupied by any Christian prince' could be taken possession of or traded with, apart from priority of discovery. In a document dated March 1573 the position which adventurers sought to establish is stated as follows: "The voyages to Ghynea and the trafficking in the Gulf of Mexico and the very places of the Spaniards possession, hath in the precedent of Hawkins voyage been defended by your Majesty's Council as friendly and lawfull: much more is this, which is but a passing in the open sea by them to places that they neither had nor know. Beside that not only traffic, but also possession, planting of people, and habitation, hath been already judged lawfull for other nations in such places as the Spaniards and Portugals have not already added to their possessions. As is proved by your Majesties most honourable and lawfull grant to Thomas Stuclee and his company for Terra Florida [*i.e.* in 1563]. Also the French mens inhabiting in Florida and Bresil, who albeit they acknowledge the Pope's authority in such things as they graunt to pertain to him, yet in this *universal right* of traffic and temporal dominion they have not holden them bound by his power." (*S.P. Domestic*, vol. xcv, No. 63.)

## Document 13

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer,  
28 Feb. 1571

To the right honerable the LORDE OF BURLEY, one of the quenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> prively counsell give these. At the cowrt.

Right honerable, knowing that a l<sup>re</sup> might have more apt accesse unto yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp than I, and that lesse to you<sup>r</sup> troble, I thowght good to send this inclosed note beseeching yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to conster<sup>1</sup> my meaning in the best part.

for that it might seame dowtfull unto me where this force might be employed<sup>2</sup> as whether ageynst the infidelles or ageynst the protestantes in ffrance or otherwise ageynst the q: Ma<sup>tie</sup> in Ireland, in England or by Scotland, I cowlde not but gyve the advertisement and leve the same to yo<sup>r</sup> wise heades to wey that can better judge, and to whom those matters chefely do apperteyne.

Before Cristmas there arrived from Grand Malaga a young man, a kinsman of myne, by whom I understood that the berer hereof he lefte in service in Spayne w<sup>t</sup> soche a one as had grete doinges for the king there, and that he ment shortly after to be in Englande. And, sir, conceving thereof that it was possible he shoulde understand some secretes, I examined him after his arrivall and gethered theeffect of this inclosed note, which he uttereth not upon heresay of the common people but understandeth the same from the mowth of him to whom the kings l<sup>res</sup> came, and by the sight of the copie of the kinges owne l<sup>res</sup> prively copied owt by the clerke of the Provodore to whom the l<sup>res</sup> were sent. W<sup>th</sup> this providoro Petro Vedogo, a knight of the order of Seynt Jago, a servitor by se and land, a man of grete credit, this poore man the berer hereof dwelled, and was his kerver, and had the charge of his plate, and by herkening and

<sup>1</sup> Construe.

<sup>2</sup> The enclosure referred to the preparation of an armed force in Spain.

listening at a lokk hole not far from whence the providore sate w<sup>th</sup> a secret friende or twoe, this poore man overherd the effect of the Irē.<sup>1</sup>

Thus being bold to troble yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>, prayeng pardon for my boldnes, and the rather because I cowlde not wayte as dutie requireth to utter the same by mowthe, I rest wisshing unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> health, and that this commonwelth may 'long enjoy yo<sup>w</sup>. ffrom the middell temple this present Ashewensday

Yo<sup>r</sup> to commande

28 Feb. 1571.

*Ri. Hakluyt*

## Document 14

### EXTRACTS FROM THE *CALENDAR OF* *STATE PAPERS, 1571*

DUKE OF FERIA<sup>2</sup> to ZAYAS.

10 May 1571.

The Queen has felt our weakness, and so assails us with inventions and fears that she will marry in France. She will no more marry Anjou than she will marry me! She has neither youth nor health to bear children<sup>3</sup> or to live long. . . . It is out of the question to believe that the French and the English will ever be friends, as they have a natural dislike of each other.

GUERAU DE SPES to KING PHILIP.

London 1571.

The principal person in the Council at present is William Cecil, now Lord Burghley, a knight of the Garter. He is a man of mean sort, but very astute, false, lying, and full of artifice. He is a

<sup>1</sup> Such conduct was typical of the day. Thomas Stukeley was in Spain in 1571, and a letter of August 29, 1571 (*S.P. Domestic*, vol. lxxx), states that he was planning to land in Ireland with a Spanish force.

<sup>2</sup> Husband of an English wife, Jane Dormer, the patroness of the English merchants in Spain.

<sup>3</sup> The Queen was thirty-seven years old. Anjou was the French King's brother and heir presumptive.

great heretic, and such a clownish Englishman as to believe that all the Christian princes joined together are not able to injure the sovereign of his country, and he therefore treats their ministers with great arrogance. This man manages the bulk of the business, and by means of his vigilance and craftiness, together with his utter unscrupulousness of word and deed, thinks to outwit the ministers of other princes. This to a certain extent he has succeeded in doing. Next after him, the man who has most to do with affairs is Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Not that he is fit for such work, but because of the great favour with which the Queen regards him. He is a light and greedy man, who maintains the robbers and lives by their plunder. . . .

The other man who has his hand in the government is the Lord Keeper or Guardian, as they call it of the Great Seal [Bacon]. He is an obstinate and most malignant heretic, and being Cecil's brother in law, always agrees with him.

The Admiral [Clinton] does not interfere much in arranging matters, but he is a very shameless thief, without any religion at all: whilst the latter may also be said of the Earl of Sussex. The latter also belongs to the Council, and is more capable than any of the rest. He has shown signs sometimes of wishing to serve your Majesty, as he is an enemy of the Earl of Leicester.

The Earl of Bedford also belongs to the Council. In person and manners he is a monstrosity and a great heretic. There are others of less authority than these, lawyers, creatures of Cecil, who only respect what he says. They have recently admitted Sir James Crofts to the Council. He is secretly attached to the Catholic party, and your Majesty's service, but does not speak openly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Crofts and Edward Dyer were both suspected of Catholic leanings. Both showed friendliness to Roger Bodenham.





## Document 15

LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1571

RICHARD HAKLUYT to my L. OF BURLIEGH. Nov. 7, 1571.

To the right honorable the Lord of Burghley, one of the Queens Maj<sup>ties</sup>. Privy Councell, give these.

Right honorable the co<sup>m</sup>missioners for disclosing of the customers delinges, according to dutie wrote unto yo<sup>r</sup> L. about x or xii dayes past towching the dealinges of one John Hornaby late clerk to Mr Colshill, put in trust in the same service, and understanding my verie good L. that Mr. Lychfild had accesse iii severall tymes to the cownter to the same Horneby besides others, after commawndment given that noeman shoulde com to him, I wishing well to the service allthoe meanest in co<sup>m</sup>mission, prayed Mr. Mathewe who hath had accesse to yo<sup>r</sup> L. for this service, to be a sutor untoe yo<sup>r</sup> Honor to send this Horneby to Newgate and be throwen into the dungion to the ende the bokes soe long travelled abowt might the soner come to light, and the practisers w<sup>th</sup> him be the better known unto yo<sup>r</sup> L: whoe hath had noe small care (as I have herd) for this service, but hering nothing of Hornebies removing, I began to enter into suspicion, and therefore I thought to advertesse yo<sup>r</sup> L: that the boke yet not brought forth by Horneby, discovered the deceyte of vii m.<sup>3</sup> li in wyne within the compasse of a yere and that in soe excellent a sort as could not but have plesed the queens mat<sup>ties</sup> eye and yo<sup>r</sup>s. Marie my L: this boke could soe have towched Mr. Smyth of the Custom Howse that he wold not have byn thought worthe to have enjoyed his ferme or any other thing, I have ofte herd Horneby affirme that Mr Smith was gossipp to Mr Mathewe, and that there was a grete lege between Smith and Mathewe, and that Mathewe had received both money and plate, and that he cowlde prove hit before yo<sup>r</sup> L. w<sup>ch</sup> weyd, I thowght that Mr. Mathewe wold nether be in haste to bring Horneby to examination, or over redie to use means by yo<sup>r</sup> L: to bring this boke to light, and the rather lest Horneby should

disclose to yo<sup>r</sup> L: what he had reported, and lest Hornebies well framed boke should be of more comendacion then any made by Mathewe, of this I thowght to advertesse yo<sup>r</sup> L: and further that som of the Comissioners have not the best opinion of Mathewe but dowt what they may think of him etc. And thus further I am to advertesse yo<sup>r</sup> L: That about v or vi yeres past (as Horneby hath within this ij monethes reported to me and dyvers persons) yo<sup>r</sup> L: upon the information of one Parker made agynst the abbuses of the customers, comawnded Sir Wm. Garret of London to seale upp the cownting house dore of John Smith, servant to Mr Colleshill, meening to have had the bokes, and so by the same to have discussed all theyre lewd practesses ageynst her Ma<sup>tie</sup> etc. But my Lorde, Mr. Colleshill called Horneby aside, and after many feyre promeses and kindes of conjuracion for keping secret, he practised with him (being then young and sclender hipped) to clyme up by a ladder to the window of the sealed up cownting house and to crepe in at the glasse windowe, and to steale owt they<sup>r</sup> bokes that wold undoe them all if they shold come to yo<sup>r</sup> honors handes. This young man accomplished his M<sup>r</sup>s desire, and they made soe grete a fier of these bokes that they had almost the house in flame. This done, this fellow Horneby was conveyed by his M<sup>r</sup> into Italie, and after the storm was past, ii or iij yeres after retorned into England, this yongman spending prodigely grewe into det and was throwen into the cownter, and Mr Colshill then being safe and past cause of fere (as he thought) wold yeld noe relife, so that there he remayned til Mr. Dawbeney<sup>1</sup> payd al his dettes and redemed him out of prison for to imploy him in her majesties service ageynst the customers. Thus my Lorde by this practise was the quenes majestie abbused and resteth spoyled of a grete renewe as may esely appere to the comon people by presumption and to the comisioners by matter apparant. And pitieing that her majestie shoulde be thus spoyled, or dryven to trouble her subjects w<sup>th</sup> subsidies and levies when she might abownd if she were answered truly of her owne, I cowld not but trouble yo<sup>r</sup> L: with these few lynes of advertisement assuring yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> that if such thinges be not openly ponisshed as they deserve, that soe comon

<sup>1</sup> This was Oliver Dawbeney, who now held a farm of the customs of beer.

wilbe the deceyte in her majesties offices that grete want wilbe fownde if ever home or foreyne foes made any attempte ageynst her majestie whom god defende.

Thus being over bolde to troble yo<sup>r</sup> Honor and specially in soch a trobelsome tyme I most humblie take my leve and crave pardon of this my rude boldnesse. ffrom the middel temple this viiith of No: 1571.

Yo<sup>r</sup> L. at comawndement

*Ri: Hakluyt*

What prively practises this M<sup>r</sup> Mathewe hath in hand for any composicion, that can not the comissioners lerne, or what he meeneth by trayning owt of tyme in finishing his boke this day and that day, and thother day, and then w<sup>th</sup>in v dayes and then w<sup>th</sup>in viij dayes etc. accomplishing noe soch promes, what he practeseth thereby we knowe not, but this my Lord we totowel know that the trayning owt of tyme and the practisse of this lewd Horneby hath broken the back of an honest vertuowes gentelman M<sup>r</sup> Dawbeney verie faythfully bent in her mat<sup>ties</sup> service, and the backes of some other honest and wise men joyning w<sup>th</sup> him, unlesse yo<sup>r</sup> L: putto yo<sup>r</sup> helping hand and yelde them present ayd with her mat<sup>ties</sup> protection, and further with yo<sup>r</sup> cowtenance besides yelde them cowtenance in this service ageynst these mightie bulles of basan that propt upp w<sup>th</sup> spoyle and we[l]th and grete frends wolde seame to over loke all men and make the world belyve that the mone is made of a grene chese while al men note theyre abundant spoyle, and sore lament that soe noble a prince is spoyled of soch caytifes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Mr Dawbeney, and possibly Hakluyt himself (perhaps one of the "honest and wise men joyning with him"), was suffering in pocket from the irregularities which the Commissioners had laid bare. Horneby declared that Mattheve took money from both sides, and that Dawbeney had accepted a bribe to hide Customer Smith's deceit. The latter continued in office in spite of the deficit of £7000 in a single year's payments here alleged.

## Document 16

### REPORT FROM HENRY HAWKS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1572<sup>1</sup>

A relation of the commodities of Nova Hispania, and the maners of the inhabitants, written by HENRY HAWKES marchant, which lived five yeeres in the sayd Countrey,<sup>2</sup> and drewe the same at the request of M. RICHARD HAKLUYT Esquire of Eiton in the county of Hereford, 1572.

*S. John de Ullua.*

Saint John de Ullua is an Island not high above the water, whereas nowe the Spaniards upon<sup>3</sup> M. John Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the shippes that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts do unlade. For they have none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath three chanel, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on every side of the chanel there are many small rockes as big as a small barrell: they will make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island there by, called the Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spaniards did in times past unlade their goods. And for that they say there are upon it spirits or devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North wind hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many shippes and barkes. This place is given to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18 degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plentie of fish.

*Spirits.*

*Vera Cruz.*

Five leagues from S. John de Ullua is a faire river: it lieth Northwest from the porte, and goeth to a little towne of the Spaniards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barkes, which they call Frigates, they carry all their marchandise which commeth out of Spaine, to the saide towne: and in like maner bring all the golde, silver, Cochonilio, hides, and all other things

<sup>1</sup> Guerau de Spes wrote to King Philip, London, 7 Jan. 1572: "Hawkins informs me of everything, and communicates all the Council's letters to me."

<sup>2</sup> Hawks left Spain for Mexico in 1567. See *supra*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Consequent upon.

that the shippes cary into Spaine unto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they cary it to Mexico, and to Pueblo de los Angelos, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and divers other places so farre within the Countrey, that some of them are 700. miles off, and some more, and some lesse, all upon horses, mules, and in waynes drawen with oxen, and in carres drawne with mules.

In this towne of Vera Cruz within these twenty yeres, when women were brought to bedde, the children newe borne incontinently died: which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases, by reason of the great heat, and a certeine gnat or flie which they call a Muskito, which biteth both men and women in their sleepe; and assoone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venemous worme. And this Muskito or gnat doeth most follow such as are newly come into the Countrey: Many there are that die of this annoyance.

*Musquito.*

This towne is situated upon the river aforesayd, and compassed with woods of divers maners and sorts, and many fruits, as Oranges and lemmons, Guiaves, and divers others, and birds in them, popinjays both small and great, and some of them as big as a raven, and their tailes as long as the taile of a Fesant. There are also many other kinde of birdes of purple couller, and small monkees marveilous proper.

*Monkees.*

This hotte or sicke Countrey continueth 45. miles towards the city of Mexico; and the 45. miles being passed, then there is a temperate Countrey, and full of tillage:<sup>1</sup> but they water all their corne with rivers which they turne in upon it. And they gather their Wheate twice a yeere. And if they should not water the ground where as their corne is sowne, the Countrey is so hotte it would burne all.

*Wheate twice  
in a yeere.*

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it above 16000. households. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for these were the occasion that Mexico was wonne in so short time, and with so little losse of men. Wherefore they are all Gentlemen, and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the Cochonilio growing.

*Tlaxcalla a  
free Citie.*

<sup>1</sup> *Tierra caliente and tierra templada.*

*Mexico.*

Mexico is a great Citie; it hath more then fifty thousand households, whereof there are not past five or sixe thousand houses of Spaniards: all the other are the people of the Countrey, which live under the Spaniards lawes. There are in this city stately buildings, and many monasteries of friers and nunnes, which the Spaniards have made. And the building of the Indians is somewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of small chambers, with very small windoes, which is not so comely as the building of the Spaniards. This Citie standeth in the midst of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the most part of the streetes, and there come small boats, which they call Canoas, and in them they bring all things necessary, as wood, and coales, and grasse for their horses, stones and lime to builde, and corne.

This Citie is subject to many earthquakes, which oftentimes cast downe houses, and kill people. This Citie is very well provided of water to drinke, and with al maner of victuals, as fruits, flesh and fish, bread, hennes and capons, Guinie cocks and hennes, and all other fowle. There are in this Citie every weeke three faires or markets, which are frequented with many people, aswell Spaniards as the people of the Countrey. There are in these faires or markets all maner of things that may bee invented, to sell, and in especiall things of the Countrey. The one of these faires is upon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. James his faire is upon the Thursday, and upon Saturday is S. Johns faire. In this Citie is alwayes the kings governour or Viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there bee other places of Justice, yet this is above all: so that all men may appeale unto this place, and may not appeale from this Citie, but onely into Spaine before the King: and it must be for a certaine summe; And if it be under that summe, then there is no appellation from them. Many rivers fall into this lake which the Citie standeth in: but there was never any place found whither it goeth out.

*A waye to  
drowne  
Mexico.*

The Indians know a way to drowne the Citie, and within these three yeeres they would have practised the same: but they which should have bene the doers of it were hanged: and ever since the Citie hath bene well watched both day and night, for

feare least at some time they might be deceived: for the Indians love not the Spaniards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and Orchards of the fruits of the Countrey, marveilous faire, where the people have great recreation. The men of this Citie are marveilous vicious, and in like maner the women are dishonest of their bodies, more then they are in other Cities or townes in this Countrey.

There are neere about this Citie of Mexico many rivers and standing waters, which have in them a monstrous kinde of fish which is marveilous ravening, and a great devourer of men and cattell. He is wont to sleepe upon the drie land many times: and if there come in the meane time any man or beast and wake or disquiet him, he speedeth well if he get from him. Hee is like unto a serpent saving that he doeth not flye, neither hath he wings. *Crocodiles.*

There is West out of Mexico a port towne which is on the Southsea, called Puerto de Navidad,<sup>1</sup> where as there are shippes which they have ordinarily for the navigation of China, which they have newly found. This port is threescore leagues from Mexico. *Navigation to China from port de Navidad.*

There is another port towne which is called Culluacan: on the South Sea, which lyeth West and by North out of Mexico, and is 150.<sup>2</sup> leagues from the same. And there the Spaniards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which as they say, is betwene the Newfoundland and Groenland;<sup>3</sup> and they call it the Englishmens straite, which as yet was never fully found. They say, that Straight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spaniards accompt to be marveilous rich. *The North-west straight.*

Towarde the North from Mexico, there are great store of silver mynes. There is greater quantitie of silver found in these mines toward the North, then there is in any other partes: and as the most men of experience sayde alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly upon great hilles and stony ground, marvailous hard to be laboured and wrought.

<sup>1</sup> Acapulco in the 2nd edn. of the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> 200 in the 2nd edn.

<sup>3</sup> This expedition of 1542-3 reached lat. 43° N.



*Painting  
earth.*

Out of some of the mines, the Indians finde a certeine kinde of earth of divers coulers, wherewith they paint themselves in times of their daunces, and other pastimes which they use.

*Golde mines.*

In this Countrey of Nova Hispania there are also mines of gold, although the golde be commonly found in rivers, or very neere unto rivers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great rivers and great store of fish in them, not like unto our kindes of fish. And there are marveilous great woods, and as faire trees as may bee seene of divers sorts, and especially firre trees that may maste any shippe that goeth upon the sea, okes and pine-aples,<sup>1</sup> and another tree which they call Miskito: it beareth a fruit like unto a peascod marveilous sweete, which the wilde people gather and keepe it all the yeere, and eat it in steade of bread.

*7 cities by  
witchcraft not  
found of the  
seekers.*

The Spaniards have notice of seven Cities which olde men of the Indians shewe them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They have used and use dayly much diligence in the seeking of them, but they cannot finde any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a miste upon them, so that they cannot see them.

They have understanding of another Citie which they call Copalla and in like maner, at my being in the Countrey, they have used much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they have found the lake on which it should stande, and a Canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and coulde not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their understanding should stand on the same water or very neere the same.

*The beasts of  
Nova  
Hispania.*

There is a great number of beasts or kine in the countrey of Cibola, which were never brought thither by the Spaniards, but breed naturally in the Countrey. They are like unto our oxen, saving that they have long haire like a Lion, and short hornes, and they have upon their shoulders a bunche like a Camell, which is hier then the rest of their body.<sup>2</sup> They are marveilous wilde and swift in running. They call them the beastes or kine of Cibola.

<sup>1</sup> Pine trees.

<sup>2</sup> Bison. Hawkes is summarising the results of Coronado's journey of 1541-2.

This Cibola is a Citie which the Spaniards founde nowe of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneis, windoes made of stone & timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to drawe their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones upon the graves. And the Captaine would not suffer his souldiers to breake up any part of these graves, saying, hee would come another time to doe it.

*Cibola  
abandoned.*

They asked certeine people which they mette, whither the people of this Citie were gone: And they made answere, they were gone downe a river which was there by very great, and there had builded a Citie which was more for their commoditie.

This Captaine lacking things necessarie for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe, without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither founde they but fewe people, although they founde beaten wayes, which had bene much haunted and frequented. The Captaine at his coming backe againe, had a great checke of the governour, because he had not gone forwards and seene the end of that river.

They have in the Countrey farre from the seaside, standing waters which are salt: And in the moneths of Aprill and May, the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings use and profit.

*Water  
congealed  
to salt.*

Their dogges are all crooked backt as many as are of the Countrey breede, and cannot runne fast: their faces are like the face of a pigge or an hogge, with sharpe noses.

*Dogs of India  
described.*

In a certeine province which is called Guatimala, & Sacanusco, there is growing great store of Cacao; which is a berrie like unto an Almond: It is the best Marchandise that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meate to eate. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese or other things.

*Cacao a fruit  
currant as  
money.*

There are many kinde of fruits of the Countrey, which are very good, as Plantans, Sapotes, Guiaves, Pinas, Aluacatas, Tunas, Mamios, Lymons, Orenge, Walnuts very small and hard with little meate in them, grapes which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the Countrey, and are very small, quinses, peches, figges, and

*Fruites.*

but fewe apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and Calabasses.

There is much honie, both of bees, and also of a kind of tree which they call Maguez.<sup>1</sup> This hony of Maguez is not so sweete as the other hony is, but it is better to be eaten only with bread, then the other is; and the tree serveth for many things, as the leaves make threed to sowe any kinde of bags, and are good to cover or thatch houses, and for divers other things.

*Hot springs.*

They have in divers places of the Countrey many hote springs of water. As above all other, I have seene one in the province of Mechucan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a spring which hath much water, & it is so hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe bee cast into it, within on halfe howre, it will be as well sodden, as it will be over a fire in halfe a daye. I have seene halfe a Sheepe cast in, and immediatly it hath beene sodden, and I have eaten parte of it.

*Hares and Conies.*

There are many Hares, and some Conies. There are no partridges, but abundance of quales.

*Sea fishe.*

They have great store of fishe in the South Sea, and many Oysters, and very great. The people doe open the oysters, and take out the meate of them, and dry it, as they doe any other kinde of fish, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times serve, they send them abroad into the Countrey to sell, as all other fishe. They have no Salmon, nor Trowte, nor Pele, nor Carpe, Tench, nor Pike, in all the Countrey.

*Mountaines.*

There are in the Countrey mightie high mountaines, and hils, and snowe upon them. They commonly burne, and twise every day they cast out much smoke, and ashes, at certeine open places, which are in the toppes of them.

*Manna.*

There is among the wilde people much Manna. I have gathered of the same, and have eaten it, and it is good: For the Apothecaries send their servants at certeine times, to gather of the same, for purgations, and other uses.

There are in the mountaines many wilde hogs, which all men may kill, and Lyons and Tygers;<sup>2</sup> which Tygers doe much harme to men that travell in the wildernes.

In this Countrey, not long since, there were two poore men

<sup>1</sup> The agave.

<sup>2</sup> Pumas and cougars.

that found a marvelous rich myne, and when these men went to make a register of the same, according to the law and custome, before the Kings officers, they thought this myne not meete for such men as they were: and violently tooke the sayd mine for the King; and gave no part thereof unto the two poore men. And within certaine daies the Kings officers resorted thither to labour in the myne, & they found two great mightie hils were come together, so they found no place to worke in. And in the time, while I was among them, which was five yeeres,<sup>1</sup> there was a poore sheeheard, who keeping of his sheepe, happened to finde a Well of quicksilver, and he went in like manner to manifest the same, as the custome and maner is. The Kings officers dealt in like order, as they did with the two poore men that found the rich myne, taking it quite from the sheeheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicksilver, or part thereof, they could never finde it againe. So these things have bene declared unto the King, who hath given commandement, that nothing being found in the fieldes, as mynes, and such like, shall be taken away from any man. And many other things have bene done in this Countrey, which men might count for great merveils.

*Mines  
discovered,  
not found  
again.*

There is great abundance of suger here, & they make divers conserves, & very good, and send them into Peru, whereas they sell them marvelous well, because they make none in those parts.

*Suger and  
conserves.*

The people of the Countrey, are of a good stature, tawnie coloured, broad faced, flat nosed, and given much to drinke both wine of Spaine and also a certeine kind of wine, which they make with hony of Maguez, and rootes, and other things which they use to put into the same. They call the same wine Pulco. They are soone drunke, and given to much beastlines, and void of all goodnes. In their drunkennes they use and commit sodomie, and with their mothers and daughters they have their pleasures and pastimes. Whereuppon they are defended from the drinking of wines, upon paines of money, aswell he that selleth the wines, as the Indian that drinketh the same. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine and in France were not sufficient for the West Indias onely.

*Description of  
the Indians  
person and  
manners.*

<sup>1</sup> 1567-71.

They are of much simplicitie, and great cowards, void of all valour, and are great Witches. They use divers times to talke with the Devill, to whome they do certeine sacrifices and oblations: many times they have bene taken with the same, and I have seene them most cruelly punished for that offence.

The people are given to learne all maner of occupations and sciences, which for the most part they learned since the comming of the Spaniards: I say all maner of artes. They are very artificiall in making of Images, with feathers, or the proportion or figure of any man, in all kinde of maner as he is. The finenes and excellencie of this is wonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, should give themselves to so fine an arte as this is. They are Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, and Copper Smiths, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, Tailers, Sadlers, Imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will, and doe worke so good cheape, that poore yong men that goe out of Spaine to get their living, are not set on worke. Which is the occasion there are many idle people in the Countrey. For the Indian will live all the weeke with lesse then one groate, which the Spaniard cannot doe, nor any man els.

*The Indians  
ignorance  
from whence  
they came.*

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man, which came thither in a boate of wood, which they call a Canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood, or after, neither can they give any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spaniards came first among them, they did certaine sacrifice to an Image made in stone, of their owne invention. The stone was set upon a great hill, which they made of bricke of earth, they call it their Cowa.<sup>1</sup> And certeine daies in the yeere they did sacrifice, certaine olde men, and yong children, and onely beleaved in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needful for them. They have in these parts great store of cotton wooll,<sup>2</sup> with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serveth for shirts & smocks and all other kind of garments, which they weare upon their bodies: and the Spaniards use it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all

<sup>1</sup> *Teo-calli* or God's House.

<sup>2</sup> Cotton.

maner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say,<sup>1</sup> linnen cloth would be solde out of all measure.

The wilde people go naked, without any thing upon them. The women weare the skinne of a Deere before their privities, and nothing els upon all their bodies. They have no care for any thing but onely from day to day for that which they have neede to eate. They are bigge men, and likewise the women. They shoote in bowes, which they make of a cherrie tree, and their arrowes are of Cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same: they will pierce any coat of maile, and they kill Deere, and Cranes, and wilde Geese, Duckes and other fowle, and Wormes, and Snakes, and divers other vermin, which they eate. They live very long, for I have seene men that have bene 100. yeeres of age. They have but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

*The wild  
Indians.*

The Indians have the Friers in great reverence. The occasion is, that by them, and by their meanes, they are free, and out of bondage, which was so ordeined by Charles the Emperour, which is the occasion, that now there is not so much gold and silver comming into Europe, as there was while the Indians were slaves. For when they were in bondage, they could not chuse but doe their taske every day, and bring their Masters so much mettall out of their Mynes. But nowe they must be well paied, and much entreated to have them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the Mynes, and to the Kings quinto or custome.

*Friers in  
reverence.*

There are many Mynes of Copper in great quantitie, whereof they spend in the Countrey as much as serveth their turnes. There is some gold in it, but not so much as will pay the costes of the fining. The quantitie of it is such, and the Mynes are so farre from the sea, that it will not be woorth the freight to cary it into Spaine. On the other side, the Kings officers will give no licence to make Ordinance thereof: whereupon the Mynes lie unlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the Countrey, so that with it they cover Churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shall not need any of our lead, as they have had neede thereof in times past.

<sup>1</sup> Especially.

*The pompe of  
owners of  
Mynes.*

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the Mynes is marvelous to behold. The apparell both of them, and of their wives, is more to be compared to the apparell of Noble persons, then otherwise. If their wives goe out of their houses, as unto the Church, or any other place, they goe out with great Majestie, and with as many men and maides, as though she were the wife of some Nobleman. I will assure you, I have seene a Myners wife goe to the Church with 100. men, and 20. Gentlewomen, and maides. They keepe open house, who will, may come to eate their meate. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are Princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all maner of things.

A good owner of Mynes must have at the least an hundred slaves, to carry and to stampe his metals; he must have many Mules, and men to keepe the Mynes; he must have mils to stampe his mettals; he must have many waines, and Oxen to bring home wood to fine the ore; he must have much quickesilver, and a marvelous quantitie of salt brine, for the mettals; and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quickesilver, it is a new invention, which they finde more profitable, then to fine their ore with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly. For there is never a hundreth of quickesilver but costeth at the least 60. pounds sterling. And the Mynes fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the few Indians that men have to labour their Mynes.

*The plentie  
of Cattell.*

There is in new Spaine a marvellous increase of cattel, which daily do increase, and they are of a greater growthe then ours are. You may have a great Steere that hath an hundred weight of tallow in his bellie for sixteene shillings, and some one man hath 20000 head of cattell of his owne. They sel the hides unto the Merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be wel spared. They spend many in the Countrey in shoes and bootes, and in the mynes: and as the Countrey is great, so is the increase of the cattell wonderfull. In the Island of Santo Domingo they commonly kil the beasts for their hides and tallow; and the fowles eat the carcases: and so they do in Cuba and Porto Ricco, whereas there is much suger, and Cana fistula, which daily they send into Spaine. They have great increase of sheepe in like

maner, and dayly doe intend to increase them. They have much wool, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as serveth the Countrey, for the common people, and send much cloth into Peru. I have seene cloth made in the city of Mexico, which hath beene solde for ten pezos a vare, which is almost foure pounds English, and the vare is lesse then our yard. They have Oad<sup>1</sup> growing in the Countrey, and Allam, and Brasill, and divers other things to dye withall, so that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth, but heereafter our cloth will be little set by in these parts, unlesse it be some fine cloth.<sup>2</sup> The wools are commonly foure shillings every rowe, which is five & twenty pounds: and in some places of the Countrey that are farre from the places where as they make cloth, it is worth nothing, and doth serve but onely to make beds for men to lye on.

*Sheepe,  
Wool, Cloth*

*Oad, Allam  
Brasill.*

They make hats, as many as doe serve the Countrey, very fine and good, and sell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like maner send them into Peru.

Many people are set on worke, both in the one, and in the other: they spin their wooll as we do, and in steede of oile, they have hogs grease: they twist not their threed so much as we doe, neither worke so fine a threed. They make no kersies, but they make much cloth, which is course, and sell it for lesse then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

They have much silke, and make all maner of sortes thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Velvets of all colours, and they are as good as the silkes of Spaine, saving that the colours are not so perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They have many horses, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They have as good Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they bee in Spaine. And with their mules they cary all their goods from place to place.

*Horses,  
Mules,  
Jennets.*

There is raine usually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midst of October, every day, which time they call their winter, by reason of the said waters. And if it were not for

<sup>1</sup> Woad.

<sup>2</sup> Spanish America had hitherto been a market for the coarse woollens exported from England. All this economic information was important to the lawyer who advised merchants on matters of foreign trade.



*Maiz graine  
for man and  
beast.*

the waters which fal in these hot seasons, their Maiz, which is the greatest part of their sustenance, would be destroyed. This Maiz is the greatest maintenance which the Indian hath, and also all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horses and mules which labour, cannot be without the same. This graine is substantiall, and increaseth much blood. If the Miners should bee without it, they coulde not labour their Mines: for all their servants eate none other bread, but onely of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in some places of England.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. shillings of money, and an haneg of Maiz, which is worth 4. shillings more, unto the King every yeere. This is payd in all Nova Hispania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, saving the Citie of Tlascalla, which was made free, because the citizens thereof were the occasion that Cortes tooke Mexico in so litle a time. And although at the first, they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to usurpe upon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne costes every yeere for the King, which is as beneficiall unto him, and as great cost unto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ships which goe out of Spaine with goods for Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there discharge the said goods: and from thence they be caried over the necke of a lande, unto a porte towne in the south sea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues distant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ship their goods againe, and so from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither three moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. dayes. They have seldome foule weather, and fewe ships are lost in the south sea. Foure yeeres past, to wit 1568, there was a ship made out of Peru, to seeke Salomons Islands, and they came somewhat to the South of the Equinoctiall, & founde an Island with many blacke people, in such number, that the Spaniards durst not goe on land among them.<sup>1</sup> And because they had bene long

*Salomons  
Islands  
sought, and  
found in the  
South sea,  
1568.*

<sup>1</sup> Two battered ships which had set out on Nov. 19, 1567 in search of the Western Islands, Solomon Islands and New Guinea, arrived in Santiago near Natividad on January 24, 1569. The licentiate Juan de Orosco of Guadalajara who sent the news to Philip II suggested that the islands discovered could be used as a base for the discovery of the mainland beyond, 'rich in gold and silver and with a people clothed'. (Hak. Soc. Pub. 2nd series, 7.)

uppon the voyage, their people were very weake, and so went not on land, to know what commoditie was upon it. And for want of victuals, they arrived in Nova Hispania, in a port called Porte de Navidad, and thence returned backe againe unto Peru, whereas they were evill entreated, because they had not knowen more of the same Island.

They have in this port of Navidad ordinarily their ships which goe to the Islands of China, which are certaine Islands which they have found within these 7. yeeres.<sup>1</sup> They have brought from thence gold, and much Cinamon, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that every man that may have a peece of them, will give the weight of silver for it. There was a mariner that brought a pearle as big as a doves egge from thence, & a stone, for which the Viceroy would have given 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these ylands, and the Spaniards have not many of them as yet:<sup>2</sup> for the Portingals disturbe them much, and combate with them every day, saying, it is part of their conquest, and to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, and they are great marriners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, and silver, and silke of all sorts, and goe apparelled after the maner of the Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine land, have certaine traffique with some of these Islanders, and come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such merchandize as they have neede of. And of these things there have bene brought into New Spaine both cloth of gold and silver, and divers maners of silkes, and workes of gold and silver, marvelous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a Countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the Islands 150. leagues: and the Islands are not farre from the Moluccas northwards. And the people of those Islands, which the Spaniards have, say, that if they would bring their wives and children, that then they should have among them what they would have. So there goe women dayly, and the king paieth all

*China found  
by the West.*

*China ships  
with one saile*

<sup>1</sup> The Pacific route to the Philippines was opened in 1564-5 by Urdaneta.

<sup>2</sup> "This is to be understood of the time when this discourse was written, 1572." (Note by Hakluyt.)

the charges of the married men and their wives, that go to those Islands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be marvelous rich in time to come.<sup>1</sup>

It was my fortune to be in companie with one Diego Gutierres,<sup>2</sup> who was the first Pilot that ever went to that Countrey of the Phillippinaes. He maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswel riches, as others, and saith, if there bee any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweet smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels wil be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding hee will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure, there is abundance, as he maketh mention. In this Countrey of Nova Hispania there are many Buckes and Does, but they have not so long hornes as they have here in England. The Spaniards kill them with handguns and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes, and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, & likewise they make marvelous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird, which is like unto a Raven, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such abundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the Countrey. Otherwise the abundance of carren is so much, that it would make a marvelous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there shall none of them be killed. These birds are always about Cities, and Townes, where there is much flesh killed.

*Chamoice.  
Spanish  
leather.*

*India Ravens  
not killed, to  
devour  
Carrion.*

*Wrongs done  
to the Indians  
punished.*

The Indians are much favoured by the Justices of the Countrey, and they call them their orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas justice is, they

<sup>1</sup> Such reports naturally stimulated the English adventurers to attempt to reach the Pacific.

<sup>2</sup> Gutierrez published a map of North America in 1562.

are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard is farre from Mexico, or any place of justice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedy, he maketh the Indian do what he commaundeth him, and if he will not doe it, hee beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, untill hee finde an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, & although it be a Knight, or a right good Gentleman, he is forthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Justice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and civill, as they are: and if they should not have this favour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and use other evill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needs put it up, and goe his way.

*Justice cause  
of civillitie.*

The poore Indians wil go every day two or three leagues to a Faire or Market with a childe upon their necks, with as much fruit or rootes, or some kinde of ware, as cotton wooll, or Cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they will mainteine themselves upon the same. For they live with a marvelous small matter.

They are in such povertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall have an Indian to goe with you all the day with your bed upon his backe, for one roiall of plate: and this you shall have from one Towne to another. Here you are to understand, that all men that traveile by the way, are alwayes wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeves, and wil steale all that they may, and you shall have no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this manner. The uppermost part is made almost like to a womans smock, saving that it is as broad above as beneath, and hath no sleeves, but holes on eche side one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth, made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers, of red Cadis and blewe, and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the

*The apparell  
of the Indians*

knees, and then they have another cloth made after the same maner, and that goeth rounde about their waste, and reacheth to their shooes, and over this a white fine sheet upon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made up round with an haire lace about their head. And the men have a small paire of breeches, of the same cotton wool, and their shirts which hang over their breeches, and a broad girdle about their middles, and a sheete with flowers upon their backes, and with a knot upon one shoulder, & an hat upon their heads, and a paire of shooes. And this is all their apparell, although it be a Casique, which they use in all the Countrey.

*The houses of  
the Indians.*

The wals of the houses of the Indians, are but plaine, but the stones are laid so close, that you shall not well perceive the joynts betweene one stone and another, they are so finely cut: and by the meanes that the stones are so workmanly done, and finely joynd together, there is some beautie in their wals. They are marvelous small and light, as Pumie stones. They make their doores very little, so that there can goe in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houses, are small, and one roome they have reserved for their friendes, when they come to talke one with another, and that is alwayes faire matted, and kept marvelous cleane, and hanged full of images, and their chaires standing there to sit in. They eate their meate upon the ground, and sleepe on the ground upon a mat, without any bed, both the gentlemen, and other.

*Fire rubbed  
out of two  
stickes.*

The Indians strike their fire with one sticke in another, aswell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not how to doe it with an yron, and a stone.

*Divers  
speeches.*

In Nova Hispania every 10. or 12. leagues they have a contrarie speech, saving onely about Mexico: so there is a number of speeches in the Countrey.

*Mutezuma  
and his riches.*

Mutezuma<sup>1</sup> which was the last King of this Countrey, was one of the richest Princes which have bene seene in our time, or long before. He had all kinde of beasts, which were then in the countrey, and all maner of birds, and fishes, and all maner of wormes, which creepe upon the earth, and all trees, and flowers, and herbes, all fashioned in silver and gold, which was the

<sup>1</sup> Montezuma.

greatest part of al his treasure, and in these things had he great joy, as the old Indians report. And unto this day, they say that the treasure of Mutezuma is hidden, and that the Spaniards have it not. This King would give none of his people freedome, nor forgive any of them that should pay him tribute, though he were never so poore. For if it had bene told him that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute according to the custome, then he would have him bound to bring at such times as tributes should be payd, a quill full of Lyce, saying, hee would have none free, but himselfe. He had as many wives or concubines, as he would have, and such as liked him. Alwaies whensoever he went out of his Court, to passe the time, he was borne upon 4. of his noble mens shoulders set upon a table, some say, of golde, and very richly dressed with feathers, of divers and many colours and flowers. He washed all his bodie every day, were it never so cold. And unto this day, so doe all the Indians, and especially the women.

*The Indians  
wash  
themselves  
every day.*

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great subjection. They may have in their houses no sword nor dagger, nor knife with any point, nor may weare upon them any maner of armes, neither may they ride upon any horse nor mules, in any sadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greatest paine of all. They have attempted divers times to make insurrections, but they have bene overthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beastly cowardlinesse.

There remaine some among the wild people, that unto this day eate one another. I have seene the bones of a Spaniard that have bene as cleane burnished, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are carried away by them, but they never come againe, whether they be men or women.

*Cannibals.*

They have in the Sea Islands of red salt in great abundance, whereas they lade it from place to place, about the sea coast: and they spend very much salt with salting their hides, and fish: and in their mynes they occupie great quantitie.

*Island of salt.*

They have much Allam, and as good as any that is in all the Levant, so that they neede none of that commoditie.

*Allam.*

They have also of their owne growing, much Cana fistula, &

*Cassia fistula.*

*Salsa perilla.* much Salsa Perilla, which is mervelous good for many kind of diseases.

*Florida.* There are in Florida many Jarrefalcons, and many other kinde of hawkes, which the Gentlemen of Nova Hispania send for every yeere. The Spaniards have two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

## Document 17

### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1576

Andwerp the most excellent of all cities, which scarce yeelded to any the most flourishing port townes of all Europe, was miserably sacked by the Spaniards. . . .

Some learned wits also being kindled with an honest desire to discover the most remote regions of the world and the secrets of the Ocean, excited with moneyed men no lesse inflamed with a desire of having, to discover if there were any straight in the north part of America, through which men might sayle to the rich country of Cathay, and the wealth of the East and West might be enjoyed by mutuall commerce.<sup>1</sup> . . .

. . . Leicester presently with money and grete promises, put away Douglass Sheffield (whether his Paramor or his wife I cannot say) on whom he had begotten a sonne,<sup>2</sup> and more openly made love to Lettice, Essex his widow, to whom also he joyned himself in a doubled marriage. For though it was reported that he had taken her to wife secretly, yet Sir Francis Knolles, who was father to Lettice, and was acquainted with Leicesters straying loves, would not believe it. . . . unlesse he might see the wedlock knit in his owne presence. . . .

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Frobisher voyages, 1576, 1577, 1578. The plans and preparations for Drake's voyage remained a well-guarded secret. The Spaniard Anthony de Guaras believed in September 1577 that 'the pirate' was bound for Scotland to kidnap the little Prince James. Nearly five months after he left Plymouth, Mendoza was told he had gone once more to Nombre de Dios and the Cimarrones. Meanwhile in December 1577 the Queen wrote to King Philip: "We beg very affectionately that all suspicions may be banished from between us, if any such have been raised by the acts of wicked men, with the object of destroying the close friendship which we enjoyed in our earlier years. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> It was said that Edward Dyer was in the secret of Leicester's love-affair. Douglas subsequently married Sir Edward Stafford. Her son was named Robert Dudley after his father. She already had a son and a daughter (who married the Earl of Ormond) by her first husband, Lord Sheffield.



## Document 18

### NOTES ON COLONISATION BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer,<sup>1</sup> 1578

Notes framed by a Gentleman heretofore to bee given to one that prepared for a discoverie, and went not: And not unfitt to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.<sup>2</sup>

That the first Seate be chosen on y<sup>e</sup> seaside so as (if it may be) you may have your owne Navie within Bay, river or lake, within your seat safe from the enemye. And so as the enemye shalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be dispersed with all windes and tempests that shall arise. Thus seated you shall bee least subjecte to annoy of the enemye, so may you by your Navie within, passe out to all partes of the worlde, and so may the shippes of Englande have accesse to you to supply all wantes, so

<sup>1</sup> These notes were intended for Gilbert's voyage, under his colonising patent. Extraordinarily conflicting rumours as to Sir Humfrey's objective were current. The Spanish Ambassador Mendoza arrived in England in March 1578, to see what Frobisher was about. Early in May he learned that one Stockwell was leaving for a certain island he had discovered, or perhaps to rob the Plate fleet. A week later the rumour was that Gilbert and Sir Henry Knollys had their ships lying in the Thames, ready to go with Stockwell. Mendoza believed, however, that their real objective was Santa Genela (?), and Gilbert was therefore taking with him a Chaldean "versed in that navigation and language". Could this be the Ninevite, Scander, or Alexander Simon, who had visited Dee in April 1577, and who claimed to be a victim of the Inquisition? Early in June it was said that Simon Fernandez, "a great rogue who knows that coast well", would sail with Gilbert and Stockwell, and ten days later Mendoza heard that Captain Cox, who brought back the survivors of Andrew Barker's piratical voyage to the Indies (among the Cimarrones) hoped to be of their company. The Ambassador therefore had this man watched, and in August reported that he had arranged for an English spy to make the voyage, having convinced himself that Gilbert was going on a plundering voyage to the Indies. Meanwhile John Dee was under the impression that the objective was Hochelaga on the St Lawrence, but in actual fact the ships never got farther than Irish waters (see *infra*, p. 135).

<sup>2</sup> Title used in the *Divers Voyages*, 1582.

may your commodities be caried away also. This seate is to bee chosen in temperate Climat, in sweete ayre, where you may possesse alwayes sweete water, wood, seacoles, or turfe, with fish, flesh, grayne, fruits, herbes and rootes, or so many of those, as may suffice very necessitie for the life of such as shall plant there. And for the possessing of mines of golde, of silver, copper, quicksilver, or of any such precious thing, the wantes of those needfull things may be supplied from some other place by sea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of	} are to be looked for as
Slate stone to tyle withall	
or such clay as maketh tyle,	
Stone to wall withall if Brycke	
may not bee made,	
Timber for building easely to	} no Citie may bee made
be conveyed to the place,	
Reede to cover houses or such	
like, if tyle or slate be not.	} be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to live without trafficke, or by trafficke and by trade of marchandize. If they shall live without sea trafficke, at the first they become naked by want of linen and wollen, and very miserable by infinite wantes that will otherwise ensue, and so will they be forced of them selves to depart, or els easely they will bee consumed by the Sps. by the Fr. or by the naturall inhabithantes of the cuntry, and so the interprice becomes reprochfull to our nation, and a lett to many other good purposes that may be taken in hande.<sup>1</sup>

And by trade of marchandize they can not live, excepte the sea or the lande there may yeelde commoditie for commoditie. And therefore you ought to have most speciall regarde of that point, and so to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and seate, may draw to you accesse of Navigation for the same, or that by your owne Navigation you may carie the same out, and fetch home the supplye of the wantes of the seate.

<sup>1</sup> The reference to the Spaniards and Frenchmen makes it clear that this advice was not written for Frobisher, who intended to leave some men to winter in the undiscovered North-West.

Such navigation so to bee employed, shall besides the supply of wantes, be able to encounter with forreyne force.

And for that in the ample vente of suche thinges as are brought to you out of engl. by sea, standeth a matter of great consequence, it behoveth that all humanitie and curtesie and much forbearing of revenge to the inland people be used, so shall you have firme amitie with your neyghbours, so shall you have their inland commodities to maintayne trafficke, and so shall you waxe rich and strong in force. Divers and severall commodities of the inland are not in great plentie to be brought to your handes, without the ayde of some portable or Navigable ryver, or ample lake, and therefore to have the helpe of such a one is most requisite: And so is it of effecte for the dispersing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlandes.

Nothing is more to be indevoured with the Inland people then familiaritie. For so may you best discover al the naturall commodities of their countrey, and also all their wantes, all their strengthes, all their weaknesse, and with whom they are in warre, and with whom confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen, you may woorke many great effectes of greatest consequence.

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle bee matters that are to bee respected. For if it be so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flattes, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochell, in the Bay of portingale, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skill, and so you have wonne one noble commoditie for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate bee such as may yeelde you the Grape as good as that at Burdeus, as that in Portingale, or as that about Sivil in Spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a woorkeman to put in execution to make wines, and to dresse Resigns [raisins] of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in the which you finde the Olif tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doeth require oyle, and weying howe deere of late it is become by the vent they

have of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you finde the wilde olif there it may be graffed.<sup>1</sup>

Or if you can find the berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles,<sup>2</sup> or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitt for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the west Indies on that firme [Continent].<sup>3</sup>

Or if you have hides of beastes fitte for sole Lether, &c. It wilbe a marchandize right good, and the savages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kinde, yet excellently after their owne manner.

Or if the soyle shall yeelde Figges, Almondes, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenge, Lemons, Potatos,<sup>4</sup> &c. there may arise some trade and trafficke by figges, almonds, sugar, marmelade, Sucket, &c.

Or if great woods bee founde, if they be of Cypres, chests may bee made, if they bee of some kinde of trees, pitch and tarre may be made, if they bee of some other then they may yeelde Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and al for trade and trafficke, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made; likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because trafficke is a thing so materiall, I wish that great observation be taken what every soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what commoditie soever, and what it may be made to yeelde by indeavour, and to send us notice home,<sup>5</sup> that thereuppon we may devise what meanes may be thought of to raise trades.

Nowe admit that we might not be suffered by the savages to enjoy any whole countrey or any more then the scope of a Citie, yet if wee might enjoy trafficke and be assured of the same, wee might bee much enriched, our Navie might be increased, and a

<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that Hakluyt had a colony in lat. 35°-40° in mind. The growing wool manufacture in New Spain was a serious matter to England and olive oil had nearly trebled in price.

<sup>2</sup> A coarse linsey-woolsey, usually dyed red.

<sup>3</sup> As Hawks related.

<sup>4</sup> This suggests that the true potato was already known in England as a useful vegetable. Peckham, in his *Report* of 1583, mentions maize and potato roots as among the commodities of America.

<sup>5</sup> The use of the first person plural suggests that Hakluyt is writing on behalf of a group of Gilbert's backers.

place of safetie might there be found, if change of religion or civill warres shoulde happen in this realme,<sup>1</sup> which are thinges of great benefite. But if we may injoy any large Territorie of apt soyle, we might so use the matter, as we should not depende upon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resignes, oranges, lemons, Spanish skinnies, &c. Nor upon Fraunce for woad, baysalt, and gascoyne wines, nor on Estland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, mastes, &c. So we shoulde not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inriche our doubtfull friendes, as we doe, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now we do: but should by our owne industries and the benefits of the soile there cheapely purches oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, mastes, boordes, fishe, gold, silver, copper, tallowe, hides and many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you have plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common uses at home there.<sup>2</sup>

If you can keepe a safe haven, although you have not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may have trafficke by sea upon one shore or other, upon that firme in time to come, if not present.

If you finde great plenty of tymber on the shore side or upon any portable river, you were best to cut downe of the same the first wynter, to be seasoned for shippes, barks, botes and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any river or brooke upon the which a sawing mill may be placed, it would doe great service, and therefore consideration woulde bee had of suche place.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession and after fortified by art, although by y<sup>e</sup> land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not injoy any traffick with the next neighbours, nor any vittell: yet might they vittell themselves of fishe to serve verie necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so have vent of their marchandize of England & also have vittell, or by meanes here-upon to be used to force the next neighbours to amitie. And

<sup>1</sup> It was more than sixty years before such circumstances occurred to send men to the colonies but English Catholics hoped to find refuge in Gilbert's colony.

<sup>2</sup> Economic nationalism attracted the lawyer.

keeping a navie at the setling place, they shoulde finde out along the tracte of the lande to have trafficke, and at divers Ilandes also. And so this first seate might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in tyme this place myght become of all the provinces round about the only governour. And if the place first chosen should not so wel please our people, as some other more lately found out: There might bee an easie remove, and that might be rased, or rather kept for others of our nation to avoyde an ill neyghbour, etc.

If the soyles adjoyning to such convenient haven and setling places be found marshie and boggie, then men skilful in draining are to be caried thither. For arte may worke wonderfull effectes therein, and make the soyle rich for many uses.

To plant uppon an Ilande in the mouth of some notable river, or upon the poynt of the lande entring into the river, if no such Iland be, were to great ende. For if such river were navigable or portable farre into the land, then would arise great hope of planting in fertil soyles, and trafficke on the one or on thother side of the river, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other petie king contending there for dominion.

Such rivers found, both barges and boates may bee made for the safe passage of such as shall perce y<sup>e</sup> same. These are to bee covered with doubles of course linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the savage from the rower.<sup>1</sup>

Since every soyle of the world by arte may be made to yeelde things to feede and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the soyle without and within, and we shall devise if neede require to amende the same, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruits in your planting place to your liking, we shall in v. drifats furnish you with such kinds of plants to be caried thither y<sup>e</sup> winter after your planting,<sup>2</sup> as shall the very next summer folowing, yeeld you some fruite, and the yere next following, as much as shal suffice a towne as bigge as Callice, and

<sup>1</sup> The younger Hakluyt ascribes this device to Roger Bodenham (see *infra*, p. 322).

<sup>2</sup> It was clearly expected that Gilbert would select and occupy a site early in 1578, to which supplies would be sent out before the end of the year.

that shortly after shall be able to yeeld you great store of strong durable good sider to drinke, and these trees shalbe able to increase you within lesse then vii yerres as many trees presently to beare, as may suffice the people of divers parishes,<sup>1</sup> which at the first setling may stand you in great steade, if the soyle have not the commoditie of fruites of goodnesse already. And because you ought greedily to hunt after thinges that yeelde present reliefe, without trouble of cariage thither, therefore I make mencion of these, thus specially, to the ende you may have it specially in mynde.

## Document 19

### ITALIAN NEWS LETTER FROM ROME, 1578

... Although it has been said more than once that the preparations made by the King of Portugal, though ostensibly against Africa were in truth designed against the Queen of England, little credence is given thereto, since it is well known how many fleets have without combat been undone by the exceeding great natural strength of that island, aided by the rapid fall of the tides: nevertheless there is now a resurgence of the rumour that the preparations are to this end, and that the confederates are the Pope, the Catholic King [Philip II], the King of Portugal and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.<sup>2</sup> ... 12 July 1578.

<sup>1</sup> As a Herefordshire landowner, Hakluyt was an authority on cider-apples.

<sup>2</sup> "The fatal end of Don Sebastian [King of Portugal, who fell in Africa in the month of August] diverted the Spaniards mind from the invasion of England to the hope of the Kingdome of Portugall." (Camden's *Annals*, 1578.)

## Document 20

### LETTER FROM ANTHONY PARKHURST, 1577-8

Right worshipfull, I have byn bold to send yow certain nootes tutchynge the newe founde land, the rather for that I perceived, at my last beyng with yow at the corte, by yo<sup>r</sup> rejoysyng hart, what joy yo<sup>we</sup> conceived to here any thyng that might benefyt yo<sup>r</sup> cuntry. And then weying the redynesse of yo<sup>r</sup> good nature, so prest to further sutche matter by sygnyfyinge the same to the grave counsellors of this land,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> stody continually nothyng more than gods honor and the proffyt of ther cuntrye, happely yowe beyng ofte tymes amonge them, may in some ower informe them what yowe hard, and what possybylyte there is in tyme to come to be rypte by that land, yf yt wer inhabyted.

Then dowte I not but among many informacions and notes made by me, and other sutche travellers that for lacke of power can but wysse well to the common welthe, and for our partes be redy to put downe matter whereon ther fyne wyttes may some tymes work uppon, and then owt there of to chose some one thyng among many, fyt to take in hand for the commodity of our Land.

1. For first and chefest I holde our trade of fysshynge, w<sup>ch</sup> might be made twyse, ye[a] thryse, as good as yet yt ys, w<sup>ch</sup> thanked be god ys well amended within v yeres, from iiij sayle of small barkes to fortye, whereof the one halfe ar worthy shippes, so that I dare be bolde to affirme to bryng home as mutche fysshe in some one of these as all the navy did before.

2. Nowe for yf this cuntry wer inhabyted, we might make salt ther much more cheper than in Ingland, for that owr wood and the caryage (that makes yt dere) would be saved.<sup>2</sup> And possible not far thense to fynde some apte place to make salt, with the helpe of the sonne as in france and spayne, for the clyme will

<sup>1</sup> Edward Dyer may be the person addressed. Just at this time he was acting as intermediary between John Dee and the Privy Council in advocating British expansion.

<sup>2</sup> The problem of cheap salt frequently occupied the lawyer Hakluyt's mind.



permyt. And I thyncke that aboute cape bryttayne, beynge fenced from the cold ayer of the Ise by cape race, to fynde yt very warme, as at rotchell.<sup>1</sup>

3. Our salt beynge saved, w<sup>ch</sup> stands us more then the vittels and all that we cary, we might not only sell thynges better chepe, but mighte make grete store of dry fysshe w<sup>th</sup> the bryne y<sup>t</sup> here is cast away. So might we save halfe the salt we spend, and make twyce as mutch dry fysshe as we do.

4. We shold further more, yf this land wer inhabyted, kepe people fysshynge halfe the yere and busyed in the makynge thereof, where as now not past ii moneths: ffor ther would be saved the tyme we spend in makynge our botes and stages. In grabbynge of botes. In makynge of flakes<sup>2</sup> and other dryinge places.

5. We should also provide in every harborow sutche mete places for dry fysshe that we myght make twyce as mutche as we do, and that with lesse payne, in halfe the tyme, and with halfe the men, w<sup>ch</sup> truly ys matter of greate importance.

6. Nowe will I shoue yowe howe mutche this voyage ys to be preferred before a spanyshe viage or other cuntryes. In primis, they cary forthe nether ware nor mony, nether spend they abrode halfe the vyttels that at home they woulde, and yet brynge they home greate store of fysshe, suffycient to serve our realme and others from whence with yt we brynge home rytche commodyte.

7. It also increseth the navy, good maryners, good fysshermen, and that w<sup>ch</sup> moste strange ys, yt maketh them honest, ritche and good husbonds, againste ther onlie custome w<sup>ch</sup> seldome they brake unless by constraynt. Thes men as I saide are honest, for that they fynd not in this country wyne nor women. They wex welthy, for that thier shares ys worthe thre tymes the waiges they have for france, spayne or denmarke. Nether spend they that abrode, or they cum home as in other viages. Thus can their wyves, chyl dren, servantes and credytors wytnes w<sup>th</sup> me the swetenes and proffyt of this viage.

<sup>1</sup> Bay salt was imported into England from Rochelle. It was used in bulk by fishermen to salt down their catch.

<sup>2</sup> Stages for drying fish.

8. It also spareth mutche flesshe in this realme and especially in thos partes from whence thes shippes are set forth. The poverty<sup>1</sup> there greatly refreshed, and mutche by that trade set on worke (over longe to declare). So that the povertye together with the clargy do pray for the prosperus successe of these fysshermen. And I am well assured so doth the gentry, for they all have some proffyt as yowe shall know more at large when I cum next to London,<sup>2</sup> especyally the power hospytalls and the povertye of thos shiers and portes from whence thes shippes be. For ther is given out of every mans share, and of the shippes parte, and also the vytters at the least xiid. uppon every syngell share, w<sup>ch</sup> may amounte out of a tall shippe to the valewe of x li., besyde the broken fysshe, w<sup>ch</sup> is no small quantity, at the least ii or thre thousand, w<sup>ch</sup> may be worthe xx li. or xxx li. yf yt were sale abell,<sup>3</sup> and yet as good to eate as the hole.

9. Farther more yowe shall understand that by this viage a greate number of cuntry people, and of all sortes of occupacyons that cannot lyve, ar by thes meanes made good maryners and fysshermen, and that in one viage.

10. Also mo men set on worke in shippes of equal burden by one halfe then ys to france, spayne and denmarke, for a ship bownde to france requyryng forty men, hath nede of fower score to the new founde on fysshynge fare. And yf xx<sup>ii</sup> of thes be good maryners, they shall be abell to conducte the shippe, and make the rest that never wer on see resonable good maryners and fysshermen or they cum home.

11. More over yowe shall understand that thes men that travell thether kepe a longe lent of halfe one yere, and spare mutche drynke and vyteles that at home and in other cuntries they would wantonly wast. Lyvyng now by fysshe, sower bere, bysket, bad syder and that more then halfe myngeled w<sup>th</sup> water.

12. Nowe shal yowe understand what other comōdytes may growe by that cuntrye more then hitherto we have had. Chefely

<sup>1</sup> Poor people.

<sup>2</sup> Parkhurst presumably was writing from Bristol whence he wrote to Hakluyt (Doc. 21).

<sup>3</sup> Cod fish must therefore have been sold at five for a shilling.

above all other the kyllynge of wale,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> woulde be one of the rytchest trades in the worlde, as the bascons<sup>2</sup> knowe right well, that use that trade only.

Also there might be had towarde the navy greate aboundance of mastes, yardes, plancke, dele borde, turpentyne, rosin, pytche, tar.

There is also in thes lande grete store of dere, hares, brefylles, beares, foxes, wolfes, lybards,<sup>3</sup> otters, sables and martyns. There groweth roses as common as here bryars. So doth ther of raspes, of hurtes, strawberryes and dewberryes, w<sup>th</sup> many other strange beryes.

13. Also ther might be had greate store of Iron, for there is plenty of the myne, and of alder and berche mete for cole, the chefest charge, so ys ther trym ryvers for yowr iron mylles and for sawynge mylles for yo<sup>r</sup> planckes and bordes.<sup>4</sup>

14. There might also be incresed greate plenty of all kyndes of cattell in a shorte tyme, as by example of the Spanyards in the West Indes, w<sup>ch</sup> sence ther cummynge thether have had sutche increase of thos they caryed thether, that I have seen ther one meane man, named lazarus besherano, in the ile of curazao, to have a greter number of beefes then ever I saw or herd any in Ingland to have of shepe.<sup>5</sup> So have they there of horse and excellent Junettes,<sup>6</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> for ther skynes they kyll in grete number. What might ther be thoughte the increase of swyne would be in this cuntry, so nere to us in respecte of<sup>7</sup> thos partes of the west Indes. Thes have yonge thryse in the yere and most tymes xiiij, xv or xvi. Thes and conyes would in small tyme multiplye to a number infynyte.

15. There is to this land sutch plenty of fysshe and foule that how many so ever went thether shoulde not nede to kyll any of ther cattell they cary for store. They only nede bred and dryncke for one yere or twayne tyll the grounde may be sowen, w<sup>ch</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Whale.

<sup>2</sup> Basques. They provided train-oil for the English and other markets.

<sup>3</sup> Leopards, *i.e.* probably lynx.

<sup>4</sup> These natural resources of Newfoundland had to wait four centuries for development.

<sup>5</sup> This was when Parkhurst sailed with Hawkins on his second slaving voyage.

<sup>6</sup> Jennets.

<sup>7</sup> 'By comparison with.'

most places is apte for all kynde of corne, as I have made parte tryall.

Pees growe there naturally on the rockes and beeche, pasture plentyfull and good, for there groweth the clover grasse and hony suckell<sup>1</sup> both whyte and red.

This cuntry is habytale and at all tymes of the yere passable as I wyll prove at large by probabell reasons at my next cummynge. Thus I commyt you to almyghte god, trustyng shortly to make yo<sup>r</sup> worship better acquaynted w<sup>th</sup> newland matters.

Yours for ever

*Anthony Parkhurst*

## Document 21

### LETTER FROM ANTHONY PARKHURST TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1578

A letter written to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of the middle Temple, containing a report of the true state and commodities of Newfoundland, by M. ANTHONIE PARKHURST Gentleman, 1578.

Master Hakluyt, after most heartie commendations, with like thanks for your manifold kindnesse to me shewed, not for any merits that hitherto have beene mine, but wholly proceeding, I must needs confesse, of your owne good nature, which is so ready prest to benefit your countrey and al such poore men as have any sparke in them of good desires, that you do not onely become their friend, but also humble your selfe as servant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cause your burning zeale to bee knownen to those that have authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompence your travelling mind and pen,<sup>2</sup> wherewith you cease not day nor night

<sup>1</sup> Clover.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase suggests that the pamphlet written for Gilbert was not the first or only one from Hakluyt's pen at this date.

to labour and travell to bring your good and godly desires to some passe, though not possibly to that happy ende that you most thirst for: for such is the malice of wicked men, the divels instruments in this our age, that they cannot suffer any thing (or at least few) to proceed and prosper, that tendeth to the setting forth of Gods glory, and the amplifying of the Christian faith, wherein hitherto princes have not bene so diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harvest great, I trust God hath made you an instrument to increase the number, and to moove men of power, to redeeme the people of Newfoundland and those parts from out of the captivitie of that spirituall Pharao, the divell.

Now to answer some part of your letter<sup>1</sup> touching the sundry navies that come to New found land, or Terra nova, for fish: you shall understand that some fish not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen; and some yeeres come many more then other some, as I see the like among us: who since my first travell being but 4. yeeres, are increased from 30. saile to 50.<sup>2</sup> which commeth to passe chiefly by the imagination of the Western men, who thinke their neighbours have had greater gaines then in very deed they have, for that they see me to take such paines yeerely to go in proper person, they also suppose that I find some secret commoditie by reason that I doe search the harbors, creekes and havens, and also the land much more then ever any Englishman hath done. Surely I am glad that it so increaseth, whereof soever it springeth. But to let this passe, you shall understand that I am informed that there are above 100. saile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and do drie it when they come home) besides 20. or 30. more that come from Biskaie, to kill Whale for traine. These be better appoynted for shipping and furniture of munition, then any nation, saving the Englishmen, who commonly are lordes of the harbors where they fish, and do use all strangers helpe in fishing if need require, according to an old custome of the cuntry, which thing they do willingly, so that

<sup>1</sup> Probably writtē early in the year.

<sup>2</sup> If Parkhurst's figures are accurate his fourth voyage was later, perhaps by one year, than that in which he found forty English ships (see *supra*, p. 123). He was in Newfoundland in 1575, 1576, 1577 and 1578.

you take nothing from them more then a boat<sup>1</sup> or twaine of salt, in respect of your protection of them against rovers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbor, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be well neere five or sixe thousand: but of Portingals there are not lightly above 50. saile, and they make all wet in like sorte, whose tunnage may amount to three thousand tunnes, and not upwarde. Of the French nation and Brittons, are about one hundred and fiftie sailes, the moste of their shipping is very small, not past fortie tunne, among which some are great and reasonably well appointed, better then the Portingals, and not so well as the Spaniards, and the burden of them may be some 7000. tunne. Their shipping is from all parts of France and Brittain [Brittany], and the Spaniards from most parts of Spaine, the Portingals from Aviero and Viana, and from 2. or 3. portes more. The trade that our nation hath to Island [Iceland], maketh that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodnesse of the countrey, you shall understand that I have in sundry places sown Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Pease and seedes of herbes, kernels, plumstones, nuts, all which have prospered as in England.<sup>2</sup> The countrey yeeldeth many good trees of fruit, as Filberds in some places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of Pearetree meet to graffe on. As for Roses, they are as common as Brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raspis, as common as grasse. The timber is most Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple<sup>3</sup> trees: fewe of these two kinds meete to maste a ship of threescore and ten: but neere the grand baie or Cape Briton, big and sufficient for any ship. There bee also Okes & thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meetest wood for cole,<sup>4</sup> and also Willow, which will serve for many other purposes. As touching the kindes of fish beside Cod, there are Herrings, Salmones, Thornebacke, Plase, or rather wee should call them Flounders, Dog fish, and another most excellent of taste called of us a Cat, Oisters, and Muskles,

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 133. The Portuguese failed to deliver the salt claimed by Parkhurst, and he lost the season's fishing.

<sup>2</sup> This again suggests longer experience than in the previous letter.

<sup>3</sup> Pine.

<sup>4</sup> Charcoal.

in which I have found pearles above 40. in one Muskle, and generally all have some, great or small. I heard of a Portugall that found one woorth 300. duckets: There are also other kinds of Shel-fish, as limpets, cockles, wilkes, lobsters, and crabs: also a fish like a Smelt<sup>1</sup> which commeth on shore, and another that hath the like propertie, called a Squid: these be the fishes, which (when I please to bee merie with my old companions) I say, doe come on shore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports,<sup>2</sup> and conjure them by such like words: These also bee the fishes which I may sweepe with broomes on a heape, and never wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatsoever they be appointed by any man, so they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes bee small, but the nature of the fish great and strange. For the Squid, whose nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them. I set him a candle to see his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it, as doe our fresh water fish, the other commeth also in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would devour him, and therefore for feare comming so neere the shore, is driven drie by the surge of the Sea on the pibble and sands. Of these being as good as a Smelt, you may take up with a shove net, as plentifully as you do Wheate in a shovell, sufficient in three or foure houres for a whole Citie. There be also other fishes which I tell those that are desirous of strange newes that I take as fast as one would gather up stones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie say they, wee beleeeve so, and that you catch all the rest you bring home in that sort, from Portingals and Frenchmen. No surely, but thus I doe: with three hookes stretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele speare, with which I pricke those Flounders as fast as you would take up fritters, with a sharpe pointed stick, and with that toole I may take up in lesse then halfe a day Lobsters sufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This pastime ended, I shewe them that for my pleasure I take a great Mastive I have, and say no more then thus: Goe fetch me

<sup>1</sup> "Called by the Spaniards Anchovas, and by the Portingales Capelinas" is the younger Hakluyt's marginal note.

<sup>2</sup> Cinque Ports: Parkhurst was a Kentish man.

this rebellious fish that obeyeth not this Gentleman that cometh from Kent and Christendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of those great Coddess by reason of shelving ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him up backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cause my friendes to wonder, and at the first hearing to judge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merie when they heare the meanes howe each tale is true.

I tolde you once I doe remember how in my travell into Affrica and America,<sup>1</sup> I found trees that bare Oisters, which was strange to you, till I tolde you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Oisters and Muskles did sticke fast, as their propertie is to stakes and timber.

Nowe to let these merie tales passe, and to come to earnest matters againe, you shall understand, that New found land is in a temperate Climate, and not so colde as foolish Mariners doe say, who finde it colde sometimes when plentie of Isles of Ice lie neere the shore: but up in the land they shall finde it hotter then in England in many parts of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the Ice that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the situation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate.<sup>2</sup> The countrey is full of little small rivers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendred both of snow and raine: few springs that ever I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in some places or rather in most places, great lakes with plentie of fish, the countrey most covered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good grasse, and plentie of Beares every where, so that you may kill of them as oft as you list: their flesh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other, if it be poudred<sup>3</sup> but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like store. There are Sea Guls, Murres,<sup>4</sup> Duckes, wild geese, and many other kind of birdes store, too long to write, especially at one Island named Penguin, where wee

<sup>1</sup> With Hawkins. Parkhurst and Hakluyt are clearly friends of long standing.

<sup>2</sup> Here Parkhurst shows a clear knowledge of climatic factors.

<sup>3</sup> Sprinkled with salt or spice.

<sup>4</sup> Auks.



may drive them on a planke into our ship as many as shall lade her. These birdes are also called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of these then in a goose: the Frenchmen that fish neere the grand baie, doe bring small store of flesh with them, but victuall themselves alwayes with these birdes. Nowe againe, for Venison plentie, especially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Plesance: there are many other kinds of beasts, as Luzarnes<sup>1</sup> and other mighty beastes like to Camels in greatnesse, and their feete cloven,<sup>2</sup> I did see them farre off not able to discerne them perfectly, but their steps shewed that their feete were cloven, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I suppose them to bee a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreyes adjacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee also to the Northwards, Hares and Foxes in all parts so plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our flesh before our faces, within lesse then halfe a paire of butts length, where foure and twentie persons were turning of drie fish, and two dogges in sight, yet stoode they not in feare till wee gave shot and set the dogges upon them: the Beares be also as bold, which will not spare at middaie to take your fish before your face, and I beleeeve assuredly would not hurt any bodie unlesse they be forced.

Nowe to shew you my fansie what places I suppose meetest to inhabite in those parts discovered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand baie, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chasteaux, and one Island in the very entrie of the streight called Bell Isle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are stones and things meete for it throughout all New found land) we shall bee lordes of the whole fishing in small time, if it doe so please the Queenes majestie,<sup>3</sup> and from thence send wood and cole with all necessaries to Laborador lately discovered: but I am of opinion, and doe most stedfastly beleeeve that we shall finde as rich Mines<sup>4</sup> in

<sup>1</sup> Lynx, the 'lybards' of his earlier letter (*supra*, p. 126).

<sup>2</sup> Elk, the 'brefylls' or 'bufylls' of his earlier letter (*supra*, p. 126).

<sup>3</sup> The route to the St Lawrence River by Belle Isle Strait is shorter by nearly 250 miles than that through the Gulf. Château Bay is on the Labrador side of the strait. Parkhurst's knowledge is very exact.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* as Frobisher's.

more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fishing then any yet we have used, where wee shall have not farre from thence plentie of salt made by fire undoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reason I finde salt kernalled on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: these places may bee found for salte in three and fortie.<sup>1</sup> I know more touching these two commodities last remembred, then any man of our nation doth; for that I have some knowledge in such matters, and have most desired the finding of them by painefull travaile, and most diligent inquirie. Now to be short, for I have bene over long by master Butlers<sup>2</sup> means, who cryed on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde woorthy of remembraunce: wherefore this one thing more. I could wish the Island in the mouth of the river of Canada,<sup>3</sup> should bee inhabited, and the river searched, for that there are many things which may rise thereof, as I will shew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proove whether it be true or no that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portingals to bee in that river, and about Cape Britton. I had almost forgot to speake of the plentie of wolves, and to shew you that there be Foxes, blacke, white & gray: other beasts I know none save those before remembred. I found also certain Mines of iron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Island of Iron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had desire to plant thereabout, for proove whereof I have brought home some of the oare of both sortes. And thus I ende, assuring you on my faith, that if I had not bene deceived by the vile Portingals, descending of the Jewes and Judas kinde, I had not fayled to have searched this river, and all the coast of Cape Britton, what might have bene found to have benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falsifying their faith and promise, disappointed me of the salte they should have brought me in part of recompense of my good service in defending them two yeeres against French Rovers that had spoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me loose not onely the search-

<sup>1</sup> 43° lat.

<sup>2</sup> Butler commanded Raleigh's ship in Gilbert's fleet of 1583. On a plea of sickness among the crew, the vessel turned back in the Channel.

<sup>3</sup> Anticosti, formerly Ascension.

ing of the countrey, but also forced mee to come home with great losse above 600. li. For recompence whereof I have sent my man into Portingall to demaund justice at the kings hand, if not, I must put up my supplication to the Queenes Majestie & her honourable counsell, to grant me leave to stay here so much of their goods as they have damnified mee, or else that I may take of them in New found land, as much fish as shall be woorth 600. li. or as much as the salte might have made. I pray you advertise mee what way I were best to take, and what hope there may bee of a recompence if I follow the suite:<sup>1</sup> many there are that doe comfort mee, and doe bid mee proceede, for that her Majestie and the counsell doe tender poore fisher men, who with me have sustained three hundred pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend<sup>2</sup> shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. John, or the river of Canada,<sup>3</sup> with any part of the firme land of Cape Britton, I shall give my diligence for the true and perfect discoverie, and leave some part of mine owne businesse to further the same: and thus I end, committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of November, 1578.

Yours to use and command

*Anthony Parkhurst*

<sup>1</sup> Here the lawyer is consulted professionally.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Gilbert or Sir George Peckham. Parkhurst had evidently been asked to make a special reconnaissance.

<sup>3</sup> St Lawrence.

## Document 22

### LETTER FROM SIR HUMFREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, 1578<sup>1</sup>

Sr, As in my former letters I advertised yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> by what strange accident Mr Knoles left the service he undertook w<sup>th</sup> me before her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, moved by such trifles as (under yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> correction) were meter to brake amitie among childeren then men. So bycause I do waye in equall balance w<sup>th</sup> life yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> good opinion of me, I thought it good to send yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> this certifycat, under the Maiors hand of Plymouth, and others of her Ma<sup>ties</sup> servants and captaynes who were present when I publicly desired Mr Knoles to declare all the causes that moved hym to mislike. All w<sup>ch</sup> he did or could allege are particularly set downe in the said certifycat, comitting myself upon the sight thereof to be judged, as the thyng itself shal gyve cause. But truly I can gesse noe other but that his pretence was to brake from the bygynninge, and ranne this course thereby to have color to arme to sea. And there w<sup>th</sup> all either to learne my enterprise and so to undertake the discovery of hymself, as one moved thereunto through ambicion and disdayn, either els to runne some shorter course, w<sup>ch</sup> I wishe to prove mete for his callinge.

I most humbly beseche yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to ymparte this certificat to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>, my lord of Leicester, and Mr Vicechamberlayne,<sup>2</sup> w<sup>th</sup> suche other as to yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> shall seme good. But my principall care is to satisfie you above all other, by cause yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> was the only meanes of my lycence. And therefore as my patron I studie principallie, next unto her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, to mayntayn myselfe in yo<sup>r</sup> good opynyon, whom I my selfe will honor and serve during life, no man more. And I trust, God willinge, to bringe althinges to good passe, this crosses and thwarts not w<sup>th</sup> standinge.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is inserted as helping to explain why the careful planning of men like the elder Hakluyt came to naught.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Hatton.

More over my cousin Deny doth accompany Mr Knoles<sup>†</sup> in this his breche and retirement from our consorte. The cause of my cousin denys departure was only for that I blamed hym for stricken of a sayler w<sup>th</sup> his naked sworde, who had not his wepon drawne, desiring hym to leve quarrelling, for that it was a thinge very unwise for this jorney: and if he left it not I judge hym not fitt for the viage. Whereuppon he very outragiously and w<sup>th</sup> very unsemely termes abused me, in not only challengynge me, but also in dispitfull manner defyenge me, w<sup>ch</sup> I thought to be hardly done, consideringe I hold the place of a Justice of pece in this countrey. And thus yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> hath thoccasion also of this his brech, wherein if I have enformed yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> otherwise then the truthe, then judge me a villayne and a knave; ffor better accompte I judge noe man worthe that shal be founde unjuste in worde or dede. And this I hold for my best tryall.

And soe I humbly committ yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> to God, w<sup>th</sup> my dutiful comendacions to my good Lady.

Plymouth the xviiiith of November 1578.

Yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> humble and most assured to comānde

*H. Gylberte*

<sup>†</sup> According to H.C.A. 13, No. 24, Knollys took a French prize, the *Armine* of Brest, on his way to join Gilbert from Bristol. After leaving the latter as described above he sent his own ship home and cruised the Channel in his prize on the look out for further booty.

## Document 23

### NOTES ON DYESTUFFS BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1579

Certain directions given by Master RICHARD HACKLUYT of the middle Temple, to Master MORGAN HUBBLETHORNE, Dyer, sent into Persia, 1579.

1 For that England hath the best wooll, & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the Realme have no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren Countreies were seene, to the ende that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greatest excellencie: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally, you are sent over, at the charge of the Citie: and therefore for the satisfying the Lordes, and of the expectation of the Merchants and of your companie,<sup>1</sup> it behooves you to have care to returne home with more knowledge, then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth, and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to devise to dye as good colours with the one halfe of the present price, were to the great commodity of the Realme, by saving of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must have great care to have knowledge of the materials of all the Countreis that you shall passe through, that may be used in dying, be they hearbes, weedes, barkes, gummes, earths, or what els soever.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thrommed<sup>2</sup> wooll, the best of the worlde, and excellently coloured: those Cities & Townes you must repaire to, and you must use meanes to learne all the order of the dying of those thrommes, which are so, died

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Dyers' Company.

<sup>2</sup> With small tufts, or with a raised pile.

as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger, can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth. For if the colour holde in yarne, and thromme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia, they have great colouring of silkes, it behooves you to learne that also, for that cloth dying, & silke dying, have a certaine affinitie, and your Merchants mind to bring much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisite you learne the same.

5 In Persia, there are that steine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it, if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They have a cunning in Persia, to make in Buskins<sup>1</sup> of Spanish leather, flowers of many kindes in most lively colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there, to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East partes of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint your selfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anyle<sup>2</sup> there, if you can procure the herbe, that it is made of either by seede or by plant, to cary into England, you may doe well to endeavour to enrich your Countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anyle, and if you can get the hearbe, you may send the same drye into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances, that they die with all in Russia, and also in Persia, that your companie may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoever you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercie: and by each returne I wish you sende in writing whatsoever you have learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death, or life, your Countrey may enjoy

<sup>1</sup> High boots.

<sup>2</sup> Indigo.

Be my good wylle your returned wylle wylle of your  
 good friends of the fortification to be made in the  
 mandest place of the strait

And so my good wylle is muche full in fortification  
 my pleasure is to have some place of the strait

13  
 opportunitie late taken stronge little towne when there  
 is lower Bagel of Colon called la Bastida.  
 The baggage of Pedro de Garmento is taken by the  
 protestants when lower part of the frontiers of Coque  
 the name of the place as yet I cannot perfectly know.



the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and travell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fixe, and make sure the colour to be given by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy oade so deere, to the enriching of our enemies.<sup>1</sup>

13 Enquire of the price of Leckar,<sup>2</sup> and of all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note, from whence every of them doe come, and where, and in what Countrey each of them doth growe, I meane where the naturall place of each of them is, as how neere to such a Citie, or to such a Sea, or to such a portable River in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before your returne you could procure a singular good workeman, in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bring the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.<sup>3</sup>

## Document 24

### A PAMPHLET BY RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, 1579-80

#### A DISCOURSE OF THE COMMODITY OF THE TAK- ING OF THE STRAIGHT OF MAGELLANUS

The perill that may ensue to all Princes of Europe yf the King of Spain be suffered to enjoy Portugalle with the East Indies is [soche as is] not on sodden to be set downe, but is a matter of greate and [grave] consideracion. And because the matter requyreth present consideracion without delaye, of many wayes, 3 principall there be [that without] great charge and without

<sup>1</sup> Logwood, like woad, yielded a blue dye. Woad was imported from Bordeaux and from the Azores.

<sup>2</sup> Lacquer.

<sup>3</sup> The journey lasted from June 1579 to September 1581, but owing to the wars between the Persians and the Turks the party never got beyond Baku and Derbent. They were able to purchase forty-eight bales of raw silk.

open war may worke [mervelous] effecte in this case of mischiefe, and the suddaine death of the Russian.<sup>1</sup> Which are these (for of ayde to be given to the Portugall nacion I meene not to write).

And before I disclose what tne 3 be, it is not altogether [unapte] to the matter that I tell you, that yf the East and West Indies fall to Spaine, and Portugal [also], that from thenceforth [he will] nether desire to have anie commoditie of England, nor yet anie commoditie of his owne in England, having so many commodities and several Territories to make enterchange of the severall commodities etc.

1. That the Straight of Magellanus be taken and fortified, inhabited and kept.
2. That the Isle of S. Vincent in Brasill, and the soyle adjoyning be taken and kept.
3. That the northest trade be discovered with all spede, and drawn to trade.

A shewe how the straight may be with small charges manned, fortified and victualled, and kept against all the force of Spayne.

The Str of Magellane is the gate of entry into the tresure of both the East and the West Indies. And whosoever is Lord of this Straight may account himselfe Lord also of the West Indies, soe it may be used.

The greatest Navie in the worlde may moste safelie and moste quietly lye and harbour in this Strait, in all wethers and in all seasons of the yere. All the tract of America on Mar del Sur is voyde of fortification and of ordinaunce, and of navy of force, whereof followeth etc.

This Straight is founde to have grete plentie of wood on bothe sides. It hathe freshe water in the Ilands, as our men found at there being there. If it had not fresh water we have a devise of the sea water to make greate plentie.

The soyles adjoyning to the straits have stagges and victuall,

<sup>1</sup> Ivan the Terrible had now reigned fifty years, but in point of fact he did not die until 1584. Cardinal Henry, King of Portugal, died Jan. 30, 1580.

as appereth by the raw fleshe offered by the savages at the Straits to our men. The Straits also have whales.

2. The Cape St. Vincent in Brasill, distant from the str. —leages.

The Iland of St. Vincent is easely to be wonne with — men, by meane it is nether manned nor fortified, and being wonne it is to be kept with — .

This Iland and the mayne adjoyning doth so abound with victual that it is able to victual infinite multitudes of people, as our people report that were there with Drake,<sup>1</sup> who had oxen, hogges, hennes, citrones, lymons, oranges etc.

Distant from the mouth of the strait is the Iland of St. Georges, which yeldeth fowle infinite, able to victuall armies. These flie not, and may esely be taken and eaten freshe or kept salte.<sup>2</sup>

These ilands will yelde plentie of grayne if they be sowed.

There yeldeth plentie of good fish within the straights as it is conjectured. But it is certaine that for the space of 40 myle in the strait towarde the South Sea there is easely to be gathered at the lowe water much grete and most delicate mussels, able to victuall a whole armie, as for ever.

The seales there be xv or xvi feete long, with which the people may be clothed, and the soyle will yeeld hempe and flaxe for lynnens.<sup>3</sup>

There is a notable ryver without the mouthe of the Strayte full of dyvers kinds of good fysshe, in which river Magellan laye with his navie.

The rockes also have plenty of the fysh called lymptites, as broade as half oranges: of these and of the grete muskels did our men victuell.

There is in the Strait on both sides tymber for to build us howses and ships, more then maye be spent.

<sup>1</sup> There is no record that Drake victualled at St Vincent on his outward voyage, but Winter put in there on his return in 1579.

<sup>2</sup> Penguins.

<sup>3</sup> The seals were met with on an island in the R. Plate, and not in the Strait, as appears from Cliffe's narrative, which Hakluyt published in the *Principal Navigations*.

To the Str. of Magellans may be sent Clerke the pyratt<sup>1</sup> upon promise of pardon, and to culler the matter he may goo as of himselfe,<sup>2</sup> and not with the countenance of thenglish state, or some such man may be sent. He may have with him certain cast peeeces of iron,<sup>3</sup> for defense of the fortifications to be made at the narrowest part of the Straight. And he may have also a man skilfull in fortification, with platformes to be carried hence, fitt for that place.

The Capes or pointes on each side may be fortified with forts of raggstone and of erthe for the tyme, for possessing the passage of the strait and for defense against all attempts, against the savages and all other by land, till other further order may be taken therein.

Now to him that shall object that it shal not be enough to keepe [but two] pointes in the narrow of the Str., with out the keeping of the entry into the Strait bothe at thone and thother end, which are places one hundred and odde leges asunder; and to him that shal say that it requireth [no small] navie, nor no small charge, nor no small venter [of such as] shal goo about suche an enterprise, I answer that theeffect shall be wrought with grete ease in this sorte.

For the Symerones,<sup>4</sup> a people detesting the prowde governance of the Spanyards, will easely be transported by Drake or others of our nation to the Straights, and there may be planted by hundreds or thowsands, how many as we shal require. And these shall easily be induced to live subject to the gentle government of the English and to be planted there for the defense of the Straights. And planting over them a few good English captens, and maintayning in the bayes of the Straighes a good navie, there is no doubt but that we shal make subjecte to England all the golden mines of Peru and all the coste and tract of that firme of America upon the Sea of Sur. And work the like effect on the hither side of that Firme. And for the Spanyard, bothe for his breeding in a hote region and for his delicacie in dyett and lodging, he shall not be able to endure in the coldness of that

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> To avoid diplomatic difficulties with Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Iron ordnance.

<sup>4</sup> Cimarrones.

climate of Strait. But the Symeron although borne in a hote region, yet by meane he has been bredde as a slave, in all toyle farre from delicacie, he shalbe able to endure the climate, and think himself a happy man when as by good provision he shal find himselfe plentifully fed, warmly clothed, and well lodged and by our nation made free from the tyrannous Spanyard, and quietly and courteously governed by our nation.

To these Symerons we may add condemned Englise men and women, in whom there may be founde hope of amendement. And using policie we might enjoye those benefits as the Spaniards now do and of many yeares have.

But admit that we could not enjoye the same long, but that the English there would aspire to government of themselves, yet were it better that it sholde be soe then that the Spanyard shold with the tresure of that countrey torment all the contries of Europe with wars and practises as he hathe and will doo if it be not foreseen in time. But we myght kepe the cuntry as well as the Spanyards doe, and use traffique with them.

#### THE NORTH EAST STRAIGHT

Touching the north east straight, I say that whenever the rule and government of the East & West Indies, and there severall isles and territories shalbe in one Prince, they neither will receive English clothe nor yet care for anie vente of there commodities to us, having then so manie places of there owne to make vente and enterchange of ther commodities.

For the West Indies is a sufficient vent of all their wyne, oyle and of all ther wolles indraped.<sup>1</sup> In which respect and for that it is like that Spayne may (coming greter in Affrike) cut of our vent of clothe there. And for that by the deathe or tyranny of the Muscovite our vent of clothe in Russia and Persia may be also cut of, good policie wold, and good foresight requireth, that the discoverie of the north-east be taken in hand, not onlie for avoyding the grete intollerable mischeefe of lack of vent which

<sup>1</sup> The expansion of the Spanish trade with the West Indies and New Spain was held to be a factor in the decline of the Anglo-Spanish trade; cf. *supra*, p. 119 n.

may happe, but also to cut Spaine from the trade of the Spicerie, to the abating of hir navie, hir welthe and high credit in the worlde. In which respect a present consultation wolde be had, as well for choyce of vi or viii or x persons to be sent up along the coast eastward of St. Nicholas<sup>1</sup> toward the grete river of Ob, and to sever, and some to go to Kitay Lake,<sup>2</sup> and so southward, some others along the tract of the sea till they come to the civill nations, and all there to appoynt a certain returne of an advertise-ment backward, at a tyme and place certain.

And also to appoynt certain barkes and pynesses with flat bottomes to be made in Russia or England, to be ready to be joyned with our shipwrights in Russia. And upon consultation it may appear that the advantage of the yere may be taken by speedier and by sooner departure from St. Nicholas, upon the departure of the ise in the breaking up of winter. Then those barkes and pynesses for discovery to be made in Russia or if to be made in England for the saide advantage of the sommer to be wintered in St. Nicholas in Russia, or in some more easterly port if it maye be had.

And finding eastwarde of St. Nicholas a passage by sea, and the land bending to the southe, or some grete ryver portable by which we maye passe southward, there will rise possibility not only of ample vent of the clothe and other commodities of Englande, but also the [entering] in the trade of the Spicerie, with the interchange of all the commodities of the east and west [partes] of the Worlde.

Notes of the Straits of Magellan and the Islands within it, receyved from the Mariners.

The 4 islands lye within the mouthe of the Str. and westward of the most straitest part of the Strayght, 18 or 20 leges.

The biggest isle is in compasse and by gesse 5 or 6 mile, and of good black mowld, and of deepe grasse, and lieth subjecte to

<sup>1</sup> On the White Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Shown on Herberstein's map of Russia. The Governors of the Muscovy Co. in their Commission to Pet and Jackman dated 20th May 1580 expressly forbade any 'searching inwardly' by the Ob.

the east sonne in the morning plesently, and on both sides defended with the grete hilles of bothe sides of the straits.

This Island is of the land, and the clyffs seme a toughe reddish and brownish claye, and lyethe higher then the sea. The high water marke in some places xv fadome, in some lesse.

This biggest [isle] they term the Elizabeth. On this island be some fowle, but not in that plentie as in St. Georges island.

Thother 2 islands are in cumpasse eache of them 2 or 3 myle, and St. Georges Island is infinite in fowl, and the soyle is blacke mowld and lies moste southerly.

The third isle is most easterly, upon which we were not. This is called Barttolomewe.

Uppon all the sea be seales and fowl, and the people of the maine came thither to victual themselves, as appeared by the signes of fire and the bare raw bones left behind them there.

There hangeth on the steep rock of the strait toward the South Sea or Mar del Sur, muskels of mervelous bignesse and most delicate, in suche plentie as were able to victuell an armie for ever, for this tract of muskels runneth and continueth by the sides of bayes and rock at the coast xl mile. And at the lowe water marke may be gethered with gretest ease.

Lympits bigger than halfe oranges did cleave to the rockes in grete plentie, of which our men did eate. We did not seke for other fysshe there, but no dout not, ther is.

There is from thes islands within xx myle wode infynite, both the sides of the Strait, which we colde not bee depryved of. And there is in thes woodes trees as big as our elms, and hard and sounde tymber, so as we myght make ships and botes of the same, and make houses etc.

Those islands may serve for corne, being of good erthe, and standeth in the elevation of 53 degrees 20 minutes.

These islands have small sprynges of good freshe water.

So that growing there grayne and having clothes, you have whatsover the lyfe of man requyreth. And the seales skinnes wold clothe if there were no shepe.

About the middest of the straits the savages offered pieces of fleshe rawe, with the skynne on, which seemed to be of stagges, and left pieces of seales, somewhat broiled with fire, of which

maye be gathered that the mayne of the sides<sup>1</sup> of the strait wanteth not the stagge nor some other victuall for the reliefe of suche as shold there plante.

Goats and coves brought to these rockes on the sides of the strait would increase mightely in fewe yeres.

Without the mowthe of the strait xx myles to the north there is a fresh ryver in which Magellan with his flete made abode two months. This river is full of good fyshe as Magellan reported, of sundrie sortes.

St. Vincent, where the Portugalls are planted, lyeth under the tropique of Capricorne, and 28 degrees and a halfe from the mowthe of the strait of Magellan. This myght easely be wonne and possessed by the [English] and from thence might be brought to the strait oranges and lymmons and all thinges [nedeful].

Thomas Griggs of Plimmouth, steweard of the [Elizabeth] in the voyage to the strait was on land [within] the straight there. He lieth with his brother . . . dwelling in Flete Streete or in Holborne. This [man was] among the Portugalls divers dayes and [learning many] things, can decipher all things there.

The seales they founde upon a bare island upon the coste of America were xv or xvi foote long, and were verie tame and innumerable. The skins [from which] for clothes and garments were to grete purpose about the straits. The oil of the seale in the northeast regions<sup>2</sup> they use to drink and maye be used to manie purposes.

<sup>1</sup> The mainland on either side, as it was believed to be. Winter took first possession of the southern shore on Oct. 10, 1578. This passage contains the only reference to any intercourse with the natives. For Winter's report on his voyage see E. G. R. Taylor, *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. xvi, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* in the Arctic.



## Document 25

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NORTH-EAST PASSAGE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1580

Notes in writing, besides more privie by mouth, that were given by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire, Anno 1580: to M. ARTHUR PET, and to M. CHARLES JACKMAN, sent by the merchants of the Moscovie companie for the discoverie of the Northeast straight, not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, heerafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

Whereas the Portingalles have in their course to theyr Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to divers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to have by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may devise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Savages or civill Princes may in any sort annoy us in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea,<sup>1</sup> where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serve) we might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of theyr countrey.

And to which Island (if neede were, and if we should thinke so

1 1 \*

<sup>1</sup> The Arctic Ocean, north of Asia.

good) we might allure the Northeast navie, the navie of Cambalu<sup>1</sup> to resort with theyr commodities to us there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing as that the navie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conveniently saile unto without theyr dislike in respect of distance, then would it fall out well. For so, besides lesse danger, and more safetie, our ships might there unlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, having ships there, imploy them in passing betweene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of havens and harbarowes.

And if no such Islands may bee found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Nova Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come unto Cambalu, and unlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing, there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Nova Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedyer discharge of your mariners: if you can not go forward and backe in one selfe same summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Nova Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arcticke in the more temperate zone,<sup>2</sup> you are to have regard: for if you finde the soile planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall speciallie note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the end we may turne our newe found

<sup>1</sup> The capital city of the Grand Khan according to Marco Polo.

<sup>2</sup> Nova Zembla was assumed to be part of an Arctic continent separated by a strait from Asia but extending into the temperate zone where the coast of Asia turned south-eastwards.

land fishing or Island fishing,<sup>1</sup> or our whalefishing that way, for the ayd and comfort of our new trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

And if the aire may be found upon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals<sup>2</sup> of our people, as the Portingalles do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and divers wayes yeelde commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling us.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the navie, as plentifully as Estland<sup>3</sup> doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

To note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, gravelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and rivers or not, and what wilde beasts they have in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the havens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

And if there be a straight in the passage into the Scithian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. I say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soever shall be Lorde of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall have the trade out of these regions into the Northeast parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subjects onely, or to enjoy wonderfull benefit of the toll of

<sup>1</sup> Newfoundland or Iceland fishing.

<sup>2</sup> Dregs, cf. *supra*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Esthonia.

the same, like as the king of Denmarke doth enjoy of his straights, by suffering the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the elevation, the high or lowe land, the havens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and all the mariners in the voyage are to be sworne to keepe close all such things, that other Princes prevent us not of the same, after our returne upon the disclosing of the mariners, if any such thing should hap.

Which way the Savage may be made able to purchase  
our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath neede of cloth, then are you to devise what commodities they have to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to enrich them, that heerafter they may have something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable<sup>1</sup> river, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of: that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, masts, dealeboard, clapboard,<sup>2</sup> or for building of ships or houses, for so if the people have no use of them they may be brought perhaps to use.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

You must have great care to preserve your people, since your number is so small,<sup>3</sup> and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu, or other civil place, one or other yong man, although you leave one for him.

Also the fruites of the countries if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them.

And bring with you the curnels of peares and apples,<sup>4</sup> and the stones of such stone fruits as you shall find there.

<sup>1</sup> Navigable.

<sup>2</sup> Thin boards for barrel-staves and wainscoting.

<sup>3</sup> Under twenty in the two ships.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* the seeds.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the fancie of many, for the strangenesse and for that the same may grow and continue the delight long time.

If you arrive at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that country, for so shall you have the perfect description which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they have had print there, before it was devised in Europe, as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arrive in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Navie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armor, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the walles and bulwarks of their cities, their ordinance, and whether they have any calivers,<sup>1</sup> and what powder and shot.

To note what armor they have.

What swords.

What pikes, halberts and billes.

What horses of force, and what light horses they have.

And so throughout, to note the force of the countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make conjectures by.

To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a merchant may make a gesse as well of their commoditie, as also of theyr wants.

To note theyr shoppes and warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their shambls, and to view all such things as are brought into the markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so give a gesse of many things.

<sup>1</sup> A light kind of harquebus.

To note theyr fields of graine, and their trees of fruit, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plentie or scarcitie of fish they have.

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

Karsies<sup>1</sup> of all orient coulers, specially of stamell,<sup>2</sup> brodecloth of orient coulers also.

Frizadoes,<sup>3</sup> motlyes,<sup>4</sup> Bristow frizes, Spanish blankets, Baies<sup>5</sup> of al coulers, specially with stamell, woorsteds, carels,<sup>6</sup> sayes,<sup>5</sup> woadmols,<sup>7</sup> flannels, rash,<sup>8</sup> &c.

Felts of divers coulers.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe cappes for mariners coulered in stamell, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commodity of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Levant taffeta of divers coulers, for the night.

Knit stocks<sup>9</sup> of silke of orient coulers.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yerne of orient coulers, whereof if ample vent might follow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of divers coulers for men and for women.

Garters of silke of severall kinds, and of coulers divers.

Girdles of Buffe and all other leather, with gilt and ungilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of velvet.

Gloves of all sorts, knit, and of leather.

Gloves perfumed.

Points<sup>10</sup> of all sorts of silke, threed, and leather, of all maner of coulers.

Shooes of Spanish leather, of divers coulers, of divers lengths, cut and uncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Velvet shooes and pontophles.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Coarse narrow cloth.

<sup>2</sup> A shade of red.

<sup>3</sup> Frieze cloth.

<sup>4</sup> Cloth of mixed colours.

<sup>5</sup> Bayes and sayes were light woollen stuffs made by the immigrant Flemish weavers.

<sup>6</sup> Cloth of mixed yarn.

<sup>7</sup> A coarse woollen fabric.

<sup>8</sup> Fine serge.

<sup>9</sup> Stockings.

<sup>10</sup> Tagged lace or cord.

<sup>11</sup> Slippers.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a show then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Night cappes knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter, for a show of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and fayre.

Small dials<sup>1</sup> a few for prooffe, although there they will not hold the order they do heere.<sup>2</sup>

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Cristall trimmed with silver, and otherwise.

Hower glasses.                    } . { Combes of boxe.

Combes of Ivorie.                } . { Combes of horne.

Linnen of divers sorts.

Handkerchiffs with silke of severall coulers wrought.

Glazen eyes<sup>3</sup> to ride with against dust.

Knives in sheathes, both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of every kinde.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry coulers.

Boxes with weights of golde, and of every kinde of the coine of gold, good and badde, to shew that the people heere use weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisdom, and of certaine government settled here.

All the severall silver coines of our English monyes, to be carried with you to be shewed to the gouvernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more, then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, haspes, &c. great and small, of excellent workemanship, whereof if vent may be, heereafter we shall set our subjectes in worke, which you must have in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people besides the

<sup>1</sup> Sun-dials or compass clocks.

<sup>2</sup> Because of the change of latitude.

<sup>3</sup> Like motor-goggles.

gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bridewell, the Savoy, and all the Hospitals of England.<sup>1</sup>

For banketting on shipboord persons of credit.  
First the sweetest perfumes to set under hatches to make ye place sweet against theyr comming aboard, if you arrive at Cambalu, Quinsey, or in any such great citie & not among Savages.

Marmelade.	}	{	Figs barrelled.
Sucket. <sup>2</sup>			Reisins of the sunne.

Comfets of divers kindes, made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shall not dissolve.

Prunes damaske. <sup>3</sup>	}	{	Walnuts.
Dried peares.			Almonds. Smalnuts.

Olives to make them taste theyr wine.

The apple John<sup>4</sup> that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.

Hullocke. <sup>5</sup>	}	{	Sacke.
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Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottles of glasses to besprinkle the gests withall, after theyr comming aboard.

Suger, to use with theyr wine, if they will.

The sweet oyle of Santie,<sup>6</sup> and excellent French vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket stiped in the same doe make a banketting dish, and a little Suger cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynomom water	}	{	is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your sicke in the
Imperiall water <sup>7</sup>			voyage.

With these and such like, you may banket where you arrive the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Marmelades in small boxes, or small

<sup>1</sup> From about 1566 onwards a number of new industries, such as glass-making and knitting, were introduced into England, especially by the Flemish and Huguenot refugees, while old industries such as iron-founding, cloth-making and pewter manufacturing expanded rapidly. Nevertheless, unemployment increased, and Hakluyt saw that the remedy lay in finding new foreign markets. Hence his scheme for an elaborate display of samples in China.

<sup>2</sup> Candied fruit.

<sup>3</sup> Damsons.

<sup>4</sup> A variety of keeping apple.

<sup>5</sup> A red Spanish wine.

<sup>6</sup> Zante.

<sup>7</sup> A drink made of cream of tartar flavoured with lemons and sweetened (O.E.D.).



viols of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.<sup>1</sup>

'Take with you the mappe of England set out in fayre colours, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large mappe of London, to make shew of your citie. And let the river be drawne full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of mappes<sup>2</sup> with you to marke all these regions, it were not amisse, and if need were, to present the same to the great Cam, for it would be to a Prince of marvellous account.

The booke of the attire of all nations.<sup>3</sup>

Such a booke carried with you and bestowed in gift, would be much esteemed, as I persuade myselfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball,<sup>4</sup> and such bookes as make shew of herbes, plantes, trees, fishes, fowles and beastes of these regions, it may much delight the great Cam, and the nobilitie, and also theyr merchants to have the view of them: for all things in these parties so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates,<sup>5</sup> to the ende you may pricke

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a MS. copy of Agas' map of London is referred to. The earliest known map of England 'of the biggest sort' is Saxton's map of 1583. This passage strongly suggests that there was an earlier edition of 1579-80.

<sup>2</sup> The *Theatrum*.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified. A. de Bruyn's *Omnium gentium habitus* is dated 1581. A *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* was published in 1577.

<sup>4</sup> By Henry Lyte.

<sup>5</sup> The Customers' Book, containing the rates of customs to be paid on imported commodities.

all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsey, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lyes in small roome.

Glew.

To carie Glew, for that we have plentie, and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we have great mines of it, and have no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may have, for that we make of both kindes, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may have of Saffron, because this Realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatlie in worke to their reliefe.

Aquavitæ.

By new devises woonderful quantities may be made heere, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conie skinnēs.

To trie the vent at Cambalu, for that it lyes towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.<sup>1</sup>

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres, and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent, for it may set our people in worke.

<sup>1</sup> English warrens were stocked with black rabbits for the sake of their skins.

## A note and Caveat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeavour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither velvet, taffeta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

## Seedes for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose, all sorts of garden seedes, as well of sweete strawing herbes and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sortes for rootes, &c.

## Lead of the first melting.

## Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kindes.

## English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To trie the sale of the same.

## Brimstone.

To trie the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

## Anthimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they have any ample use there for it, for that we may lade whole navies of it, and have no use of it, unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bells, or a litle that the Alcumists use: of this you may have two sortes at the Appoticiaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches, and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Juneper to avoid the offence of Brimstone.<sup>1</sup>

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the use.

Candles of Waxe to light.

## A painted Bellows.

For that perhaps they have not the use of them.

<sup>1</sup> Usually the match stick was dipped in brimstone.

A pot of cast iron.

To trie the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse civil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would have you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they use in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their die houses and the materials & simples that they use about the same, and to bring musters<sup>1</sup> and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serve this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne use.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: So false and sophisticate<sup>2</sup> commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

<sup>1</sup> Samples.

<sup>2</sup> Adulterated. The elder Hakluyt's commercial advice was thoroughly sound.

## Document 26

### LETTER FROM MERCATOR TO RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER, 1580

A letter of GERARDUS MERCATOR, written to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage. An. 1580.

Sir,<sup>1</sup> I received your letters the 19. of June: it grieved me much that upon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not give any convenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doutlesse very easie and short, and I have oftentimes marvelled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voyage was discovered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats and Nova Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Baie, which on the left<sup>2</sup> side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the middes hereof there fall great rivers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke navigable with great vessels into the heart of the continent, may bee an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio; Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England: But considering with my selfe that that navigation was not intermitted, but upon great occasion, I thought that the Emperor of Russia and Moscovie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so bee that with his grace and favour a further navigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and rivers aforesayd, and in them to picke and choose out some convenient porte and harborough for the English merchants, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill the promontorie Tabin, and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discovered. And that there

*The best  
course to be  
taken in  
discoveries.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Vir humanissime.' The translation from the Latin original is Hakluyt's.

<sup>2</sup> East.

is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawen): and that the pole of the Loadestone is not farre beyond Tabin, I have learned by the certaine observations of the Loadestone: about which pole and Tabin, I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficle passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadestone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approach. And because the Loadestone hath another pole then that of the worlde, to the which from all parts it hath a respect,<sup>1</sup> the neerer you come unto it, the more the needle of the Compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceive the Sailer, unlesse hee know the unconstancie and variation of the Compasse, and take the elevation of the pole somtimes with his instruments. If master Arthur bee not well provided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiving the error he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering up and downe he lose his time, and be overtaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe,<sup>2</sup> as they say, is frozen every yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsel I could give for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those rivers whereof I have spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Cham, in name of the Queenes majestie, which I beleieve will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty rivers Bautisus and Oecharus<sup>3</sup> to Cambalu the chieftest seat of the prince, the Cham, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the magnetic pole, the position of which Mercator had calculated from the intersection of isogonic lines.

<sup>2</sup> The Kara Sea or *Mare Tabin*.

<sup>3</sup> These two rivers are shown in Ptolemy's map of *Serica*, and Mercator in his map of 1569 makes them flow thence into the *Mare Tabin*.

passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of ye sayd rivers, and is subject to great Cham.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the porte of Moscovia where your men do harborough, and in other Easterly places unto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it doe ebbe and flow according to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanell, that is to say, whether it flow there sixe houres into the West, and as many backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance: I would wish M. Frobisher to observe the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfes of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman,<sup>1</sup> a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the trending of the coast, and the elevation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middest of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the error of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected.<sup>2</sup> The historie of the voyage of Jacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout all Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Antwerpe.<sup>3</sup> After I had used it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Joannes de Plano Carpini I never saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abelfada is translated, I would we might have it shortly.<sup>4</sup>

Thus much Sir I thought good to answeere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will most

*Upon the  
observations  
of the tides  
depend great  
speculations.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt had evidently enquired on this point.

<sup>2</sup> As in the Reinel map of 1505.

<sup>3</sup> Mercator had recently written at length to John Dee on this traveller.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably by Hakluyt or Florio out of Ramusio.

willingly communicate it with you, craving this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoever observations of both these voiajes<sup>1</sup> shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoever I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie unto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light unto this most excellent enterprise of navigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth.<sup>2</sup> Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburge in Clivia, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I have requested, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betweene Nova Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours to my power to be commanded,

*Gerardus Mercator*

## Document 27

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1580

About this time returned into England Francis Drake, flowing with great wealth, and flourishing with greater glory, having prosperously sailed round about the world. . . .

Whilst Drake sayled thus prosperously round the world, Jackman & Pett, two famous pilots, being sent forth by the Londoners with two shippes, sought as unprosperously to discover a neere way to East India by the Cronian or frozen sea.

<sup>1</sup> The north-eastern and north-western voyages.

<sup>2</sup> Mercator kept his promise, and sent Hakluyt a copy of a letter on the North-east Passage which he received from his friend John Balak in 1581. As appears from a subsequent letter of Mercator to Ortelius (Hessels, 99), Hakluyt's letter of enquiry was dated April 1580, and enjoined his correspondent to secrecy.



## Document 28

NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT THE YOUNGER,

1580

Ye commodity of taking ye straights of Magellanus.

What effects may follow of my purposed platforme by me to be offered, if I may be sent to Don A.<sup>1</sup> with letters of commendacions.

W<sup>ch</sup> enterprise may be brought about w<sup>th</sup> — sayle.

And w<sup>th</sup> the number of — men, w<sup>th</sup> vittell and furniture for the same.

first we will possess a seate impregnable of nature, and such as hathe trayne,<sup>2</sup> fflesh, ffish, ffresh water, wyne and all things for the life of man, and such a place as is abel for the compassing of the things ensuing.

1. first we shall depryve the Sp. king of the tresure of the west.
2. Then we shall depryve his kingdome of his trades of merchandize.
3. Thirdly we wil depryve him of al his maryners and consequently of al the chiefe force of the navie of his kingdome.
4. ffourthly we wil soe depryve all the inlandes of the kingdome of Sp. of vittell that the multitude shalbe redie to starve or shld fall to rebellion, into the secret and importance whereof fewe men hav entered into the consideration.

Thus maye we depryve that prowde state of al maner of force.

Thus maye we retayne the grete masse of tresure that worke the grete effects of the worlde.

Thus we may wyne to our handes traffick into the West Indies and (as the matter may be used) wonderfull vent of our clothes and of other commodities.

Thus we shal force the prowde nacion to entrete for amitie, and soe we may conclude w<sup>th</sup> them, that cutting them from the

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio the Pretender to the throne of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Train-oil.

Indies we shal receyve theyre wyne and oyles for half the money that now we doe pay for the same.

Thus the prowde nacion shall not be able to annoy us in Ireland as now they doe, or thereafter be the popes instrument to annoy us anywhere.

And this Tresure and soch grete Spoyles as shal upon this enterprise be taken upon the sodden shalbe able to work wonderfull effects and to carie the worlde etc.

Thus sh<sup>d</sup> Don A. be esely restored to his kingdome and become a perpetuall friend. And so shal his kingdome and territories become an ample vent of our clothes where now by the purpose of King phillip it shal be served only w<sup>t</sup> the cloth of Spayne.

## Document 29

### DEDICATION OF FLORIO'S *CARTIER*, 1580

To all Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots

When I had taken in hande to translate thys Treatise which I did for the benefite and behoofe of those that shall attempt any newe discoverie in the Northwest partes of America, I thought good brieflye to touch the use of my translation, that the Reader may see and consider the drift of my travell. For, although this Discourse may seeme very barraine, and not to containe such matter as is pretended, as beyng a particular Relation of certaine Provinces whyche have been hitherto of all men rather contemned than thoroughly known: yet if the Marchant Venturer, or skilfull Pilot, or whosoever desirous of newe Discoveries, have the readyng and perusing thereof, for whom especially I have done it into Englishe, they will find matter worthy the looking, and consequently, gratefully accept my paines herein. For here is the Description of a Country no less fruitful and pleasant in all respects than is England, Fraunce or Germany, the people, though simple and rude in manners, and destitute of the know-

ledge of God or any good lawes, yet of nature gentle and tractable, and most apt to receive the Christian Religion, and to subject themselves to some good government: the commodities of the Country not inferior to the Marchandize of Moscovy, Danske, or many other frequented Trades: the voyage very shorte, being but three weekes sayling from Bristowe, Plymouth, or any commodious Porte of the Weast Countrey, with a directe course to the coast of Newfoundland. Al which oportunities besides manye others, mighte suffice to induce oure Englishmen, not onely to fall to some traffique wyth the Inhabitants, but also to plant a Colonie in some convenient place, and so to possesse the Country, without the gainsaying of any man,<sup>1</sup> which was the judgement and counsell of John Baptista Ramusius, a learned and excellent Cosmographer, and Secretary to the famous State of Venice, whose words, because they are not impertinent to this purpose, I have here set downe. Why doe not the Princes (saith he) whyche are to deale in these affaires, sende forth two or three Colonies to inhabit the Country, and to reduce this savage nation to some civilitie? considering what a battle<sup>2</sup> and fruitfull soyle it is, how replenished with all kinde of graine, how it is stored wyth al sortes of Byrdes and Beastes, wyth such faire and mighty Rivers, that Captaine Carthier and his company, in one of them sayled uppe a hundreth and foure score leagues, findyng the countrey people on both sides in greate abundaunce. And moreover, to cause the Governors of those Colonies to send forth men to search and discover the North lands about Terra del Lavorader, and toward Weast northwest to the Seas whiche are to saile to the Country of Cataya, and from thence to the Islands of Molucke. These were enterprises to purchase immortall praise, which the Lord Anthony di Mendoza Viceroy of Mexico, willing to put in execution, sent forth his Captains both by Sea and by Land upon the Northwest of Nuova Spagana, and discovered the Kingdome of the seaven cities about Civola. And Franciscus Vasques de

<sup>1</sup> Effective occupation was, in the English view, the criterion of possession. This is the first proposal for the colonisation of America to appear in print, apart from Gilbert's suggestion of a 'seat' in Sierra Nevada, in his pamphlet published in 1576.

<sup>2</sup> Rich (O.E.D.).

Coronada, passed from Mexico by lande towarde the Northweast 2850. miles, in so muche, that he came to the Sea, whyche lyeth betweene Cataya and America, where he met with the Catayan shippes.<sup>1</sup> And no doubt, if the French men in this their newe Fraunce, would have discovered up further into the land towards the Weast northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the Sea, and might have sayled to Cataya. Thus much out of Ramusius, where you may see this learned mans judgement concerning the planting of Colonies, and inhabiting these countries, whyche might be a meane, not only to discover the Sea on the backe-side, as he desireth, but also to come unto the knowledge of the Countries adjacent: and namely, of Saguenay, whiche aboundeth with Golde and other mettales, as in the seconde Relation is to be seene. All whyche thyngs excepte they builde and inhabite can never be achieved, for as Fraunciscus Lopez di Gomara, and dyvers other Spanishe Authors affirme, the Spanyards never prospered or prevailed but where they planted: whych of the Portugalles maye also be verified, as in the Histories of all theyre Conquests and Discoveries doth manifestly appeare. And as there is none, that of right may be more bolde in ther enterprice than the Englishmen, the land being first found out by John Gabot the Father, and Sebastian Gabot, one of hys three sonnes, in the yere 1494, in the name and behalfe of King Henry the seaventh, as both by the foresaid Ramusius in his first Volumes, and our owne Chronicles, and Sebastian Gabots letters patents yet extant, and in his Mappede maye be seene:<sup>2</sup> so there is no nation that hath so good a righte, or is more fit for this purpose, than they are, who travayling yearlyly into those partes with 50. or 60. saile of shippes,<sup>3</sup> might very commodiouslye transporte a sufficient number of men to plant a Colonie in some convenient Haven, and also might yield them yearly succour, and supply of al things necessary, receyving

<sup>1</sup> This incident, related in Ramusio's *Viaggi*, was repeatedly dwelt on by English writers, who saw in it a proof of a narrow Pacific Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> The faulty date 1494 (for 1497) appeared on the Cabot map of 1544, of which an English woodcut copy was prepared for the printer by Clement Adams about 1549.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* to the Newfoundland fisheries, cf. Parkhurst's statements, *supra*, p. 128.

again such commodities as the Countrey doth produce. And this the Frenchmen had done long since if first theyr warres with the Spanyardes, and since their cruell dissensions at home, had not hindered them. And Johannes Varrozana a Florentine, if he had not beene prevented by death, purposed (as the foresayde Ramusius writeth) to persuade Francis the French King to send forth good store of people to inhabite certaine places of these coastes, where the aire is moste temperate, and the soyle moste fruitfull, with goodly Rivers and Havens sufficient to harborough any navie, the inhabitantes of which places might have occasion to bring many good purposes to effecte, and amongst manye others to reduce those poore rude and ignorant people to the true worship and service of God, and to teache them how to manure and till the ground, transporting over Beastes and Cattell of Europe into those large and champion countreys, and finally, they might discover up into the land, and search, whether among so many Ilands as are there, there be any passage to the Sea of Cataya. And thus much oute of the third Volume of Voyages and Navigations, gathered into the Italian tongue by Ramusius: which Bookes, if they were translated into English by the liberalitie of some noble Personage, our Sea men of England, and others, studious of Geographie, shoulde know many worthy secrets, whiche hitherto have been concealed. For, the best Cosmographers of this age (as I am by the skilfull in those Sciences informed, and as to him that doth diligently consider their mappes, it shall plainly appeare) have described Asia, Africa and America, chiefly by the help of those bookes.

But to returne to that from whence I did digresse, although some attemptes of our Countrey-men have not had as yet souche successe as was wished, they ought not therefore to bee the slower in this enterprice, for if they were of late contented in their voyage, to have stayed al the Winter in those colder Countries, if their store of victualles had been sufficient,<sup>1</sup> howe much rather ought we now in a farre more temperate clime, where James Carthier accompanied wyth 120. men remained a

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Frobisher voyages. It was intended on the third voyage that a party should winter in high latitudes under the command of Edward Fenton.

whole Winter contrary to hys determination when he set out of Fraunce? Thus beseeching God, that this my travel may take that effect for the which it is meant, I commende the diligent consideration to al such Gentlemen, Merchants and Pilots, as seeke Gods glory, the advauncement of their Countrey, and the happy successe, to the providence of the Almighty, who in my opinion hath not in vaine stirred up the mindes of so many Honourable and Worshipfull persons to the furtherance of these commendable and worthy Discoveries.

In Oxford.<sup>1</sup> J. F.

### Document 30

#### EXTRACTS FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1581

While the Estates and the Spaniard contended in the Netherlands for petty Townes, the Spaniard seized into his hands the rich kingdome of Portugall. For Henry king of Portugall deceased the last yere in his old age, and many competitors layd claime to the crowne, and amongst them Philip, King of Spaine. But Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, the sonne of Lodowick another brother of King Henry, was utterly rejected as illegitimate. But the title which Katherine de Medices, Queene of France, layd to Portugal. . . was in a manner exploded both by the Spaniards and Portugals, as an outworne title. . . whereat she, being wild with anger, and beholding with an envious eye the increasing power of the Spaniard, so farre and wide already extended, and enriched with the addition of Portugall, East India and many Isles, and misdoubting herself and her posteritie, warned both other Princes and Queen Elizabeth also, to curb his ambition betimes, and restraine his too

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Camden written from Oxford on June 2, [1580], Thomas Savile says: "Neque vel à te, vel ab Hackluito, vel ab alio quopiam literula saltem unica delata est. Sed enim ignosco tibi, Camdene, V. Cl. tibi, inquam, quem multis nominibus occupatissimum scio; Hackluito non item, quem sola novitatis cupido Londinum pertraxit. . . ." The scholarly Master of Merton could not understand the importance to Hakluyt of the 'novelties' which drew him up to London. Florio's translation was licensed on June 7th.

far extending power within some reasonable limits. And indeed, Queen Elizabeth, being providently careful for her selfe and her subjects, willingly harkened unto her But for Don Antonio, who was living out of Portugall in France, and from thence sent over with commendations into England she bountifully relieved him

## Document 31

### LETTERS FROM FRANCIS DRAKE, 1581

FRANCIS DRAKE to the EARL OF LEICESTER.<sup>1</sup> 14 Oct. 1581.

I am well pleased [to be an assister] to any adventure that your [honour setteth forth, so] far forth as myne ability [sufficeth, and] this especially both for that your lordship is [the furtherer of so] famous an adventure, but also for that a [captain is charged with it] on whom I judge (by gods permission) [it resteth] to bring it to good effect. Wherein there shalbe [no good] will wanting in me to be assister both with [such advices] as I am able to give, and also fit Mr. Frobisher with such sufficient men of my late company as have some experience that way. Wherefore I will reserve all to your Lordships election, and do here make offer of my [furtherance] three several ways, to your best contentment. If your good [pleasure] is to have the adventure I shall bear in money, I will [provide to the] value of 1000 marks, for the which thousand marks [though it] make some trial of my credit to furnish this action—notwithstanding, as now greatly indebted, yet shall the servant see you<sup>r</sup> therof furnished.

If your L. think [rather] to have me provide a ship, I think I have for [that purpose], her burden being at least 180 tons, a ship as fit for that voyage as may be said of her sufficiency any way: where I will bear the adventure of one thousand pounds, and furnish her very sufficiently in very short time, so that there

<sup>1</sup> Drake's success led to the planning of an expedition by the Cape Route to the Indies, to which these letters refer. The group which included Gilbert, Raleigh, the Hakluyts, John Dee and Sir George Peckham continued to work for the colonisation of America, and in 1581 Dee made a strong appeal for the evangelisation of the American Indians.

may be order given for the overplus of her charge. But if your Ld. with Mr. Frobisher think best to have the little new bark, and the two pinnaces, I will bestow the like adventure therein, and upon your commands given will have them sheathed, prepared and furnished with sufficient provisions to your good liking. Wherefore I will gladly attend your answer therein for that I am very desirous to show that dutiful service I can possibly do in any action your good lordship vouchsaveth to use me, and for that I am willing to follow the directions of your Ld. and Mr. Frobisher in any respect, I shall pray that some one shall be sent down....

*Francis Drake*

FRAGMENT OF LETTER ON THE SAME MATTER<sup>1</sup>

... But myne opinion is that if [I were entered] into the like action I would [first have] traffique from 18 degrees to the northwards of the line Equinoctiall untill I came to Taprobane,<sup>2</sup> which distance of places they shall not [pass, in] my judgment, and partly by that I have [myself] learned, without finding great store [of commodities] of good price.

If the wind will not suffer them to passe to the east and north part of Mallaca as [aforesaid], then do I think it best to make their traffique in the great bay from Taprobane to the westwards towards the island Zeilan,<sup>3</sup> in which bay there are provinces and people of great welthe.

For the traffique of spices I am of the opynion that the Molucas will furnish them sufficiently, as cloves especially.<sup>4</sup> Whereas they are desirous to know the fittest places of watering and the best meanes to preserve their helthe it shalbe sufficient in that they shall have in their company divers of my men<sup>5</sup> which were in my late viage who can more effectually instruct them both of the places and of the order that is necessarie therein to observe....

<sup>1</sup> Cotton MSS. Otho E VIII, fol. 61. Internal evidence shows Drake to have been the writer.

<sup>2</sup> Sumatra. The region indicated is the Gulf of Siam.

<sup>3</sup> The Bay of Bengal.

<sup>4</sup> Drake brought home a cargo of cloves in 1580.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Hood, Thomas Blacoller and young William Hawkins were among those of Drake's men who sailed with Fenton.



## Document 32

### LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL AUTHORITIES COM- PILED BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN 1582<sup>1</sup>

#### WRITERS

- 1300 Abelfada Ismael, Prince of Syria, Persia and Assyria.  
1320 John Mandevill Englishman.  
1500 Albertus Cranzius of Hamburge.  
1520 Peter Martyr Millanoyse.  
1525 Gonsalvo Oviedo Spaniard.  
1527 Robert Thorne Englishman.  
1530 Hieronymus Frascator Italian.  
1539 Gemma Frisius.  
1540 Antonie di Mendoza Spaniard.  
1541 Gerardus Mercator Fleming.  
1549 John Baptista Guiccardine Florentine.  
1553 John Baptista Ramusius, he gathered many notable things.  
1554 Seb. Munster Germaine.  
1554 Thos. Giunti Venetian.  
1555 Clement Adams Englishman.<sup>2</sup>  
1555 Orontius Finaeus Frenchman.  
1564 Abraham Ortelius Fleming.<sup>3</sup>  
1574 Hierome Osorius Portingall.  
1575 Andreas Thevet Frenchman.  
1575 Francis Belleforest Frenchman.<sup>4</sup>  
1576 H. Gilbert K<sup>t</sup> Englishman.  
1577 Dionyse Settle Englishman.  
1578 George Beste Englishman.  
1580 Nicholas Chauncellor Englishman.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For insertion in the *Divers Voyages*. The list looks very imposing, but many of the writers and travellers were only known to Hakluyt through Ramusio's volumes, which formed the foundation of his cosmographical studies.

<sup>2</sup> Adams was chronicler of the early Muscovy voyages.

<sup>3</sup> The date is that of Ortelius' world map, on which Gilbert based his arguments.

<sup>4</sup> Both Thevet and Belleforest in this year compiled general cosmographies of little value.

<sup>5</sup> Purser on the Pet-Jackman voyage, of which he wrote a narrative.

TRAVELLERS WHICH ALSO FOR THE MOST  
PART HAVE WRITTEN<sup>1</sup>

- 1178 Benjamin Tudelensis.
- 1270 Marcus Paulus Venetian.
- 1300 Harton an Armenian.
- 1320 John Mandeville K<sup>t</sup> Englishman.
- 1380 Ni. and Ant. Zeni Venetians.
- 1444 Ni. Conti Venetian.
- 1492 Christopher Columbus Genoway.
- 1497 S. Gabot an Englishman the son of a Venetian.
- 1497 M. Thorne and Hugh Eliot of Bristol gentlemen.
- 1497 Vasques de Gama a portingale.
- 1500 Gaspar Corterealis portingale.
- 1516 Edoardus Barbosa portingale.
- 1519 F. Magalanes a portingale.
- 1530 John Barros a portingale.
- 1534 Jaques Cartier a Briton.
- 1540 Francis Vasques de Coronado Spaniard.
- 1542 John Gaetan Spaniard.
- 1549 F. Xavier a portingale.
- 1553 Hugh Willowbie K<sup>t</sup> and Ri. Chancellor Englishmen.
- 1554 F. Galvano a portingale.
- 1556 St. and W. Burros Englishmen.
- 1562 A. Jenkinson Englishman.
- 1562 J. Ribault a frenchman.
- 1565 Andrew Thevet a frenchman.
- 1576 M. Frobisher Englishman.
- 1578 F. Drake Englishman.
- 1580 A. Pet and C. Jackman Englishmen.
- 1582 Edward Fenton and Luke Ward Englishmen.
- 1582 H. Gilbert K<sup>t</sup>. Ed Heyes and Anthonie Brigham<sup>2</sup> Englishmen.

<sup>1</sup> Again the list is largely compiled from Ramusio.

<sup>2</sup> Brigham did not sail with Gilbert as the event proved, and the voyage was postponed until 1583, but this entry indicates that Hakluyt believed it would take place in 1582.

## Document 33

### NOTES BY RICHARD HAKLUYT PRINTED IN *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

This much concerning Sebastian Cabotes discoverie may suffice for a present tast: but shortly, God willing, shall come out in print all his owne mappes and discourses drawn and written by himselfe, which are in the custodie of the worshipfull master William Worthington, one of her Majesties Pensioners, who (because so worthie monumentes shoulde not be buried in perpetuall oblivion) is very willing to suffer them to be overseene and published in as good order as may be, to the encouragement and benefite of our Countriemen.<sup>1</sup>

This exhortation to King Henrie the eight, with the discourse to Doctor Ley his Ambassadour in Spaine, was preserved by one master Emmanuel Lucar, executour to master Robert Thorne, and was friendly imparted unto me by master Cyprian Lucar his sonne, an honest Gentleman and very forward to further any good and laudable action.<sup>2</sup> And that it may be knowne that this motion tooke present effect with the king, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonie of our Chronicle that the king set out shippes for this discoverie in his life time.

<sup>1</sup> Why this project was never carried into execution, and what became of Cabot's papers, remains an unsolved mystery.

<sup>2</sup> The Thorne documents had been used by Anthony Jenkinson in 1565 (see E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 98). On March 11, 1582, Richard Madox wrote in his Diary: "I supped in Botolph Lane at M<sup>rs</sup> Lucers. She hath 3 sons, Ciprian, Mark, John, and her daughter Mary who plays well on ye lute. She gave me a piece of bark which her cousin Emanuel that went with Sir Francis Drake sent her" (Cotton MSS. Titus B viii). An Emanuel Watkins was with Drake, the only gentleman with this Christian name. Madox was chaplain on Fenton's voyage.

## Document 34

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREFACED TO *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

A verie late and great probabilitie of a passage, by the Northwest part of America in 58 degrees of Northerly latitude.

An excellent learned man of Portingale, of singular gravity, authoritie and experience told mee very lately,<sup>1</sup> that one Anus Cortereal, capteyne of the yle of Tercera about the yeere 1574, which is not above eight yeeres past, sent a shippe to discover the Northwest passage of America, and that the same shippe arriving on the coast of the said America in fifty eight degrees of latitude, found a great entrance exceeding deepe and broad, without all impediment of ice, into which they passed above twenty leagues, and found it always to trende toward the south, the lande lying lowe and plaine on eyther side: And that they perswaded themselves verely that there was a way open into the south sea. But their victails fayling them, and being but one shippe, they returned back againe with joy.<sup>2</sup> This place seemeth to lie in equal degrees of latitude with the first entrance of the Sounde of Denmark betweene Norway and the head land called in latin *Cimbrosium promontorium*, and therefore like to be open and navigable a greate parte of the yeere. And this report may bee well annexed unto the other eight reasons mentioned in my epistle dedicatorie, for prooffe of the likelihood of this passage up the Northwest.

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese Ambassador, Don Antonio de Castilio, who left London in April 1582, was interviewed by Hakluyt in March.

<sup>2</sup> There is no confirmation of this story from other sources, nor is it in accordance with facts. The mouth of Hudson's Strait is in 62°, and it trends north of west, with high ground on either side. Don Antonio wished, perhaps, to impress the young Englishman.



MAP OF NORUMBEGA  
From Ramusio's "Viaggi," 1556.

## Document 35

### RICHARD HAKLUYT'S PREFACE TO *DIVERS VOYAGES*, 1582

To the right worshipfull and most virtuous Gentleman, master PHILIP SYDNEY Esquire.

I marvaile not a little (right worshipfull) that since the first discoverie of America (which is now full fourscore and tenne yeares) after so great conquest and plantings of the Spaniards & Portingales there, that we of England could never have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places, as are left as yet unpossessed by them. But againe when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portingales time to be out of date,<sup>1</sup> and that the nakedness of the Spaniards, and ther long hidden secretes are now at length espied,<sup>2</sup> whereby they went about to delude the worlde, I conceive gret hope, that the time approacheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if we will ourselves) both with the Spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet undiscovered.

And surely if there were in us that desire to advance the honour of our Countrie which ought to bee in every good man, we would not all this while have foreslown<sup>3</sup> the possessing of those landes, which of equitie and right appertain unto us, as by the discourses that followe shall appere most plainly.<sup>4</sup> Yea, if we woulde beholde with the eye of pitie how al our prisons are pestered and filled with able men to serve their Countrie, which for smal robberies are dayly hanged up in great numbers, som twentie at a clappe out of one jayle (as was seene at the last assises at Rochester) wee would hasten and further every man to his power the deducting of some Colonies of our superfluous

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the union with Spain.

<sup>2</sup> By Drake and others.

<sup>3</sup> Put off.

<sup>4</sup> Hakluyt here rests the English claim on first discovery.

people into those temperate and fertile partes of America, which being within sixe weekes sayling of England are yet unpossessed by any Christians: and seeme to offer themselves unto us, stretching neerer unto her Majesties Dominions, then to any other part of Europe.

We reade that the Bees, when they grow to be too many in their own hive at home, are wont to be led out by their Captaines to swarme abroad, and seeke themselves a new dwelling place. If the examples of the Grecians and Carthaginians of olde time, and the practice of our age may not move us, yet let us learn wisdom of these smal weake and unreasonable creatures.

*The speech  
of a learned  
Portingale.*

It chaunced very lately that upon occasion I had great conference in matters of Cosmographie with an excellent learned man of Portingale,<sup>1</sup> most privie to all the discoveries of his nation, who wondered that those blessed countries, from the point of Florida northward, were all this while unplanted by Christians, protesting with great affection and zeale, that if he were nowe as young as I (for at this present he is three score yeres of age) he would sel all he had, (being a man of no small wealth and honour) to furnish a convenient number of ships to sea for the inhabiting of those countries, and reducing those gentile people to christianitie. Moreover he added that John Barros, their chief Cosmographer, being moved with the like desire, was the cause that Bresilia was first inhabited by the Portingales: where they have nine baronies or lordships, and thirty engennies or suger milles, two or three hundred slaves belonging to eche myll, with a Judge and other officers, and a Church: so that every mill is as it were a little commonwealth; and that the country was first planted by such men as for small offences were saved from the rope. This spake hee not only unto mee and in my hearing, but also in the presence of a friend of mine, a man of great skil in the Mathematikes.<sup>2</sup> If this mans desire might be executed, we might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by Gods grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we have hitherto so long desired, and whereof

*Master John  
Barros the  
cause of the  
inhabiting of  
Bresilia.*

<sup>1</sup> Don Antonio de Castilio.

<sup>2</sup> Either Walter Warner or Thomas Hariot, most probably. See *supra*, p. 25.

we have made many good and more then probable conjectures: a few whereof I thinke it not amisse here to set downe, although your worship know them as well as myselfe.

First therefore, it is not to be forgotten, that Sebastian Gabot wrote to Master Baptista Ramusius, that he verily believed that all the North part of America is divided into Ilandes. Secondly that Master John Verarzanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an olde excellent mappe which he gave to Henrie the eight, and is yet in the custodie of master Locke,<sup>1</sup> doth so lay it out, as it is to be seene in the mappe annexed to the end of this booke, being made according to Verarzanus plat. Thirdly, the story of Gil Gonsalva recorded by Franciscus Lopes de Gomara, which is saide to have sought a passage by the North west, seemeth to argue and prove the same. Fourthly, in the second relation of Jaques Cartier the 12 chapter, the people of Saguinay doe testifie that upon their coastes westwarde there is a sea the end whereof is unknowne unto them. Fifthly, in the end of that discourse is added this; as a special remembrance, to wit, that they of Canada say that it is a monthes space to saile to a lande where cinamon and cloves are growing. Sixthly, the people of Florida signified unto John Ribault (as it is expressed in his discourse herewithall inprinted) that they might saile from the River of May unto Cevola and the South Sea through ther country within twenty dayes.<sup>2</sup> Seventhly, the experience of captaine Frobisher on the hyther side, and Sir Francis Drake on the backe side of America, with the testimonie of Nicolaus and Anthonie Zeni, that Estotiland is an Iland, doth yielde no small hope thereof. Lastly, the judgement of the excellent geographer Gerardus Mercator, which his sonne Rumold Mercator, my friend, shewed me in his letters, and drew out for me in writing, is not of wise men lightly to bee regarded. His words are these *Magna tamet si pauca de nova Frobisneri navigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est, quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium usque. In quod regnum si recte navigantium instituant nobilissimas totius*

<sup>1</sup> Michael Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, whose map, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, was published by Hakluyt.

<sup>2</sup> John Dee's map, dated 1580, suggests this supposed inland water-way.



*mundi merces colligent, et multis Gentibus adhuc idololatriis Christi nomen communicabant.*

You write (saith he to his sonne) great matters, though very briefly, of the newe discoverie of Frobisher, which I wonder was never these many years heretofore attempted. For there is no doubt but that there is a straight and short way open into the West even unto Cathay. Into which kingdome, if they take their course aright, they shall gather the most noble merchandise of all the worlde, and shall make the name of Christe to be known unto many idolaterous and heathen people.

*A lawe made  
of late by  
King Phillip.*

And here to conclude and shut up this matter, I have herd myself of Merchants of credite that have lived long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe, of late that none of his subjectes shall discover to the Northwardes of five and forty degrees of America: which maye be thought to procede chiefly of two causes, the one, least passing to the North they shall discover the open passage from the South Sea to our north sea: the other because they have not people enough to possesse and keep that passage, but rather thereby shoulde open a gappe for other nations to pass that way. Certes, if hetherto in our own discoveries we had not been led with a preposterous desire of seeking rather gaine then God's glorie, I assure myself that our labours had taken farre better effecte.<sup>1</sup> But wee forgotte, that Godliness is great riches, and that if we first seeke the kingdome of God, al other thinges will be given unto us, and that as the light accompanieth the Sunne and the heate the fire, so lasting riches do wait upon them that are jealous for the advancement of the Kingdome of Christ, and the enlargement of his glorious Gospell: as it is sayd, I will honour them that honour mee. I trust that now being taught by their manifold losses, our men will take a more godly course, and use some part of their goodes to his glory: if not, he will turne even ther covetousnes to serve him, as he hath done the pride and avarice of the Spaniards & Portingales, who pretending in glorious words that they made ther discoveries chiefly to convert infidelles to our most holy faith (as they say) in deed and truth sought not them, but their goods and riches.

<sup>1</sup> The second and third Frobisher expeditions looked for gold ore rather than a passage.

Whiche thing that our nation may more speedily and happily performe, there is no better meane in my simple judgement then the increase of knowledge in the arte of navigation and breeding of skilfullness in seamen: which Charles the Emperour and the King of Spaine that nowe is, wisely considering, have in their Contractation house in Sivill appointed a learned reader of the sayde art of Navigation, and joyned with him certayne examiners, & have distinguished the orders among the sea men, as the groomet which is the basest degree, the mariner which is the seconde, the master the thirde, and the pilote the fourth. Unto the which two last degrees none is admitted without hee have heard the reader for a certaine space (which is commonly an excellent Mathematician, of which number were Pedro de Medina which writte learnedly of the art of navigation, and Alonso di Chavez and Hieronimus di Chavez,<sup>1</sup> whose workes likewise I have seene) and being founde fitte by him and his assistantes, which are to examine matters touching experience, they are admitted with as great solemnitie and giving of presents to the ancient master and Pilots, and the readers and examiners, as the great doctors in the Universities, or our great Sergeantes at the law when they proceed, and so are admitted to take charge for the Indies.

And that your worshippe may knowe that this is true, Master Steven Burrough, now one of the foure masters of the Queenes navie, tolde me that newly after his returne from the discovery of Muscovy by the North,<sup>2</sup> in Queen Maries daye, the Spaniards, having intelligence that he was master in that discoverie, toke him into their contractation house at their making and admitting of masters and pilots, giving him great honour, and presented him with a payre of perfumed gloves woorth five or sixe Ducates.

I speake all this to the ende, that the like order of erecting such a lecturer here in London or about Ratcliffe in some convenient place, were a matter of great consequence and importance, for the saving of many mens lives and goods, which nowe through grosse ignorance are dayly in great hazard, to the no small

<sup>1</sup> The latter published *Tractado de la Sphera* in 1545.

<sup>2</sup> In 1556.

*The  
bountifull  
offer of Sir  
Francis  
Drake  
toward  
furthering the  
art of  
Navigation.*

detriment of the whole realme. For which cause I have dealt with the right worshipfull Sir Francis Drake, that seeing God hath blessed him so wonderfully, he woulde do this honour to himselfe and benefit to his country, to be at the cost to erect such a lecture: Whereunto in most bountifull maner at the verie first he answered, that he liked so wel of the notion, that he would give twentie poundes by the yere standing, and twentie poundes more before hand to a learned man to furnish him with instruments and maps, that would take this thing upon him: yea so readie he was, that he earnestly requested me to helpe him to the notice of a fitte man for that purpose, which I, for the zeale I beare to this good action, did presently and brought him one,<sup>1</sup> who came unto him and conferred with him thereupon: but in fine he would not undertake the lecture, unlesse he might have fourtie pound a yere standing, and so the matter ceased for that time: howbeit the worthie and good knight remaineth still constant, and will be, as he told me very lately, as good as his worde. Now if God shall put into the head of any Nobleman to contribute the twentie pounds, to make this lecture a competent living for a learned man, the whole realme no doubt might reepe no small benefit thereby.

*Jhon Gabote  
and his three  
sonnes.*

To leave this matter and to draw to an end, I have here right worshipfull in this hastie worke, first put downe the title which we have to that part of America which is from Florida to 67 degrees northwarde, by the letters patents granted to John Gabote and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian and Santius, with Sebastians own certificates to Baptista Ramusius of his discoverie of America, and the testimonie of Fabian, our own Chronicler. Next I have caused to be added the letters of M. Robert Thorne to King Henrie the eight, and his discourse to his Ambassadour doctor Ley in Spain of the like argument, with the kings setting out of two ships for discoverie in the 19 yere of his raigne.<sup>2</sup> Then I have translated the voyage of John Verarzanus from thirtie degrees to Cape Briton, (and the last yere at my charges, and other of my friendes by my exhortation, I caused Jaques Cartiers two voyages of discovering the grand

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Warner, or Hariot.

<sup>2</sup> See Hak. Soc. Pub. vol. 69 (2nd series).

Bay, and Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga to be translated out of my Volumes,<sup>1</sup> which are to be annexed to this present translation). Moreover, following the order of the map, and not the course of time, I have put down the discourse of Nicholas & Antonio Zenie. The last treatise of John Ribault, is a thing that hath been alreadie printed, but not nowe to be had, unlesse I had caused it to be printed againe. The mappe is master Michael Lockes, a man for his knowledge in divers languages & especially in Cosmographie, able to doe his country good, & worthie in my judgment, for the manifold good partes in him, of good reputation & better fortune.<sup>2</sup> This cursorie pamphlet I am over bold to present unto your worshippe: but I had rather want a litle discretion, than to be founde unthankful to him, which hath been alwaies so readie to pleasure me and all my name.<sup>3</sup>

Here I cease, craving pardon for my own boldness, trusting also that your worshippe will continue & increase your accustomed favour towarde these godly and honourable discoveries.

Your worshippes humble always to commande,

R. H.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By John Florio. By 'the last yere' Hakluyt must mean 'within two years' of the time of writing.

<sup>2</sup> Lok had only recently been released from his unjust imprisonment.

<sup>3</sup> Sidney must have known Hakluyt's brothers at Oxford, and his cousin in London.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter to Camden written from Oxford on June 6, 1582, Thomas Savile says: "...Rumor est apud nos Hackluti nonnulla jamdudum praelo subjecta; nec apparet quicquam, ut timor me ceperit iniquius pressa excessisse è vivis." Presumably the work in the press was the *Divers Voyages*.

## Document 36

### NOTES ON THE LEVANT TRADE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1582

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at Constantinople, and in other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same, and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour of our poore people withall, and of the generall enriching of this Realme: drawn by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of the middle Temple, and given to a friend that was sent into Turkie 1582.<sup>1</sup>

1 Anile<sup>2</sup> wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed or roote.

2 And the Arte of compounding the same.

3 And also all other herbes used in dying in like maner to bee brought in.

4 And all Trees, whose Leaves, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serve to that use, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.

5 All little Plants and Buskes<sup>3</sup> serving to that use to be brought in.

6 To learne to know all earths and minerals forren used in dying, and their naturall places, for possible the like may here be found upon sight.

7 Also with the materials used in dying, to bring in the excellencie of the arte of dying.

8 To procure from Muhaisira a citie in Ægypt to Constantinople, the seed of Sesamum the herbe, and the same into this

<sup>1</sup> This piece was not published in the 1589 edition of the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> Indigo. An Act of Parliament of 1581 had forbidden the use of logwood, and made other regulations against 'deceitful' dyeing.

<sup>3</sup> Bushes, a dialect form.

realme. Common trade is betweene Alexandria and Constanti-  
nople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this  
seed much oyle is made, and many mils set on worke about the  
same in the sayd Muhaisira, and if this seede may prosper in  
England, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the  
same. This citie is situate upon Nilus the river, and thence this is  
brought to Venice and to divers other Cities of Italie, and to  
Antwerpe.<sup>1</sup>

9 To note all kindes of clothing<sup>2</sup> in Turkie, and all degrees of  
their labour in the same.

10 To endeavour rather the vent of Kersies, then of other  
Clothes as a thing more beneficiall to our people.

11 To endeavour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured  
with our owne naturall colours as much as you can, rather then  
such as be coloured with forren colours.

12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for  
Barbarie, for that the poore people may reape great profite by the  
trade.

13 To endeavour vent of knit Stocks<sup>3</sup> made of Norwich  
yarne,<sup>4</sup> & of other yarne, which brought to great trade, may  
turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the  
substance, of our colours, and of our divers labour.

14 To endeavor a vent of our Saffron for the benefit of our  
poore people: for a large vent found, it setteth many on worke.

<sup>1</sup> The *sesamum* of Muhaisira is described by Leo Africanus. Hakluyt was  
anxious to supersede olive oil, imported from Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Cloth-making.

<sup>3</sup> Stockings.

<sup>4</sup> Worsted.

## Document 37

### NOTES FOR A FACTOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1582

Remembrances for master S.<sup>1</sup> to give him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in England, and after of some other things in Turkie, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master RICHARD HAKLUYT, for a principall English Factor at Constantinople 1582.

Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are borne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne private benefite, it may seeme follie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since every good man is ready to imploy his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be divers, so are they to bee done by divers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education more fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend more, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And understanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in Turkie, I finde no man fitter of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeavour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and give an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here

<sup>1</sup> 'Master S.' has not been identified.

throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

- 1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receive Die, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeeld so great abundance of the same: and that no Wooll is lesse subject to mothes, or to fretting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.
- 2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subjects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Navie<sup>1</sup> of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine nowe aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed.<sup>2</sup> Turkie hath Wools, and so have divers provinces of Christendome and of Heathenesse, and cloth is made of the same in divers places.

1 But if England have the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall,<sup>3</sup> and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall have vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much more with Wool then it doeth, and although their workemanship and their dying were in every degree equal with ours of England, unlesse the labour of our people employed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.<sup>4</sup>

But if Forren nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and more excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and more excellent, and more delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when

<sup>1</sup> These four objects of commercial policy are constantly stressed by the two Hakluyts.

<sup>2</sup> Made into cloth.

<sup>3</sup> Skilful.

<sup>4</sup> Dearth.



the English cloth of better wooll shall rest unsold, to the spoyle<sup>1</sup> of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet<sup>2</sup> of the infinite number of the poore people imployed in clothing in severall degrees<sup>3</sup> of labour here in England.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in Turkie, to indeavour from time to time, as your laisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne:

1 To know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be ye same in Felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoever, &c.

All the deceits in Clothmaking;<sup>4</sup> as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to shrinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie uneven.

The evill sorting of threed of good or bad wool, some tootoo hard spun, some tootoo soft spun delivered to be woven.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking,<sup>5</sup> Rowing,<sup>6</sup> and Burling,<sup>7</sup> and in Racking the Clothes above measure upon the Teintors:<sup>8</sup> all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowen to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be used.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discerne all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be died, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substaunces used in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

<sup>1</sup> Damage.

<sup>2</sup> Beggary.

<sup>3</sup> Ways.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Bodenham, in his *Tract* of 1571, emphasised the need for standardising the quality of English cloth offered for export.

<sup>5</sup> Fulling.

<sup>6</sup> Roving.

<sup>7</sup> Removing knots and lumps.

<sup>8</sup> Over-stretching the cloth. To prevent this deceit, the minimum weight of a length of cloth was laid down by Act of Parliament.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials used in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plentie or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serve your Countrey, for by this meanes you have an enterie into the thing that I wish you to travell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the busenesse of  
your Factorship.

1 Forasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes died in Turkie bee most excellently died, you shall send home into this realme certaine Mowsters<sup>1</sup> or pieces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remoove out of their heads, the tootoo great opinion they have conceived of their owne cunning,<sup>2</sup> and partly to moove them for shame to endeavour to learne more knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the universall benefit of the realme.<sup>3</sup>

2 You shall devise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought up in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to devise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woollen cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas<sup>4</sup> meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficient by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassador there resident,<sup>5</sup> for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and otherwise to leave no meane unsought that tendeth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

<sup>1</sup> Samples.

<sup>2</sup> Skill.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence suggests that Hakluyt had himself tried to break down the conservatism and lack of enterprise of the Dyers' Company.

<sup>4</sup> Pasha's.

<sup>5</sup> In 1582 the French were making a strong bid for Near Eastern trade. The first English ambassador was appointed in January 1583.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes use in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soever. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such special report of excellencie, that our Merchaunts may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the use of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of those parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrell of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Woad is, to this end that the high price of forreine Woad (which devoureth yeerely great treasure) may be brought downe.<sup>1</sup> So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shalbe able to occupy with lesse stocke,<sup>2</sup> be able to affoord cloth cheaper, make more ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent use, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many poore on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be died in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Ilands of the same, if it will grow in this more colde climat. For thus was Woad brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth marvellously import this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour

<sup>1</sup> Home-grown supplies were small, as the attempt to establish industrial crops in England met with great opposition.

<sup>2</sup> Work with smaller capital.

blew, they are of greatest use, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellowes and greenes are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Olde<sup>1</sup> and Greenweed<sup>2</sup> wherewith they be died be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so died to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other poore subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becomming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this so temperate a climat our people may labor the yere thorowout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheape. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their rivers cannot make Walkmilles<sup>3</sup> for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, whereby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England have in all Shires store of milles upon falling rivers. And these rivers being in temperate zones are not dried up in Summer with drought and heat as the rivers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the rivers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we have also for scowring our clothes earths and claies, as Walkers clay,<sup>4</sup> and the clay of Osborne<sup>5</sup> little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thicking. Then also have we some reasonable store of Alum<sup>6</sup> and Copporas<sup>7</sup> here made for dying, and are like to have increase of the same. Then we have many good waters apt for dying, and people

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Welde: *Reseda luteola*.

<sup>2</sup> *Genista tinctoria*.

<sup>3</sup> Fulling mills.

<sup>4</sup> Fuller's earth.

<sup>5</sup> Woburn, Beds.

<sup>6</sup> Used as a mordant.

<sup>7</sup> Sulphate of iron used in dyeing black.

to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Oile:<sup>1</sup> the want whereof if any man could devise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoever he were that could bring it about, might deserve immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a devise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others having obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Oile in plenty: and now he that offered this devise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the devise is dead with him.<sup>2</sup>

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike,<sup>3</sup> that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisira there be many milles employed in making of Oile of the seed of an herbe called Sesamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time,<sup>4</sup> that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seede brought out of Egypt to divers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easily bring of it, &c.

9 Having heerein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour used in Turkey, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great use, then to bring of the same into this realme some Mowsters, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the more kinds of cloth we can devise to make, the more ample vent of our commoditie we shall have, and the more sale of the labour of our poore subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdenous to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame

<sup>1</sup> To replace olive oil.

<sup>2</sup> There is no record of this experiment. Rape seed oil was made in England.

<sup>3</sup> Leo Africanus.

<sup>4</sup> In their *Stirpium*. See *supra*, p. 45 n. 2.

our selves according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narowe, long or short, white or blacke.<sup>1</sup>

11 But with this proviso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for us to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kersies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a sacke of wooll in the one, and the like sacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the marchant of England to have as great care as he may for the universall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a sacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subjects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receive certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile<sup>2</sup> and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in divers other places,<sup>3</sup> that this realme may have that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receive the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt found the English cloth-makers very conservative in this respect.

<sup>2</sup> Indigo.

<sup>3</sup> To avoid monopoly prices.

presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeeldeth a glorious blew, but our workmen can not make it sure.<sup>1</sup> This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may inrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeoured earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Woad and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembred.

If you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a sacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kersies doth set many more people on worke then a sacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a sacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many more poore people on worke, then a sacke turned into Kersies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can indeavour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a marvellous vent may be found out of them into Afrike by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.<sup>2</sup>

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woorsted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kersies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by indeavour may be drawn to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the universall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requireth much labour in divers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out ample vent for the same, since it is gone out of great use in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be used in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts

<sup>1</sup> The colour is very evanescent.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 324. Alcayer is Cairo.

Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yerely of that commodity fifteene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire revive the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on work. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron<sup>1</sup> commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed,<sup>2</sup> toward the South from the famous towne Telensin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they have plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they use there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli,<sup>3</sup> or in returne from thence homeward you may understand it. It is reported at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his country, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow before of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like love in this our age were in our people that now become great travellers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans having that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italie all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, busks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italie. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancesters, then had our life bene savage now, for then we

<sup>1</sup> Autumn crocus.

<sup>2</sup> This information is from Leo Africanus.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably Tripoli in Barbary which was under the government of the Grand Turk.



had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocke nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we use more the first inhabitants of this Iland found not here. And in time of memory things have bene brought in that were not here before, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker<sup>1</sup> king Henry the seventh and king Henrie the eight's Physician, the Turkey cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kindes more by the Lord Cromwell after his travell, and the Abricot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight:<sup>2</sup> and now within these foure yeeres there have bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria divers kinds of flowers called Tulipas,<sup>3</sup> and those and other procured thither a little before from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius.<sup>4</sup> And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante<sup>5</sup> that the plant that beareth the Coren<sup>6</sup> is also brought into this realme from thence: and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit us to have good wines of them. And many other things have bene brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in have by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Canterburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske<sup>7</sup> from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them; and many people have received great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of

<sup>1</sup> Founder of the Royal College of Physicians.

<sup>2</sup> In 1524. "Sir John Wulfe, maker and deviser of the King's Arbours and planter of the grafts," was still in the Royal service in 1542.

<sup>3</sup> In 1578.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, p. 45 n.

<sup>5</sup> In the reign of Henry VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Currant.

<sup>7</sup> In 1569.

Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many have bene eased of the reumes,<sup>1</sup> &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of a journey to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to divers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich settled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to have some care heerein, and to set before their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giving you occasion by way of a little remembrance, to have a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you have any inclination to such good, do more good to the poore ready to starve for reliefe, then ever any subject did in this realme by building of Almshouses, and by giving of lands and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to drive idlenesse the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is more woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It replaced henbane, normally used as an inhalant. Tobacco smoking is described in *Stirpium Adversaria Nova*. Hakluyt's knowledge of plants is remarkable. He had probably studied Dr Bulleyne's *Bulwark of Defence*, 1562, but much of his information cannot be found in any printed work.

<sup>2</sup> His remedy for unemployment was sound.

## Document 38

### LETTERS FROM SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1583

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to THOS. ALDWORTH, Mayor of Bristol.

After my hearty commendations, I have for certain causes deferred the answer of your letter of November last<sup>1</sup> till now, which I hope cometh all in good time. For your good inclination to the Western discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts, being readie to imbarke within these 10 days, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or two barks you write of, be put in readiness to go with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell will prove profitable to the adventures and generally beneficial to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Thomas Steventon, to whom I referre you: and so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11 of March 1582.<sup>2</sup>

Your loving friend,

*Francis Walsingham*

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to RICHARD HAKLUYT.

I understand as wel by a letter I long since received from the Mayor of Bristol,<sup>3</sup> as by conference with Sir George Peckham,<sup>4</sup> that you have endeavoured and give much light for the dis-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* November 1582.

<sup>2</sup> 1583, new style.

<sup>3</sup> The letter of November 1582 already referred to. Hakluyt went down to Bristol in the autumn of that year to secure the participation of the Bristol merchants in Gilbert's venture. He there followed his practice of interrogating sailors, and learned from the master and master's mate of the *Toby* how the Spanish fleet was constrained by the currents to follow a course which brought the ships within easy reach of the coast of Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Peckham had taken the lead in the committee of enquiry held in 1582 to gather information about eastern America and had petitioned Walsingham to allow Catholic recusants to settle there. He read the *Divers Voyages*, and refers to it in his own *Report* of 1583.

covery of the Westerne partes yet unknown: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same, wishing you to continue your trouble in these and like matters which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11 of March 1582.<sup>1</sup>

Your loving friend

*Francis Walsingham*

## Document 39

### LETTER FROM JOHN NEWBERY TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583

A letter of M. JOHN NEWBERIE, written from Aleppo, to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of Oxford, the 28. of May, An. 1583.

Right welbeloved, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Gravesend, which was the 13. day of February last, we remained upon our coast untill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and never ankered till we arrived in the road of Tripolis in Syria,<sup>2</sup> which was the last

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* 1583. Hakluyt's ride to Bristol, and subsequent conferences with the merchants, occupied about a fortnight, for Thomas Aldworth's reply to Walsingham is dated March 27th. His return to London could hardly have been accomplished before the end of the month, and hence his introduction of his friend Steven Parmenius to Gilbert must have been made before he went to Bristol. This follows from the date, March 31st, of the dedication of the long *Ode* which Parmenius composed in Gilbert's honour. The part played by Hakluyt is mentioned in this Dedication as follows: "...Quas ab caussas cū saepenumero animus fuisset significationem aliquam nostrae hujus voluntatis et existimationis edendi: accidit utique secundum sententiam, ut dum salutandis et cognoscendis excellentibus viris Londini operam do, ornatissimus ac doctissimus amicus meus Richardus Hakluytus ad te me deduxerit, explicato mihi praeclarissimo tuo de ducenda propediem colonia in novum orbem instituto....Pridie kalen. Aprilis 1583."

<sup>2</sup> The port for Aleppo, the chief Syrian factory.

day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the 20. of this present we came hither to Aleppo, and with Gods helpe, within five or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no meanes can heare of it.<sup>1</sup> Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I wil send it you from thence. The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from master Thomas Stevens in Goa,<sup>2</sup> as also the note you gave mee of Francis Fernandes the Portingall, I brought thence with me among other writings unawares, the which I have sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassha of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassha of Tripolis, and the Bassha of Damasco, but they have not all with them above 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes journey from Trapezunde, where they shall meete with divers Capitaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there every yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very few of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to M. Peter Guillame, and M. Philip Jones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends.<sup>3</sup> Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send us a joyfull meeting. From Aleppo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your loving friend to command in all that I may.

*John Newberie*

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently printed by Hakluyt.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 25.

## Document 40

### LETTER FROM STEPHEN PARMENIUS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583<sup>1</sup>

To the worshipfull Master RICHARD HAKLUYT at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts and Philosophie his friend and brother.

I had not purposed to write unto you when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe,<sup>2</sup> and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state by Master Doctor Humfrye: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time to meditate new matters and to vary or multiply words.

The 11 of June we set sayle at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent us,<sup>3</sup> withdrew herself from us the third day, we know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23 of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August about the latitude of 50 degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41 degrees in hope of some southerly winds, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birds of the same name. Yet we neither sawe any birds, nor drew nere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place, but we mette together at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common counsell we had determind to come, and that within the space of two

<sup>1</sup> The original was in Latin. The translation is Hakluyt's.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly with Carlisle, see *supra*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Raleigh's vessel. It was said that sickness had broken out on board.

hours, by the goodness of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, between 47 and 48 degrees, called by the name of Saint Johns: the Admiralle himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly and had already lost two of the same company which died of the Flix: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joined myself with Maurice Browne<sup>1</sup> a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie and strong, and for mine own part I was never more healthy. We arrived at this place the third of August, and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the country for himselfe and the kingdome of England: having made & published certain lawes, concerning religion and obedience to the Queene of England: At this time our fare is somewhat better and daintier then it was before; for in good sooth the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary winds we have found and what great travell we may endure hereafter: and therefore we will take such order that we will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall & Spanish shippes besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us suffer us not to be hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie by the Queens letters patents, they shewed us all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Country and people remaine now to bee spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine grows to them that travel to those parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out but it is eft-soones drawn up with some goodly fish, the whole land is full of hilles and woodes. The trees for the most part are vynes and some of them very olde and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whithêr: all the grasse here is long & tall &

<sup>1</sup> Captain Maurice Brown, who commanded the *Delight* and went down with her.

differeth little from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corn, for I found certaine blades & ears in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth by manuring and sowing they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or other strawberries growing up like trees of great sweetnesse. Beares also appear about the fishers stages of the Country and are sometimes killed, but they seem to bee white as I conjectured by their skinnnes, & somewhat lesse than ours. Whether there bee any people in the Country I know not neither have I seene any to witness it. And to say truth who can, when it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknowne whether any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour & hue of the hilles seeme to have some Mynes of them: we moved the Admiral to set the woods on fire, that so we might have space and entrance to take view of the Country, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported & confirmed by very credible persons that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it for the space of 7 whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning:<sup>1</sup> but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes and mountaines of yce in the middest of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report that in May<sup>2</sup> they were sometimes kept in with such huge yce for 16 whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were turned toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downwards rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather.

The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at sea towards the

<sup>1</sup> The mean July temperature at St John's is 60° F.

<sup>2</sup> Men with American experience travelled with Gilbert.



East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South,<sup>1</sup> with so much the more hope every day by how much the greater the things are that are reported of those Countreys which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Umpton [Untonus] doth take my absence: my obedience and dutie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you yourself may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweet, most vertuous Hakluyt [*et nos ama*].<sup>2</sup> In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6 of August 1583.

*Steven Parmenius of Buda, yours.*

Gilbert had assigned to John Dee his patent rights north of 50° while Peckham had a large concession in Norumbega.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in the translation.

## Document 41

### DEDICATION OF AN ANALYSIS OF ARISTOTLE'S *POLITICS* BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1583

Serenissimae et potentissimae Principi Divae Elizabethae Angliae Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae, fidei orthodoxae propugnatrici etc.

Annus jam agitur tertius (Serenissima Regina) ex quo in Collegio vestro aedis Christi Oxoniae unanimi multorum consensu electus Censorio muneri (quod vocant) praefuerim: id est, ut Politicorum Aristotelis libros praelectionibus meis illustrarem et disputationes politicas censura et iudicio meo dirimerem. Consultissimum mihi tum videbatur Interpretes graecos, Latinos, veteres, Neotericos, politos, barbaros, omnes pervolvere, et ANALYSIN in octo Politicorum Aristotelis libros contexere. Tandem aspirante coeptis meis divina gratia, opus istud varium, multiplex involutum ad exitus diu optatos perduximus. Quod ipsum quoniam a vestra Majestate quadammodo profectum esse videtur, (cum et olim in Collegio Westmonasteriensi et postea in florentissima aede Christi Oxoniae per multos jam annos alumnus vester fuerim, et nunc a Domine Edwardo Staffordio viro ornatissimo et fidelissimo, vestroque ad Regem Gallorum Legato in locum Ministri sim accersitus) Serenissimae Majestati vestrae optimo jure deberi agnosco, vestroque fausto nomini consecratum esse cupio.... Tantum scripto hoc meo, saltem benevolo, si minus integro suisque omnibus numeris absoluto, obsequium et observantium meam testatam et consignatam esse volui. Deus optimus maximus Majestatem vestram, praesidium et decus orbis immortale, Ecclesiae, Reipublicae, literis et literatis diutissime incolumem ac sospitem conservet. Ex aede Christi Oxoniae, Calendis Septembris. A<sup>o</sup> Domini, 1583.

Majestati vestrae devotissimus subditus

*Richardus Hakluyt*

verbi Dei Minister<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first indication of Hakluyt's Orders.

## Document 42

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1583

Almost at the same time was swallowed by the Ocean Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, a sharpe and lively spirited man, famous for his knowledge in warre and peace, in his returne from the North part of America, which we call New-found-land, whither he had sailed a little before with five ships, having sold his patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. But . . . he was distressed by shipwrecks and want of provisions, and constrained to give over his enterprise, leaving too late, and teaching others, that it is a matter of greater difficulty to transport Colonies into farre countries upon private mens wealth, than he and others in credulous error perswaded themselves to their owne cost.<sup>1</sup>

## Document 43

### VERSES IN PRAISE OF CARLISLE'S PROPOSED VOYAGE<sup>2</sup>

November 1583

BY CAPTAIN RICHARD BINGHAM

The journie is but easie to bee gonne  
The frozen Pole disjoyned farre doth lye:  
We shape our course farre from the burning Zoune  
The soile is subject to a milder skye.  
And by prooffe of many recordes tride,  
The Paradise of all the world beside.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 38 and *infra*, pp. 237 n. and 313.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Sir George Peckham's *True Report*.

Then launch, ye noble youths, into the maine,  
 No lurking perils lye amidde the way,  
 Your travell shall returne you treble gaine,  
 And make your names renowned another day.  
 For valiant mindes through twentie Seas will roome,  
 And fish for lucke, while sluggards lye at home.

BY ANTHONY PARKHURST

Howe happy were our England then  
 (Sith neither men nor shipping want)  
 Some good and well disposed men  
 An other England there would plant:  
 And so employ a number there  
 Whose persons may be spared heere.

## Document 44

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, 1584<sup>1</sup>

Right Honorable

I understand from your servant Curtis your good reception of my hastie letter, your special favour and good will towards me, as also your expectation of my diligent inquirie of such thinges as may yeld any light into our western discoveries. For the two former I yeld most humble thanks, and for the later I nether have nor wil omitte any possible diligence, expecting intelligenses thereof from Roan, Diepe and St. Malo very shortly.

In Paris I have seen in one mans house called Perosse the value of five thousand crowns worth of fures, as sables, bevers, otters and other sortes which he bought in August laste of the men of St. Malo, and the yeare before, he tolde me, he bestowed

<sup>1</sup> The second letter written by Hakluyt from Paris. The first has not been preserved.

four thousand crownes with them in the like commodities.<sup>1</sup> He gave me further to understand that he sawe great quantities of buff hides which they brought home and sent into the Lowe Countrys to sell. Al which commodities with diverse other of noe lesse value are brought out of the most northerly partes of those countreys whereunto our voyage of inhabiting is intended.<sup>2</sup>

And nowe because I knowe that this present enterprise is like soone to waxe colde and fall to the ground unlesse in this second voyage<sup>3</sup> al diligence in serching out everie hope of gayne be used, And calling to mynd that your honor made a motion heretofore unto me, whether I could be contented to goe myselfe in the action, these are to put your honor out of doubte that for myne parte I am most willinge to goe now in the same this present setting forth and in the service of God and my country to employ al my simple observations readings and conference whatsoever. For obtaining leave of my L. Ambassador heere to departe I doubte not but to find meanes of myselfe, seeing he may have enough to supply my roome.

For leave of my colledg and entertaynment in this voyage I wil wholly referre yt unto your honor, who wish mee so well as you wil not see my poore estate impaired. Because the tyme is exceeding shorte<sup>4</sup> I wold desire your honors present answere, uppon sight whereof with wings of Pegasus I wold soone fly into England.

I have talked twise with Don Antonio of Portugal<sup>5</sup> and with five or sixe of his best captaynes and pilotes, one of whom was borne in Easte India. They al wish al prosperitie to Her Majestie and yourselfe, and say that if the Queene of England will joyne with their Master, whose strength by sea they comende unto the skyes, that they know how the King of Spayne, our mortal enemy, might easily be met withal, and she much enriched. The number of Portingalls which hange uppon the

<sup>1</sup> The years referred to are 1582, 1583, but the Basques and Breton men had probably established a fur trade with the Indians of the St Lawrence at a much earlier date, as a natural corollary to the fisheries.

<sup>2</sup> Norumbega, the modern New England.

<sup>3</sup> Under Gilbert's original patent.

<sup>4</sup> It would be necessary for the expedition to get away in April, in order to 'take possession' before the patent expired in June.

<sup>5</sup> The Pretender.

poore King are about an hundred or sixe score. Divers of them are lately come unto him, among whom are one or two are come out of the East India overlande by Tripoly in Siria. They have a voyage in hand with five or sixe sayle of ships, which are in preparing at Newe Haven<sup>1</sup> for the coste of Guinea and the castle of Mina, wherein most of the Portingals aforesayd are to be employed, being joyned in company with the french. They set forward as I heare within this monthe.

One Sinior Andreas borne in Savoy is now heare in Paris, which hath bin lately in the island of Japan, with whom by meanes of Mr. Doctor Pena,<sup>2</sup> I shal have conference within a day or twoe. Diverse other intelligences tending toward the furtherance of our western planting and discoverie I looke for from sundrie places very shortly. In the meane season with my humble dutie to your honor and to your worthie and honorable sonne in lawe,<sup>3</sup> I cease for the present and beseech the Almighty to hold you bothe in safe garde.

It was told me by Perosse of whom I spoke before, and by Andrewe Thevet the Kinges cosmographer, that Duke Joyeuse, Admiral of France, and the Cardinal of Burbon and their frendes, have had a meaning to send out certayne ships to inhabite some place for the north part of America,<sup>4</sup> and to carry thither many friers and other religiouse persons, but I thinke they be not in haste to do yt.

Paris, from my Lord Ambassadors house, the vij of Januarie 1584.

Your honors most humble to command

*Richard Hakluyt*

Preacher

<sup>1</sup> Havre.

<sup>2</sup> With Lobel, the author of *Stirpium Adversaria Nova*, published in England in 1571. See *supra*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Carlisle.

<sup>4</sup> For the French projects and voyages of this period, see *infra*, pp. 227, 278.

## Document 45

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1584

Right Honorable,

The famousse disputations in al partes of the mathematikes which at this present are held in Paris, for the gayning of the lecture which was erected by the worthy scholer Petrus Ramus, to the great increase of those excellent sciences, put me in mynd to sollicite your honour agayne and agayne for the erection of that lecture of the arte of navigation whereof I have had some speech with your honor, Sir Francis Drake and Alderman Barnes and other.<sup>1</sup> And that you might meet with al inconveniences which might frustrate the expected profit which is hoped for by the erection of the same, I send your honour here the testament of Petrus Ramus, newly put out agayne in printe, and sent unto me by Monseer Bergeron, Ramus his executor; whereby you may see first the exceeding sheale<sup>2</sup> the man had to benefit his country in bestowing 500 livers, which (as your honour knoweth) is fiftie pounds sterling, uppon establishing of that lecture, bequething not halfe as much to al the kindred and frendes he had in the world. Secondly you may note that he being one of the most famousse clerkes of Europe, thought those sciences next after divinitie to be most necessarie for the commonwelth, in that he erected a new lecture of the same, whereas there was one before erected and endowed with fiftie pounds stipend by the kings of France. Thirdly that most provident order which the good man by his will hath taken is most requisite to be put in execution in England: which is that everie three yeeres, there shalbe publicke disputations signified to al men by publicke writing, wherein yt shalbe free for any man for three monethes space to dispute agaynst the reader for the tyme being, who yf he be found negligent, or yf any one of the competitors be found

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Zeal. Nicholas Bergeron edited *Commendatio Professionis Mathematicae a P. Ramo institutae*, 1580.

more worthy by the opinion of certayne indifferent men of lerninge chosen out of the purpose to be judges, that then the unworthie shall give place to the more sufficient; who soe being placed is bound in three yeeres space to read through the course of the mathematikes.

Yf by your honours instigation her Majestie might be enduced to erecte such a lecture in Oxford, and the like for the arte of navigation might by some other meanes be established at London, allowing to ech of them fiftie poundes yearly with the same conditions, in my simple judgement yt wold be the best hundred pounds that was bestowed this five hundred yeares in England. For yt is not unknowne unto your wisdome, how necessarie for the service of warres arithmeticke and geometrie are, and for our new discoveries and longer voyages by sea the arte of navigation is, which is compounded of many partes of the aforesayd sciences.

Understandinge hearetofore of your honours greate abundance of business, and your dangerouse sicknes, I thought it not meet to trouble your honour with such thinges as I had carefully sought out here in France concerning the furtherance of the westerne discoveries but chose rather to imparte the same with Mr. Carlile, which thing I also did. But being lately advertised of your recovery (for which I humbly thank almightie God) I was bold to signifie unto your honour my dealing with Horatio Palvasini<sup>1</sup> to become an adventurer in those westerne voyages, and among other talke, alleaged your good disposition to the same, which he hearing of replied very chearfully that yf he were moved thereunto by the least word from your honour, he would put in his hundred pound adventure or more. If Mr. Carlile be gone, yet yt might come in good time to serve Mr. Frobishers turne,<sup>2</sup> yf your wisdome shold like wel of yt, seeing he setteth not forth as I understand, until the beginning of May.

I understand that the papistes give out secretly in the towne that there shall shortly come forth a confutation of the defence of the execution of justice in England, which was set forth in

<sup>1</sup> The Genoese banker. The French colonial plans also commanded Italian financial support.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt still believed that Carlisle would take up Gilbert's mission. No voyage by Frobisher is recorded for this year.



English and French in London. When yt cometh forth I trust to have it with the first.

There is good hope that the minister and those that were taken lately with him in Paris by the abbot of St. Geneveva shal verie shortly be set at libertie: for the King secretly seemeth to favour them, and they have very discreetly answered for themselves that they were not at any communion or sermon, but that they mett together to consult whether to go out of Paris to some place lawful by edicte. A frend of mine told mee he herd a frier inveigh very exceeding bitterly agaynst them in a sermon before a great congregation of people.

Wee have heard by diverse letters from Geneva that besides the earthquake which was there about the end of Februarie,<sup>1</sup> which untyled many houses and overthrewe many chymnies in the towne, there is besides a whole village in the contreye of Valleye<sup>2</sup> swallowed up, being foure dayes journey of Geneva. Those that favour the Spanish here in the towne have spred al abroad these two or three dayes that Monsur is dead, which is nothing soe.<sup>3</sup>

Thus leving other matters and advertisements of importance to them unto whom they appertayne, with remembrance of the continuance of my humble dutie to your honor, and your worthy and virtuouse sonne in lawe I leve you to the merciful protection of the Almightye. Paris the first of April 1584.

Don Antonio his captaynes of his fleet are not yet departed from Paris, but look every day to depart.

Your honours most humble

*Richard Hakluyt*

<sup>1</sup> The earthquake near Geneva occurred on March 1.

<sup>2</sup> Valais.

<sup>3</sup> The Duc d'Anjou. His life was already despaired of, and he died of consumption early in June, leaving the French throne without a direct heir.

# ORBIS TERRAE COMPE

Quam ex Magna Vniuersali Gerardi Mercatoris Domino Richardo Gartho, Geographiæ ac ceterarum bonarum artium amatore



MAP OF THE NEW WORLD, 1587  
From a map of the World, by Rumold Mercator after Gerard Mercator.

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No. LXXVII

ISSUED FOR 1935

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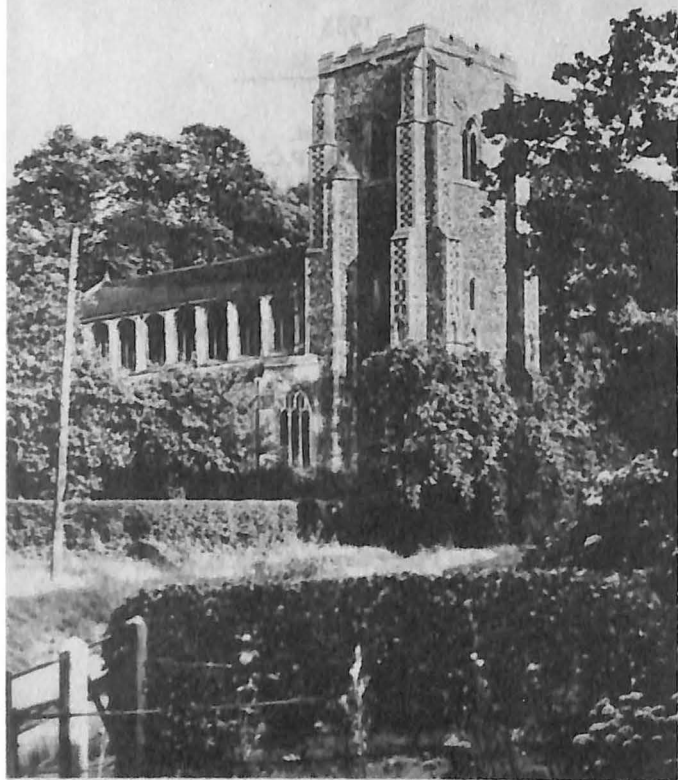
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THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, WETHERINGSETT

*From a photograph by the Rev. W. W. Little.*

THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO  
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES  
BY

E. G. R. TAYLOR, D.Sc.

*Professor of Geography  
University of London*

VOLUME II

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TOW II

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## Document 46

### DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1584

A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, Written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devided into xxj chapters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.

1. That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the reformed religion are chefully bounde amongst whome her matie ys principall.

2. That all other englishe Trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the kinge of Spayne his Domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their Bibles and prayer Bokes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their religion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

3. That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde imploymente of numbers of idle men, and for breeding<sup>1</sup> of many sufficient, and for utterance of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

5. That this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the kinge of Spaine and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande.

<sup>1</sup> Upbringing.

6. That the mischefe that the Indian Treasure wrought in time of Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideracion of the Q. moste excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>, leaste the contynuall commynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this Realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.

7. What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his high Throne, and make him equal to the Princes his neighbours, wherew<sup>th</sup>all is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

8. That the lymites of the kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymaged and surmised, neither those partes w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth be of any such forces as ys falsly geven oute by the popishe Clergye and others his fautors, to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

9. The Names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America under the kinge of Spayne.

10. A Brefe declaracion of the chefe Ilands in the Bay of Mexico beinge under the kinge of Spaine, w<sup>th</sup> their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yelde.

11. That the Spāniardes have executed most outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there, become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne w<sup>th</sup> us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doo it already in dyvers places where they were Lordes heretofore.

12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie Princes, nor nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, w<sup>ch</sup> by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more Civilitie.

13. That hereby the Revenewes and customes of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> bothe outwarde and inwardes shall mightely be enlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup>oute oppression may be raised.

14. That this action will be greatly for thincrase, mayneytnaunce and safetie of our Navye, and especially of greate shippinge w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the supportation of all those occupacions that depende upon the same.

15. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these luckye westerne discoveries for feare of the daunger of being prevented<sup>1</sup> by other nations w<sup>ch</sup> have the like intentions, w<sup>th</sup> the order thereof and other reasons therw<sup>th</sup>all alleaged.

16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishono<sup>r</sup>.

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute aswell by river and overlande, as by sea, for prooffe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyages gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

18. That the Queene of Englande title to all the west Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other Christian Princes.

19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the vi<sup>th</sup> whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

21. A note of some things to be prepared for the voyadge w<sup>ch</sup> is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideracion then for any other reason for that divers things require preparation longe before the voyadge, w<sup>th</sup>oute w<sup>ch</sup> the voyadge is maymed.

<sup>1</sup> Forestalled.



## Cap. I.

That this western discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the Princes of the reformed Relligion are chefully bounde, amongeste whome her Mat<sup>te</sup> ys principall.

Seinge that the people of that parte of America from 30. degrees in Florida northwarde unto 63. degrees (which ys yet in no christian princes actuall possession) are idolaters, and that those which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of Norumbega in the yere 1524<sup>1</sup> worshipped the Sonne, the Moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as it ys recorded in the historie of Gonsalvo de Oviedo,<sup>2</sup> in Italian, fol. 52. of the thirde volume of Ramusius: and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and 50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudruaigny, as we reade in the tenth chapter of the seconde relacion of Jaques Cartier: whoe saieth, This people beleve not at all in God but in one whome they call Cudruaigny. They say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether goodd or badd, &c. And yet notwithstandinge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doo all that they sawe the Christians doo in their devine service w<sup>th</sup> like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become christians, and woulde faine have been baptized as Verarsanus wittnesseth in the laste woordes of his relacion, and Jaques Cartier in the tenth chapter before recited: It remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste godly and Christian work may be perfourmed, of inlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in errour into the righte and perfect waye of their salvation: The blessed Apostle Paule the converter of the Gentiles, Rom. 10. writeth in this manner: Whosoever shall call on the name of

<sup>1</sup> Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, but deserted with his ship and crew. In 1524/5 he sailed from Corunna. He coasted Newfoundland as far south as 40 deg. Here he took on board certain Indians and carried them to Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Born 1478. His *Historia general de las Indias* was not published in its entirety till 1851-5.

the Lorde shall be saved: But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? And howe shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? And howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessarie for the salvation of those poore people w<sup>ch</sup> have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them: But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubt which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faith: Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendors of the Faith: By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faith of Christe, but also to enlarge and advaunce the same: Neither oughte this to be their laste worke but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comaundemente of our Saviour Christe. Mathewe 6. firste seeke the kingdome of god and the righteousnes thereof, and all other thinges shalbe mynistred unto you: Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys by plantinge one or two Colonies of our nation uppon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and firste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves w<sup>th</sup> their manner, and so w<sup>th</sup> discrecion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospell: Otherwise for preachers to ronne unto them rashly with oute some suche preparation for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their apparaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened unto those Spanishe ffryers that before any plantinge w<sup>th</sup>oute strengthe and company landed in fflorida, where they were miserablye massacred by the Savages:<sup>1</sup> On the other side by meane of plantinge, firste the small nation of the Portingales towards the southe and easte have planted the Christian faith accordinge to their manner: and have erected many Bisshop-rickes and Colledges to traine upp the youthe of the Infidells in

*The Prynces  
of England  
called the  
defendors of  
the faith.*

*Plantinge  
fyrste  
necessarye.*

<sup>1</sup> Friar Luys Cancel of Balvastro was, with other friars, sent to Florida by Philip II in 1549, where they were massacred. See Eden's version of Gomara's *Historia general*, p. 319.

the same: Of w<sup>ch</sup> acte they more vaunte in all their histories and Chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely as they dyd not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theirs then in the conqueste of the whole Contrie or in any other thinge whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius *de rebus gestis Emanuelis*) have established in the West Indies three Archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Lima, and Cusco, and thirtene other Bisshopricks there named, and have builte above CC. houses of Relligion in the space of fyftie yeres or thereabouts: Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere Relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falshoodde to truthe, from dombe Idolls to the lyvinge god, from the depe pitt of hell to the highest heavens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goo into Bithinia, the holy ghoste suffred him not: But at Troas a vision appered unto him by nighte: There stooode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge: Come into Macedonia and helpe us: And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them: Even so wee whiles wee have soughte to goo into other Contries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell) God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of America crye oute unto us their nexte neighbours to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidinges of the gospell. Unto the Prince and people that shalbe the occasion of this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the furtheraunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles treasures of his riches and fill them w<sup>th</sup> abundance of his hidden blessinges: As he did to the goodd Queene Isabella, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne Jewells to

gage for money to furnishe oute Columbus for the firste discovery of the weste Indies: And this enterprice the Princes of the Relligion (amonge whome her Mat<sup>tie</sup> ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to theire side, shewing that they are the true Catholicke Churche because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of Infidells to Christianitie: Yea, I my selfe have bene demaunded of them howe many Infidells have bene by us converted? Whereunto albeit I alleaged the example of the mynisters w<sup>ch</sup> were sente from Geneva w<sup>th</sup> Villegagnon into Bresill, and those that wente w<sup>th</sup> John Ribault into Florida, as also those of our nation that went w<sup>th</sup> ffrobisher, S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake, and ffenton, yet in very deeде I was not able to name any one Infidell by them converted: But god quoth I hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh hower. And if it please him to move the harte of her Mat<sup>tie</sup> to put her helping hande to this godly action she shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes as any other prince in all christendome: And as for the boastinge of your conversion of such multitudes of Infidells, yt may justly be coumpted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawn them as yt were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say from one error into another. Nowe therefore I truste the time ys at hande when by her Mat<sup>ties</sup> forwardnes in this enterprise not onely this obiection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our frutefull labor in godds harvest amonge the Infidells, But also many inconveniences and strifes amongst o<sup>r</sup>selves at home in matters of Ceremonies shalbe ended: For those of the Clergye w<sup>ch</sup> by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to sett themselves on worke in reducinge the Savages to the chefe principles of our faithe, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in Relligion already established by auctoritie:<sup>1</sup> So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves

*A question of  
the adversary.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was thoroughly Erastian, and had no sympathy either with the Puritans, who objected to such ceremonies as were retained in the Church of England, or with the Catholics. The 'Brownists' had come into prominence since 1582.

worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongst Brethren be avoyded, so shall the gossell amonge Infidells be published.

### Cap. 2.

That all other englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous especially daungerous in all the kinge of Spayne his dominyons, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their Relligion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Mat<sup>te</sup>.

Wee are nowe to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades w<sup>ch</sup> at this day are frequented by our nation: And firste to begynne southwarde and so come to the Northe, leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe: Let us firste  
*Barbary.* speake of our trade in Barbarie: If any of our shippes tradinge thither be dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that prooffe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men into the Inquisition, chardginge them that they bringe armo<sup>r</sup>, munition, and forbidden marchandize to strengthen the Infidells againste these partes of Christendome: w<sup>ch</sup> thinge is committed to printe and confessed by all our marchantes tradinge thither: And thoughe our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the Prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the Contrie permitinge the people to robbe and rifle until an nother kinge be chosen w<sup>th</sup>oute making any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the trafficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omytt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes w<sup>ch</sup> have become Renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the Contrie their M<sup>rs</sup> can have no manner of recoverye, neither call them into Justice.<sup>1</sup> In all the kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either inforced w<sup>th</sup> wounded consciences to playe the dis-

*The Domynions of the Kinge of Spayne.*

<sup>1</sup> Roger Bodenham was probably his informant. The Barbary trade was reorganised in 1585.

semblinge hypocrites, or be drawen to mislike w<sup>th</sup> the state of Relligion mainteyned at home, or cruelly made away in the Inquisition: Moreover he being our mortall enemye, and his Empire of late beinge encreased so mightely, and our necessitie of oiles and of coulours for our clothinge trade being so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of our navye,<sup>1</sup> our traficque and recourse being so greate to his domynions. For the new trade in Turkey besides the greate expences in mayneteyninge a kind of Embassador at Constantinople, and in sendinge of presentes to Selym the graunde Segnior and to divers of his insatiable Bassaes, our marchantes are faine w<sup>th</sup> large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta in whose daunger their shippes muste often passe: Moreover that trade is so moche to the detrymente of the state of Venice, and all the other states of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in seekinge howe they may overthrowe the same. Neither is it the leaste incommoditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted by the Corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers by w<sup>ch</sup> they had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin soncke this yere;<sup>2</sup> and the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the M<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> another hanged, and the reste made slaves:<sup>3</sup> Besides the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at lengthe w<sup>th</sup> moche adoe delivered.<sup>4</sup> To leave the Levant and to come to ffraunce, the traficque there of myne owne knowledge is growen to such decaye partly by the ympositions and taxes w<sup>ch</sup> are daily devised by the kinge partly by their subtyll sleights and devises to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and partly by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste parte are wearye of the Contrie, and some of them utterly undone by their subtyll and unconcionable wrangling. As for all Flaunders and the lowe Contries, these eightene yeres moste cruell civill warres<sup>5</sup> have so spoiled the traficque there, that there is nothinge but

*The trade of  
Turkey.*

*Fraunce.*

*Flaunders.*

<sup>1</sup> The King of Spain made a general arrest of English shipping in 1585.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt subsequently printed the Lord Mayor's letter of complaint, written from London in July 1584.

<sup>3</sup> The *Jesus*. Her story was written by Thomas Sanders.

<sup>4</sup> In 1582. Hakluyt was probably indebted to Richard Staper for this information.

<sup>5</sup> Since 1566.

*Estlande.*

povertie and perill, and that w<sup>ch</sup> is worse, there is no hope of any speedy amendement. To come to the Esterlinges and the trades w<sup>th</sup> the cities w<sup>th</sup>in the sounde of Denmarke, they beinge deprived of the olde priuiledges of the Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their Cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholly to cutt of all our occupieng that way: And to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priuiledges in all their greate Townes: Also the exactions of the kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell, and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our shippes w<sup>th</sup>in the sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small inconveniences and myschefes: Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, w<sup>ch</sup> was so chardgeable in the begynnynge, what w<sup>th</sup> the coste of the discoverie, what w<sup>th</sup> presentes to the Empero<sup>r</sup>, together with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stoode them in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the Hollanders as also the men of Depe are entred into their trade by the Emperours permission, yea whereas at the firste our men paid no custome, of late yeres contrarie to their firste priuiledge they have bene urged to pay yt: Also the chardges of bringinge the Empero<sup>r</sup>s Embassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here, and the settinge furthe of her Majesties Embassador thither w<sup>th</sup> presentes to the Empero<sup>r</sup>, lyenge all upon the poore Marchantes neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease the same, the kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them thoughe they touche not upon any of his domynions: And nowe the Empero<sup>r</sup> of Russia beinge late deade,<sup>1</sup> yt is greatly feared that the voyadge wilbe utterly overthrowen, or els become not worthe the contynuaunce. Thus havinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to seeke some newe and better trade of lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse dommage, and of more advauntage. The rather to avoide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of kinge Phillipps domynions, where

<sup>1</sup> In 1584.

this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the Mr of our shippes. Firste he willeth the Mr to make a crosse w<sup>th</sup> his fore finger and his thombe layenge one over the other crossewise, This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doo not, that god demaunde yt of you; and the englishe Mr muste saye Amen. You shall sweare by that crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doo beleve as our Catholicke church of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Church of Rome. And that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Church of Rome. What marchandize bringe you, suche and suche. Wee will and commaunde you and your Companie to come on lande to masse every sonday and hollyday upon paine of discommunicacion. Then they open their chestes and looke if the Mr and maryners bringe any bookes w<sup>th</sup> them in their chests.<sup>1</sup> This don the officers that come w<sup>th</sup> the preestes aske of the Mr and maryners, chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes w<sup>th</sup> their walletts full of victualls. The Mr doth pay 4. Ryalls of plate for the Barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurye permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this Realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the comunyon, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse.<sup>2</sup> These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

<sup>1</sup> John Frampton was seized by the Inquisitors, because they found a forbidden book in his sea-chest.

<sup>2</sup> For the Hispaniolised Englishman see *supra*, p. 8.



## Cap. 3.

That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the commodities of this newe westerne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected: wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituation of the places, which are left for us to be possessed. The Contries therefore of America whereunto we have juste Title as being firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote at the coste of that prudente prince kinge Henry the Seaventh from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees, (and not yet in any Christian princes actuall possession) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turkey, Greece, all the Ilandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, ffraunce, fflaunders, highe Almayne, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may presently or w<sup>th</sup>in a shorte space afforde unto us for little or nothings and w<sup>th</sup> moche more safetie eyther all or a greate parte of the commodities which the aforesaide Contries doo yelde us at a very dere hande and w<sup>th</sup> manifolde daungers.

Firste therefore to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyadges of those w<sup>ch</sup> personally have w<sup>th</sup> diligence searched and viewed these contries, John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse extant in printe bothe in frenche and englishe:<sup>1</sup> Wee entred. (saieth he) and viewed the Contrie, w<sup>ch</sup> is the fairest, frutefullest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodds of all sortes, palmetrees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest w<sup>th</sup> also the fairest vines in all the worlde w<sup>th</sup> grapes accordinge w<sup>ch</sup> naturally w<sup>th</sup>oute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull

*In the firste  
volume of  
Ramusius,  
fol. 374  
pag. 2.*

*John Ribault.*

*Hony,  
venison,  
palmetrees,  
ceders,  
cipresses,  
vynes;*

<sup>1</sup> The work alluded to is Ribault's "*The whole and true discoverie of Terra Florida*... Prynted at London by Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket. 1563". No copy is known of the French version printed in London.

greatenes and heichte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters,<sup>1</sup> mallardes, egripts,<sup>2</sup> woodcockes, and all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hinds, bucks, wilde swyne, and all other kynde of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footinge there, and also afterwarde in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte: Also there be conies, and hares, silkwormes in marvelous number, a greate deale fairer and better then be our silkwormes. Againe in the sixte leafe and seconde page, they shewed unto us by signes that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home: Also leade like unto ours w<sup>ch</sup> wee shewed them: Also turqueses and greate aboundaunce of perles w<sup>ch</sup> as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the Rivers side, and amongst the reedes, and in the marishes in so marvelous aboundaunce as it is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles founde there as in any contrie in the worlde: In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus: The scituation is under 30. degrees, a goodd clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, w<sup>ch</sup> willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goo aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doo: In the 8. leafe: It is a place wonderfull fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it woulde bringe forth the wheate and all other corne twice a yere: In the 9. leafe yt followeth: Wee founde there a greate number of pepper trees the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered: In the 10. leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines w<sup>th</sup> grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge that ever weare sene: Thus have you brefely the somme of the commodities w<sup>ch</sup> were founde by John Ribault and his Companie on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

Moreover, Doctor Monardus that excellent phisition of Civill writinge of the trees of the west Indies in his booke called

*Hérons,  
curlues,  
bitters,  
mallardes,  
egripts.*

*Sylkwormes  
exceedinge  
faire.*

*Fol. 6. pag. 2.  
Golde.  
silver.  
copper.  
Turqueses.  
perles in  
aboundaunce.*

*30. degrees.  
The gentlenes  
of the people.*

*Harvest twice  
yn the yere.*

*Pepper  
groweth here;  
yt is longe  
pepper.*

<sup>1</sup> Bitterns.

<sup>2</sup> Egrets.

*Sassafras.*

*Joyfull Newes out of the newfounde worlde*,<sup>1</sup> maketh mention of a tree called Sassafras w<sup>ch</sup> the Frenchmen founde in Florida, fol. 46. of his Booke in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes of greate vertues and excellencies, healinge therew<sup>th</sup> grevous and variable diseases: It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt and tolde me marvell of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed w<sup>th</sup> the water w<sup>ch</sup> was made of it, and I judged that w<sup>ch</sup> nowe I doo fynde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the frenchemen w<sup>ch</sup> had bene in the Florida at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that ye Indians did shewe them this tree and the manner howe they shoulde use yt, and so they did and were healed of many evils, w<sup>ch</sup> surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree as the Indyans terme yt is called Paranne, and the Frenchemen called it Sassafras: To be brefe the Doctor Monardus bestoweth xj leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof: The nature and commodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed Testymonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes bothe w<sup>ch</sup> in one yere 1524, discovered the said Contries, and broughte home of the people Verarsana into Fraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyond this wee sawe the open Contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare w<sup>th</sup> many faire feedes and plaines full of mightie greate wooddes some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees and plesaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymagine. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia or the wilde desertes of

<sup>1</sup> This *Joyfull Newes* was a translation by Frampton of the *Historia Medicinal...de nuestras Indias* (1574), of Nicholas Monardes, a learned Spaniard, who died in 1578. The English version was published in 1577.

Tartaria and the northerne coastes full of fruteles trees, but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cypresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe w<sup>ch</sup> yelde moste swete savours farr from the shoare; neyther doo wee thincke that they partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the color of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And the lande is full of many beastes as redd dere, fallowe dere, and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water w<sup>th</sup> greate plentie of fowles convenient for all plesaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate betwene hote and colde, no vehement winds doo blowe in these Regions, &c. Againe, in the 4. leafe as it is in Englishe speakinge of the nexte Contrie, he saith: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, w<sup>ch</sup> springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, w<sup>ch</sup>, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, w<sup>th</sup>oute all doubt they woulde yelde excellent wyne, for havinge oftentimes seene the frute thereof dried, w<sup>ch</sup> was swete and pleasaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doo esteeme of the same because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under braunches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better: Wee founde also roses, violettis, lyllies and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after in the 6. leafe he saithe: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, w<sup>ch</sup> wee founde as pleasaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oyle. ffor therein there are plomes<sup>1</sup> 25. or 30. leagues broad, open and w<sup>th</sup>oute any impedymen-  
 te of trees of suche frutefulness that any seede beinge sown therein will bringe furthe moste excellent frute. Wee entred afterwarde into the wooddes, w<sup>ch</sup> wee founde so greate and thicke that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were okes, cypresses, and other sortes unknowen in Europe: Wee founde *pomi appij*, plomes and nuttes and many other sortes of frutes to us unknowen: There are beastes in greate aboundance as redd dere and fallowe dere,

*Druggs.  
spicery.  
golde.*

34. degrees.

*Vynes  
excellent.*

*Roses.  
violettis.  
lyllies.*

*Corne.  
wine.  
oyle.*

*These apples  
growe in  
Italy and  
are yellowe  
like a pippon.*

<sup>1</sup> Read 'plains'.

leopardes and other kindes w<sup>ch</sup> they take w<sup>th</sup> their bowes and arrowes, w<sup>ch</sup> are their cheffeste weapons: This lande is scituat in the paraclete<sup>1</sup> of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. terces. And towards the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hanginge at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relacion of Verarsana.

41 degrees  
& 2 terces.

Copper.

Stephen  
Gomez.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes w<sup>ch</sup> by the commaundemente of the Emperor Charles the fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega: These are the wordes of Gonsalvo de Oviedo in his *Summarye of the Weste Indies* translated into Italian<sup>2</sup> concerninge him. fo. 52. Dapoi che vostra maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arrivà qui nel mese di Novembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, il quale nel anno passato del 1524. per commandamento di vostra maestà navigò alla partè di tramontana e trovò gran partè di terra continuata a quelle che si chiama dellos Bacallaos discorrendo ill occidente: et giace in 40. et 41. grado et cosi poco piu et meno; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, et ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo chè communemente sono: perche anchora il detto piloto disse haver visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza: il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma; sono grandi arcieri, et vanno coperti di pelle d'animali salvatici, et altri animali: Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori et zibilini, et altrè ricche foderè, delle-quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto pilotto: Hanno argento et rame: et secondo che dicono questi Indiani et con segni fanno intendere, adorano il sole et la luna, anche hanno altro Idolatrie et errori come quelli di terra ferma.

Martores.  
sables.  
rich fures.  
silver and  
copper.

A capitaine  
of Diepe.

An other Frenche Capitaine of Diepe w<sup>ch</sup> had bene alongest this coaste geveth this testymonie of the people and Contrie from 40. to 47. degrees as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius fol. 423. pag. secunda: Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amichevoli, et piacevoli. La terra abundantissima d'omni frutto: vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua salvatica, et molte altre sorti d'arbori odoriferi: la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

Oranges.  
almonds.  
grapes.

<sup>1</sup> Read 'parallel': the writer's mind was wandering.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. in Ramusio.

This coaste from Cape Briton CC leagues to the south west was againe discovered at the chardges of the Cardinall of Burbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan the laste yere 1583. whoo founde a Towne of fourscore houses covered with the barks of trees upon a ryvers side about C leagues from the aforesaide Cape Briton,<sup>1</sup> he reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyann: He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver whereof he gave me some, a kynde of muske called Castor, divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffes, dere skynnes all dressed and painted on the innerside w<sup>th</sup> divers excellent colo<sup>rs</sup>, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermilylon: All w<sup>ch</sup> thinges I sawe and divers other marchandize he hath w<sup>ch</sup> I sawe not: But he tolde me that he had CCC and xl. Crownes for that in Roan, w<sup>ch</sup> in trifles bestowed upon ye savages stooode him not in fortie Crownes: And this yere 1584 the Marques de la Roche wente w<sup>th</sup> three hundreth men to inhabte in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC tonnes was caste away over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.<sup>2</sup>

*Stephen  
Bellinger.*

*Muske called  
castor.*

*Excellent  
colours for  
dyenge.*

*The Marques  
de la Roche  
1584.*

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij C leagues w<sup>th</sup> in the lande even to Hochelaga is notably described in the twoo voyadges of Jaques Cartier: In the fifte Chapiter of his seconde Relacion thus he writeth: ffrom the 19. till the 28. of September wee sailed upp the Ryver never loosinge one houre of tyme, all w<sup>ch</sup> space wee sawe as goodly a Contrie as possibly coude be wisshed for, full of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say oakes, elmes, walnuttrees, cedars, fyrres, ashes, boxe, willoughes, and greate store of vynes all as full of grapes as coude be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare they came home laden w<sup>th</sup> them: There are likewise many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesauntes, partridges, thrushes, blackbirdes, turtles, finches, redbrestes, nightingales, sparrows, w<sup>th</sup> other

*Jaques  
Cartier.*

*Vynes.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis de la Roche held the title of Viceroy of Newfoundland, which he had received a commission to people in 1577. His ship was cast away at Brouage.

*Silver, golde,  
redd copper.*

*Staggs. dere.  
beares.  
conies.  
hares.  
marters.  
foxes. otters.  
bevers.  
squirrells.  
badgers.  
Cranes.  
swannes.  
outardes.  
wild geese.  
mallards.  
thrushes.  
blackbirds.  
turtles.  
wilde pigeons.*

*Golde and  
redd copper.*

*A sea of  
freshe water.*

*Cynamon.  
cloves.*

*Vasques de  
Coronado.*

sortes of birdes even as in ffraunce, and greate plentie and store. Againe in the 6. chapter of the said relation there ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that is three monethes saylinge navigable southwarde from Hochelaga: and that redde copper is yn Saguyney: All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd dere, fallowe dere, beares, and other suche like store of beastes, as conies, hares, marter[n]s, foxes, otters, bevers, squirrells, badgers and rattes excedinge greate, and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes, outardes,<sup>1</sup> wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrushes, blackbirdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnets, finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrows and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of fyshe that ever hath bene seene or hearde of, because that from the heade to the mouthe of yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salte water fyshe accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses and adhothins w<sup>ch</sup> is a kinde of fishe which wee have never seene nor hearde of before. And in the xii<sup>th</sup> chapter thus: We understoode of Demaconna and others that there are people cladd w<sup>th</sup> clothe as wee are very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper. And that w<sup>th</sup>in the lande beyonde the said ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguyney ys an Iland envyrone rounde aboute w<sup>th</sup> that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and as they have hearde say of those of Saguyney, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnynge and ende thereof. Finally in the postscripte of the seconde relation wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a land where cynamonde and cloves are gathered. And nowe because hitherto I have spoken of the outewarde coaste, I will also alledge the commodities of the Inlande in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the Citie of Cevola usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado in the thirde chapter of his relation written to Don Antonio di Mendoza Viceroy of Mexico, w<sup>ch</sup> sente him thither w<sup>th</sup> many Spaniardes and iij

<sup>1</sup> Bustards.

C horses and a thousande Indians to discover those Contries:<sup>1</sup> He speakeinge there of the Citie of Cevola procedeth in this manner: In questo dove Io sto hora alloggiato possono asservi qualche dugento case tutte circondate di muro, et parmi con le altrè che non sono cosi, possono arrivare a cinquecento fuochi, v' è uni altra terra vicina che è una delle sette, et è alquanto maggiore di questa, et una altra della medesima grandezza di questa, et le altre quattro sono alquanto minori, et tutte Io le mando depinte a vostra signioria con ill viaggio: et pergamino dove va la pittura si trova qui con altri pergamini: Hanno mantelli depinti della maniera che Io mando a vostra signioria: Non raccolgono bombaso pero ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la mostra: et è vero che si ritrovo nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità, si trovaron in una charta due punte di smeraldi et certe picciole pierte rotte, che tirano al color di granata et altre pietre di christallo. Si trovaron galline: sono bonissime et maggiori che quelle di Mexico. Si trovo bonissima herba una quarta lega di quà: Mangiano le miliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna parte: Hanno bonissimo sale in grano, che levano dè un Lugume che è lunghe di quà una jornata: Vi sono di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, et certi castrati della grandezza d' un cavallo con corni molto grandi e code picciole: Vi sono delle capre salvatice, delequali io ho vedato le teste, et le pelli de i cingiali. Vi sono cacciagioni di cervi, pardi, cavrioli molto grandi: fanno otto giornate verso le compagne al mare di settentrione: Quivi sono certe pelli ben concie, et la concia et pittura si dan dove uccidon le vacche. In the last chapter he addeth: Mando a vostra Signioria una pelle di vacca, certe turchine et duoi pendenti d'orecchie delle medesime, et quindici petini degli Indiani, et alcune tavolette guarniti di queste turchine, &c. And for a conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo si è trovato alquanto oro et argento, che quei che si intendono di miniera non l' han reputato per cattivo. And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera in his Generall Historie of the Indies fol. 297. and 298.<sup>2</sup>

*Cevola a  
towne of C.C.  
houses.*

*Bombase.  
turchine.  
smeraldè.*

*Excellent salt.*

*Shepe  
exceeding  
greate apes.*

*The northe  
sea.*

*Oxen.*

*Golde and  
silver.*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Ramusio, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> In Ramusio's *Viaggi*. The passages from Coronado's *Relation* are very imperfectly transcribed by Hakluyt.



intreatinge of the seconde voyadge of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Cevola to Tignes, from Tignes to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quivera, saith firste of the contrye about Tignes: Ci sono in quel paese melloni et cottone bianco e rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre bande delle Indie. And of Quivera he saith: è Quivera in quaranta gradi, è paese temperato di bonissime aque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, meloni et une che maturano benissimo; e vescono pelle di vacche e caprioli, viddero per la costa navi che portavano Alcatrazes de oro et argento per le proe con mercantie: e credettero ch'eravo del Cataio et China: per chè accennavano, che havevanono navigato trenta di. Touchinge newefounde lande, because no man hath better searched it oute and all the commodities thereof then those that were there the laste yere 1583 the space of eightene daies on lande w<sup>th</sup> Sr Humfry Gilbert I will make rehersall thereof, as I finde it committed to printe in a learned discourse intituled *A True Reporte of the late discoveries and possessyon taken in the righte of the Crowne of England, of the Newfounde landes, &c.*<sup>1</sup> The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then Sr Humfry wente to viewe the Contrie, beinge well accompanied w<sup>th</sup> moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate but somewhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished w<sup>th</sup> beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisshes of sondrye sortes bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fifte chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumptions, howe vehemente soever, and dwell upon the certentie of suche commodities as were discovered and founde by Sr Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfounde lande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope ashes in greate plentie, yea as it is thoughte ynouge to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes, and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde [set] downe the value that they doo esteeme it at which have bene there, it woulde seme incredible. To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius a

*Pitche, tarr,  
rosen, sope-  
ashes, trayne  
oyle.*

*Stephanus  
Parmenius of  
Buda.*

<sup>1</sup> By Sir George Peckham.

learned hungarian borne in Buda and lately my bedfelow in Oxforde<sup>1</sup> wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande beinge of Sr Humfryes companye: Piscium (saieth he writinge in Latin) in exhausta copia, inde huc comeantibus magnus questus; vix hamus fundum attingit, ilicò insigni aliquo onustus est: Terra universa montana et sylvestris: arbores ut plurimùm pinus, et abietes. Herbæ omnes proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diversæ: Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inveni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secales: Et facilè cultura et sacione in usum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in silvis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suavitate: ursi circa tiguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes preferat. Nos admiralio authores fuimus sylvas incendere, quò ad inspiciendum regionem spacium pateret, nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur: Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam, in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris unda ex terebinthina quæ conflagrantibus arboribus per rivulos defluebat. Cælum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est ut nisi pisces qui arefiunt ad solem assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint: Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ, &c. Nowe, to passe from Newfounde lande to 60 degrees I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis in the thirde volume of the voyadges gathered by Ramusius fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuovo che corre verso tramontana et maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile del Europa, v' hanno navigato molti capitani et il primo (per quel che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500. v' andò con due caravelle, pensando di trover qualche stretto di mare donde per viaggio più breve, che non è l' andare attorno l'Africa potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso navigò tanto avanti, che venue in luogo dove erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di latitudine trovò un fiume carrico di neve, dalla quali detta il nome chiamandolo Rio Nevado, nè li bastò l'animo di passar più

*Letters the last yere in latin out of Newfounde lande.*

*Pynes and fyrres.*

*Afterwardes they sett the woodds on fire w<sup>ch</sup> burnte three weekes together.*

*Greate heate in Newfounde lande in sommer.*

*Jasper Corterealis.*

*60. degrees.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt subsequently published this letter in full (see *supra*, p. 198).

*Rio Nevado,*

*Dyers  
colours.  
silver, copper,  
martori et  
altri animali  
diversi.  
pesce.  
salmoni.*

*mightie &  
huge woodds.  
mightie fishe.*

*A singular  
commoditie  
for dyenge of  
englishe  
clothe.*

avanti. Tutta questa costa che corre dal detto rio nevado insu [insino] al porto di Maluas leghe 200. ilquale è in gradi 56. La vidde piena di genti et molto habitato: sopra laqual dismontato preso alcuni per menarli seco. Scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezzo la detta costa tutte populate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono homini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto herretini, et si dipingono la faccia et tutto il corpo con diverso colori per galanteria. Portono manigli d' argento et di rame, et si cuoprano con pelli cucite insieme di martori et di altri animali diversi. Il verno le portono col peto di dentro, et la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la magior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altera cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che v'hanno in grandissima copia: et anchora che visiano diversi sorti d'uccelli et di frutti non dimeno, non fanno conto se non di pesce, le loro habitationi sono fatte di legni deiquale hanno abundantia, per esservi grandissimi et infiniti boschi, et in luogo di tegole le cuoprano con pelli di pesce, che ne pigliano grandissimi, et le scorticano. Vidde molti uccelli et altri animali massimamente ursi tutti bianchi. The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by ffrobisher<sup>1</sup> and in freshe memorye so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof. Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testymonies of these credible persons w<sup>ch</sup> were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America as well on the coaste as w<sup>th</sup>in the lande, w<sup>ch</sup> affirmed unto the princes and kinges w<sup>ch</sup> sett them oute that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce, precious stones, as turqueses and Emrauldes, spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called Castor, Turpentine, Silke wormes fairer then ours of Europe, white and redd cotten, infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, w<sup>th</sup> their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed, Cochenilio founde last yere by the men of St. John de Luze<sup>2</sup> and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge, millions of all kinds of fowles for foode and fethers, salte for fisshinge, excellent vines in many places for wines, the soile apte to heare olyves for oile, all kinds of frutes as oranges,

<sup>1</sup> In a *True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie*, written by George Best, London, 1578.

<sup>2</sup> The Basque fishermen, like the Bretons, were pioneers in the New World.

almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons, all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, Cipresses, Cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe, and in new founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and firr trees, asshes, and other like to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen, and hempe for cables and cordage, and, upp within the graunde baye<sup>1</sup> excedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furies, (whereof I sawe twentie thousande frenche Crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe Grainer the kinges skynners)<sup>2</sup> also suche aboundaunce of trayne oile<sup>3</sup> to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therew<sup>th</sup>: I may well and truly conclude with reason and authoritie that all the commodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us may in shorte space for little or nothings and many for the very workemanshippe in a manner be had in that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly latitude, if by our slackness wee suffer not the frenche or others to prevente us.<sup>4</sup>

*plancks for  
ships oares.  
Things  
incident to a  
navy.  
sope asshes.*

*prevention  
to be taken  
hede of.*

#### Cap. 4.

That this enterprize will be for the manifolde ymployment of numbers of idle men, and for breeding of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

It is well worthe the observacion to see and consider what the like voyadges of discoverye and planting in the easte and weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne. Bothe w<sup>ch</sup> Realmes beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitants by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres wee have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those two nations: whereas wee and the frenche are moste in-

<sup>1</sup> Just within Belle Isle Strait.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's father was a skinner.

<sup>3</sup> From the whale fisheries.

<sup>4</sup> French activity had been renewed since 1581.

famous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies.<sup>1</sup> Againe when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongst them. The reason is that by these their new discoveries they have so many honest wayes to sett them on worke as they rather wante men than meanes to ymploye them: But wee for all the Statutes<sup>2</sup> that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle and lazye persons for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente cannot deliver our common wealthe from multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessinges of almightie god) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore: So that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another: yea many thousandes of idle persons are w<sup>th</sup>in this Realme, w<sup>ch</sup> havinge no way to be sett on worke be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the common wealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe are miserably hanged, even xx<sup>ti</sup>. at a clappe oute of some one Jayle<sup>3</sup>: whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety theves mighte be condempned for certain yerres in the westerne partes, especially in newfounde lande in sawinge and felling of tymber for mastes of shippes and deale boordes, in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche tarr rosen and sope asshes, in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage: and in the more sowtherne partes in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade and yron, in draggingge for perles and currall, in plantinge of suger canes as the Portingales have done in Madera, in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke and in dressinge the same: in gatheringe of cotten whereof there is plentie, in tillinge of the soile there for graine, in dressinge of vines whereof there is

*Idle persons  
mutynous  
and desire  
alteration in  
the state.*

*A remedy to  
all these in-  
conveniences.*

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of the Admiralty Courts abundantly confirms this. The Channel entries and the approaches to the Canaries and Madeira were favourite haunts.

<sup>2</sup> A Poor Law Act was passed in 1572, while Proclamations against vagabonds were issued in 1576, 1579 and later years.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 175.

greate aboundaunce for wyne, olyves whereof the soile is capable for oyle, trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes all w<sup>ch</sup> are founde to growe there already: in sowinge of woade and madder for diers as the Portingales have don in the Azores, in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes, in makeinge and gatheringe of salte as in Rochel and Bayon w<sup>ch</sup> may serve for the newe lande fisshinge, in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole<sup>1</sup> for trayne oile, in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, cōdde, salmon, herringe, in makeinge and gatheringe of hony, wax, turpentine, in hewinge and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges, in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powderinge and barrellinge of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande: in dryinge, sortinge and packinge of fethers whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.<sup>2</sup> Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the Realme at home, by this voyadge shalbe made profitable members by employinge them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, w<sup>ch</sup> will be very goodd marchandize for those Contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof. And seinge the savages of the graunde Baye and all alonge the mightie Ryver that ronnethe upp to Canada and Hochelaga are greatly delighted w<sup>th</sup> any cappe or garment made of course wollen clothe, their Contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, yt is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens and our Irishe and Welshe frizes, and rugges: whereby all occupacions belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spynners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers. Crapers, hatters and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired: In somme this enterprize will mynister matter

<sup>1</sup> A species of spouting whale.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these points are set out more fully in the elder Hakluyt's pamphlet of 1585, *infra*.

for all sortes and states of men to worke upon: namely all severall kindes of artificers, husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, Cosmographers, hidrographers, Astronomers, historiographers, yea olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children by many meanes w<sup>ch</sup> hereby shall still be mynistred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes, and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves w<sup>th</sup>oute surchardginge others. ffor prooffe of the last part of my allegation, I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde 1564 at what tyme the flemishe nation were growen as yt were to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to rejecte our clothes and commodities: A subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden a man of greate observacion wrote a notable discourse to the younge Erles to take occasion of that present tyme by offer of large priviledges in Emden to the englishe men.<sup>1</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> discourse the said subjecte for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge Erles dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22<sup>th</sup> booke of *Sleydans Commentaries*,<sup>2</sup> That, anno 1550 Charles the fifte then Emperour would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes: whereabout there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute of the Towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes could perswade the Empero<sup>r</sup> from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely that if the Inquisicion came into Andwerpe and the netherlandes, that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the Towne and out of his Contries: And

<sup>1</sup> Emden received many Protestant refugees. The two young Earls were Edzard and John, both minors. The negotiations for transferring the English cloth trade to Emden were carried out by the German Protestant refugee John Utenhove, who was therefore probably the author of the *Discourse* quoted by Hakluyt (see Strype's *Life of Grindal*, Bk. 1. chap. 9). Documents of this type enjoyed a carefully controlled circulation in manuscript form (cf. Lansdowne MSS. 26, No. 45).

<sup>2</sup> First published in 1555. Translated into English, 1560. Sleidan was the historian of the Protestant Reformation in Germany.

upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profite there came and commoditie grewe by the haunte of the englishe marchantes: Then was it founde by searche and enquirie that w<sup>th</sup>in the Towne of Andwerpe alone there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of englishe commodities, besides the gaines y<sup>t</sup> marchantes and shippers with other in the sayd Towne did gett, w<sup>ch</sup> was the greatest parte of their lyvinge w<sup>ch</sup> were thoughte to be in nombre half as many more, and in all other places of his netherlandes by the indrapinge of englishe woll into clothe and by the workinge of other englishe commodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd, w<sup>ch</sup> in all amounteth to the number of l.j.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Empero<sup>r</sup> whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition: And in the ende of the 45<sup>th</sup> article of the same discourse, also he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of the same Empero<sup>r</sup> in the netherlandes dyd gaine yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came eche yere oute of England almoste vi.C.M.li.li: I say almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterling, besides the gaines they had for sondry other thinges that were of marvelous sommes: Nowe if her Ma<sup>tie</sup> take these western discoveries in hande and plante there,<sup>1</sup> yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the netherlandes, and in tyme moche more: w<sup>ch</sup> was the opinion of that excellent man M<sup>r</sup> Roberte Thorne extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea<sup>2</sup> Embassador for King Henry the eighte in Spaine w<sup>th</sup> Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup> whose wordes are these: And although (saith he) wee wente not into the said Ilandes of Spicerie for that they are the Emperours or kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way and commynge once to the lyne equinoctiall finde landes no lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under the said lyne equinoctiall: And also shoulde yf wee may passe under the

*Six hundred  
thousand  
pounde  
gayned  
yerely by  
Englishe  
woll.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt envisaged large-scale planting from Newfoundland to the borders of Florida, only possible with State support. See *infra*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Divers Voyages*.



northe enjoye the navigation of all Tartarye: w<sup>ch</sup> should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of clothe, then those spicerie to the Empero<sup>r</sup> and kinge of Portingale.

This beinge soe, yt commeth to passe that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the Ilandes of the same, or in other landes, Ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they w<sup>th</sup>in the circle articke or w<sup>th</sup>oute, all these clothes I say are to passe oute of this Realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the base Contries, w<sup>ch</sup> is hoped by greate reason, then shall all that clothe passe oute of this Realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte by the poore naturall subjectes of this Realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth that the like number of people alleaged to the Emperour shalbe sett on worke in England of our poore sujetes more then hath bene: And so her Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall not be troubled w<sup>th</sup> the pitefull outcryes of Cappers, knyitters, spynners, &c. And on the other side wee are to note that all the commodities wee shall bringe thence, wee shall not bringe them wroughte as wee bringe now the commodities of ffraunce and fflaunders, &c., but shall receive them all substaunces unwroughte to the ymployment of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this Realme in returne: And so to conclude what in the number of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to sterve, or to begge as they doo:<sup>1</sup> And to aunswer objections, where fooles for the swarming of beggars alleage that the realme is toto populous:<sup>2</sup> Salomon saieth that the hono<sup>r</sup> and strengthe of a Prince consisteth in the multitude of the people: And if this come aboute that worke may be had for the multitude, where the Realme hath now one thousande for the defence thereof, the

*Objection.  
Aunswer.*

<sup>1</sup> To import raw material and export manufactures, *i.e.* to substitute an industrial for an agrarian economy, is the aim of every modern state.

<sup>2</sup> The fallacy that unemployment is evidence of over-population is current to-day. Hakluyt's estimate that the population of England could be increased fivefold was not extravagant. John Dee in his *Pety Navy Royall* pointed out that only a fraction of the country's food resources was developed.

same may have fyve thousande: ffor when people knowe howe to lyve, and howe to maynetayne and feede their wyves and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as nowe they doe: And the soile thus aboundinge w<sup>th</sup> corne, fleshe, mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes, and frutes, &c. and the seas that envyron the same so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme that if the nomber in this Realme were as greate as all Spaine and ffraunce have,<sup>1</sup> the people beinge industrious, industrious I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe at the full in all bounty to suffice them all: And takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne thither hides of their owne beastes tanned and turned into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates whereof they have store into gloves &c. no doubtte but wee shall sett on worke in this Realme besides sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those westerne discovered Contries, at the leaste C. M. subjectes to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of subjectes of forreine Princes enemyes or doubtfull friends, and this *absque injuria* as the lawyers say albeit not *sine damno*: And having a vente of lynnens as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people in making the same infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides w<sup>ch</sup> time will bringe aboute, though nowe for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

### Cap. 5.

That this voyage will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weeks or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Lande.

The cause why the Kinge of Spaine these three or foure yeres last paste was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wynne Tercera and the other small Ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the oportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West Indian flete at their returne home-

<sup>1</sup> A total of about twenty-one millions.

warde as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke:<sup>1</sup> But the plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene fflorida and Cape Briton woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater dommage as well to his flete as to his westernne Indies, for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania: Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof comynge oute betwene Cuba, and the Cape of fflorida alonge the gulfes or Straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towards the coaste w<sup>ch</sup> wee purpose god willinge to inhabite:<sup>2</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hapned to them not twoo yeres past<sup>3</sup> as Mr Jenynges and Mr Smithe the m<sup>r</sup> and m<sup>rs</sup> mate of the shippe called the Toby belonginge to Bristowe infourmed me and many of the chefest merchauntes of that Citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste and sawe the people w<sup>ch</sup> they reported to be bigge men somewhat in makinge like the hollanders, and lighted on a Towne upon a ryvers side w<sup>ch</sup> they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge w<sup>th</sup>oute controversie that all southerne and southeasterne windes inforce the Spanish flete returninge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste and consequently will bringe them into our daunger after wee shalbe there strongly settled and fortified: wee are moreover to understande that the Savages of fflorida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes and wilbe ready to joyne w<sup>th</sup> us againste them, as they joyned w<sup>th</sup> Capitaine Gourgues a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man and goinge thither at his owne chardges by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniardes aboute xx<sup>tl</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1581-3 both the English and French were supporting Don Antonio in the Azores. The French fleet under Strozzi was defeated in July 1582.

<sup>2</sup> In point of fact, Virginia proved too far north for a base, although Hakluyt's statements are correct.

<sup>3</sup> Late in 1582. Hakluyt probably heard the story when he was in Bristol in that year or early in 1583, during the formal discussion of Gilbert's project with the principal citizens.

yeres agoe had planted in fflorida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; w<sup>ch</sup> Gourgues slewe and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the frenche. Yea one Holocotera brother to one of the kinges of the Savages leaping upp on an highe place w<sup>th</sup> his owne handes slewe a spanishe Canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce, w<sup>ch</sup> storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled *Trois Mondes*.<sup>1</sup>

Also w<sup>th</sup>in the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania there is a people called Chichimici w<sup>ch</sup> are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers which have contynuall warres w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes and doo greatly annoyne them: The Spanishe histories w<sup>ch</sup> I have reade and other late discourses make greate mention of them: Yea Myles Phillipps whoe was xiiij. yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, confesseth this to be moste certaine.<sup>2</sup> Nowe if wee (being thereto provoked by spanishe injuries) would either joyne w<sup>th</sup> these Savages, or sende or give them arm<sup>or</sup> as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe Rebels, wee shoulde trouble the kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a Bay, as he was never yet helde at:<sup>3</sup> ffor if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true that one negro w<sup>ch</sup> fledd from his cruell spanishe M<sup>r</sup> is receaved and made Capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici and daily dothe grevously afflict them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what dommage mighte divers hundreds of englishe men doo them being growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation: And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, To witt our plantinge in those partes, and joyning w<sup>th</sup> those Savages their neighbours in fflorida and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. W<sup>ch</sup> thinge an englishe

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1582. An English translation was licensed on May 9, 1583, perhaps at Hakluyt's instance, for the author urged the discovery and colonisation of *Terra Australis*, a theme he pursued in *L'amiral de France* (1584), which Hakluyt studied also.

<sup>2</sup> His manuscript was presumably written in 1582-3.

<sup>3</sup> The policy of arming savages against whites was adopted by the European colonists of the next century, but it was a two-edged weapon.

*The benefite  
of plantinge  
about Cape  
Bryton or  
Newfounde  
lande.*

gentleman Capitaine Muffett whoe is nowe in ffrance,<sup>1</sup> tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely that when he was in Spaine prisoner not longe since, he hearde the Threasurer of the west Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his Mr, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto fflorida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easely passe farre upp into the lande and joyne w<sup>th</sup> his enemyes, whereof he stode in contynuall feare, and said moreover that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towardes John Ribaulte and his Companie upon his seekinge to settle there: ffynally if wee liste not to come so nere fflorida this is a matter of no small momente, that if wee fortifie ourselves about Cape Briton nere newfounde land partely by the strengthe of our fortificacion and partely by the aide of our navye of ffishermen which are already commaunders of others there, havinge o<sup>r</sup> double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every soodden to cease<sup>2</sup> upon one or twoo hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shippes, w<sup>ch</sup> for tenne weekes or three monethes are there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche a bridle to him and suche an advauntage unto us, as wee cannot possibly ymagine a greater: And thus the frenche served them in the time of Moûnsieurs<sup>3</sup> being in fflaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure spanishe and portingale shippes at ones, and more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen and namely one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratcliffe had not defended them.<sup>4</sup> And hither of necessitie they must yerely repaire beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els excepte on the coaste of Ireland and at Cape Blancke<sup>5</sup> in Africa, w<sup>ch</sup> twoo are nothinge worthe in comparison to this thirde place: So shall wee be able to crye quittaunce w<sup>th</sup> the King of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye,<sup>6</sup> or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethinke himself that his navye in newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger then ours is in his domynions wheresoever.

<sup>1</sup> "There is here a Captain Moffet whom I have long known and know how to use" (Stafford to Walsingham, April 2, 1584).

<sup>2</sup> Seize.

<sup>3</sup> The Duc d'Anjou.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Parkhurst's narrative, Doc. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Blanco.

<sup>6</sup> As he did in 1585.

## Cap. 6.

That the mischefe y<sup>t</sup> the Indian Treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> father to the Spanishe kinge is to be had in consideracion of the Queenes most excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup> leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrevocable annoye of this Realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

It is written in the xxxth. article of the discourse before specified dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden as followeth *verbatim*: With this greate treasure did not the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles gett from the frenche kinge the kingdome of Naples, the Dukedome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? with this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner: and sacked the sea<sup>1</sup> of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the frenche kinge prisoner and mayneteyne all the greate warres w<sup>th</sup> Fraunce since the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lorde 1540 to the yere of our lorde 1560 as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his<sup>2</sup> booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many Cities in Italie as well againste the Pope as againste the frenche kinge, as Parma, fflorence and such other? With this treasure did he not overthrowe the Duke of Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyninge lande and other Domynions from him? w<sup>ch</sup> oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainely and truly declared hereafter? With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erldome of Lingen in westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones,<sup>3</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> subjecte to rebell againste your graces father and againste you? the cause you knowe best: And what worke this treasure made amongst the Princes and Townes in Germany when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave van Hessen were taken, Sleydan our owne countryman by his chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then? yes

<sup>1</sup> See.<sup>2</sup> This.<sup>3</sup> Esens.

truly to moche as you shall heare: When the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles was firste made Empero<sup>r</sup>, what were the Townes and Contries in the netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe and inheritaunce? There was Brabant, fflaunders, holland, zeland, Artoys, and Henego:<sup>1</sup> And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland howe the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles and his progenito<sup>rs</sup> came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doo for the same: Because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River Rhene at their commaundemente, w<sup>ch</sup> is to the greate losse, domage, and daunger of Germanye as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the Contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles was made Empero<sup>r</sup>. But howe moche hath bene added to the netherlandes since by him contrary to his oathe made? That are these Townes and Contries as yt appereth in Sleydans Chronicle, viz., Lutzenburge, Lymburge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and straite of Utright<sup>2</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all the landes in over Isel, west frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge lande. And as before it is saied he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen standinge in westfalia: and by the like pollicie w<sup>th</sup> money he is become the defendo<sup>r</sup> of the Erldome of Esons w<sup>ch</sup> is parcell of your graces Countrie of East frizeland. All these Contries and Townes w<sup>th</sup> the treasure of the netherlandes hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup> employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome.<sup>3</sup> The effecte of these treasures w<sup>ch</sup> he had oute of the west Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles truly prognosticated in the begynnynge before hand, where he writeth thus unto him: Come therefore and embrace this newe worlde and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. ffrom hence, from hence (I say) moste noble younge Prince shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your

<sup>1</sup> Hainault.

<sup>2</sup> Utrecht.

<sup>3</sup> Here Hakluyt leaves the German writer, and turns to Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr.

obeyesauce: And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqueste, and that the Emperor turned them to that use. To leave the father and to come to the sonne, hath not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all Princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that w<sup>th</sup> his Indian treasure corrupted the *Quinqueviri* in portingale that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, w<sup>th</sup> all the Ilandes, Townes, and domynions belonginge to that Crowne?<sup>1</sup> Is it not he that w<sup>th</sup> his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away w<sup>th</sup> Don Antonio one while by open proclamacion, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hath hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life?<sup>2</sup> And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres given large pensions to numbers of englishe unnaturall rebelles? Doth he not support the Semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne common wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland furnished w<sup>th</sup> money, armor, munition, and victualls? Hath not he sente rounde sommes of money into Scotland bothe to the Kinge and those that are aboute him to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe asse ronnethe upp and downe laden throughe all ffraunce, and when it coulede not ente. into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the Courtes of the princes of the Relligion to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath don and nowe dothe in all the Empire and the lowe Contries and is like to worke in other places unlesse spedy order be taken to hinder it, is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonnde<sup>3</sup> a germaine gentleman in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in latine, Italian, frenche, englishe, and duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome,

*King  
Phillipps  
injuries offred  
by his  
Treasures.*

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese Cortes recognised Philip as King in April 1581.

<sup>2</sup> The Prince of Orange was assassinated on July 10, 1584. Hakluyt seems here to refer only to the attempts on his life, which suggests that he had written thus far before the news was known.

<sup>3</sup> Philip van Marnix: *Oratio Ecclesiarum Christi*, 1579.



together w<sup>th</sup> the meanes to defende and preserve the same, dedicated to all christian kinges, princes, and potentates.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 7.

What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his high Throne and make him equall to the Princes his neighbours: wherew<sup>th</sup>all is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

Firste it is to be considered that his Domynions and Territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine his chefest force, and farr distante one from another, and are kepte by greate tyrannie, and *quos metuunt oderunt*. And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage geven to water it maketh his owne way, so give but a small meane to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie, w<sup>ch</sup> way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideracion of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne w<sup>th</sup> the west Indies as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermined and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe, so this prince spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his Territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe,<sup>2</sup> and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes their governours. ffor this Phillippe already owinge many millions, and of late yeres empaired in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shamefull losse of his spaniardes and dishono<sup>rs</sup> in the lowe Contries,<sup>3</sup> and by lacke of the yerely Renewe of his Revenewe, he shall not be able to wage<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was passionately Protestant. The Throgmorton Plot had been discovered in 1583, and the Babington Plot was to follow.

<sup>2</sup> More than one suggestion was made to the Queen that she should ally herself with the Moors against Spain. Hatred of Spain was reaching the point of hysteria.

<sup>3</sup> Actually the Prince of Parma reduced one city after another in 1584, but Antwerp did not fall until August 1585.

<sup>4</sup> Pay.

his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes Courtes, nor to doo many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the west Indies. And that wee be not abused with spanishe bragg, and made to beleve what he is not, and so drawen into vain feare suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the west Indies by opinion, then by mighte. ffor the small manred<sup>1</sup> of Spaine of itselfe being alwayes at the best slenderly peopled was never able to rule so many Regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the erro<sup>r</sup> of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doo ymagine, that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaynes allured hither into Britaine perced the Iland and planted here and there in the mouthes of Rivers and upon straites, and kepte Colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at Yorke upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enjoyed more of the contries rounde aboute, then the Englishe planted at Bulloine and Calice did of the frenche soile adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at commaundement: Even so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies and planted here and there very thinly and slenderlye w<sup>th</sup>oute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their Townes and fortes any number to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a Prince: So as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowen to S<sup>r</sup> ffrances Drake and to M<sup>r</sup> Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (w<sup>ch</sup> Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania) and to dyvers others of her Mat<sup>ties</sup> subjectes besides that have been there: That the Ilandes there abounde w<sup>th</sup> people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy governemente of the Spaniarde, and that doo mortally hate the Spaniarde: And they also knowe that the Moores and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery have fledd from them into the Inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so prevaile and

<sup>1</sup> Supply of men available for war.

especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes themselves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the speciall priuiledges graunted by Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> to the marchauntes, as may plainly appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama to be conveyed into Spaine: And it is thoughte that S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake and some other englishe are of so greate credite w<sup>th</sup> the Symerons and w<sup>th</sup> those that mayneteyne those frontier warres, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe Capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the base Contries, w<sup>th</sup> archers and lighte furniture &c. bringe to passe that joyninge w<sup>th</sup> those Inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governmente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus w<sup>th</sup> small chardge and fewe men nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there residente, and for the incouragemente of the Symerons, greater effecte may followe then by meetinge w<sup>th</sup> his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twice at the sea: ffor by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possesseinge the same.<sup>1</sup>

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoveries, and there plante, and people ryally,<sup>2</sup> and fortifie strongly, and there builde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte by men or munition to the Chichimici and the Symerons and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes, w<sup>ch</sup> in tyme will if it be not looked to bringe all Princes to weake estate that Phillippe, either for religion or other cause dothe hate, as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond in his pithie and moste earneste exhortation to all Christian kinges,

<sup>1</sup> When Drake appeared in the Pacific, the Spaniards took drastic steps against the Cimarrones. Hakluyt's plan of affording the latter English arms and leadership had little to commend it.

<sup>2</sup> Royally, *i.e.* on a large scale with state aid.

Princes, and Potentates to beware of kinge Phillipps ambitions growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the Realme swarming w<sup>th</sup> lustie youtthes that be turned to no profitable use) there may be sente bandes of them into the base Contries in more rounde numbers then are sente as yet. ffor if he presently prevaile there at o<sup>r</sup> doores, farewell the trafficque that els wee may have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the Realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.<sup>1</sup> If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and w<sup>th</sup> spede and effecte, no doubt but the Spanishe Empire falles to the ground, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude Crowe, the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the popingey and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeouse fethers, he will in shorte space become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde, w<sup>th</sup> such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapned to the sea of Rome by the practise of the late kinge of famous memory her Mat<sup>ties</sup> father, or by all the former practises of all the protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond here after by them to be put in execucion. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye, for take away his treasure w<sup>ch</sup> is *nervus belli*,<sup>2</sup> and w<sup>ch</sup> he hath almoste oute of his west Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

<sup>1</sup> This was true, and on August 10, 1585, the Queen became Protector of the Low Countries.

<sup>2</sup> Sinews of war. Hakluyt was not economist enough to associate the flood of treasure with the fall in the purchasing price of money.

## Cap. 8.

That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as is generally ymagined and surmized, neither those partes w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the popishe Clergie and others his fautors<sup>1</sup> to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

As the Secretary of Don Antonio kinge of Portingale called Custodio Etan<sup>2</sup> tolde me lately at Paris that the portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the easte Indies above twelve thousande portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, w<sup>ch</sup> was confirmed by one of the kinges Capitaines borne in Goa then presente, and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumōrs of power and by secrecie then by any greate force w<sup>ch</sup> they had in deede: So the like is to be proved of the kinge of Spaine in his west Indies. ffor he beinge in those partes excedinge weake hath nothinge such numbers of people there as ys geven oute: neither doo his domynions stretche so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymagined: w<sup>ch</sup> hereby easely may appere, seinge he hath no one Towne or forte in actuall possession in all Nova hispania to the northe of the Tropick of Cancer, w<sup>ch</sup> standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the Towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in florida:<sup>3</sup> ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan sett oute twoo yeres paste w<sup>th</sup> all diligence by Ortelius, Sainte Michael ys the furthest Towne northwarde on the backside of America, and Panuco, and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly Colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite, as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere 1584, w<sup>ch</sup> three Townes above named are under or w<sup>th</sup>in the Tropicke of Cancer.<sup>4</sup> And so the kinge

<sup>1</sup> Partisans.

<sup>2</sup> Leitan. He moved between Paris and London on his master's business. Stafford questioned him carefully on Oct. 8, 1585 about the Portuguese Indies and Strait of Magellan.

<sup>3</sup> St Augustine, in lat. 30°, was the most northerly settlement.

<sup>4</sup> These maps are in the *Additamenta* to the *Theatrum*. The map of Culiacan is dated 1579.

of Spaine hath no footing beyonde the said Tropicke w<sup>ch</sup> is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte w<sup>ch</sup> ymagine and by some are borne in hande that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towards the Pooles: Againe that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere 1584 published by Ortelius: neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weake they are there and what simple shippinge they have, and howe dayly they be afflicted by the Inhabitauntes, S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake can tell and the letters by him intercepted doo declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was fourtene yeres in those partes writeth that they holde greate Townes, some w<sup>th</sup> tenne, some w<sup>th</sup> sixe, some w<sup>th</sup> foure, and some w<sup>th</sup> twoo souldiers, and that they commaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those Contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footinge there: Seeinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barenes, desolacion and wante of men in Spaine together w<sup>th</sup> these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thousandes of them in the Lowe contries must nedes confesse that they have very simple<sup>2</sup> forces there. The provinces w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any Empire since the creacion of the worlde. Some of his Contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder also held by Tyranie, that in deede upon the due consideracion of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be: And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche a masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the frenche kinge of one onely kingdome w<sup>th</sup> his onely people of ffraunce were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

It is written that Antigonus beinge to fighte againste certaine

*The example  
of Antigonus.*

<sup>1</sup> Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del mondo novo*. Hakluyt's slip is probably due to the similar name of Pierre Bellon who is quoted by Ramusio.

<sup>2</sup> Scanty.

of his enemyes, they appered a farr of to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them, but beinge encouraged by his valor, they easly overthrewe them in a conflicte, whereof he stripped one or twoo, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes, w<sup>ch</sup> when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crows. This w<sup>ch</sup> I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America, may more easelie appere by this note followinge gathered by an excellent frenche capitaine<sup>1</sup> moste experte and privie to the state and force of the Islandes, havens, Townes, and fortes of all that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> lieth upon our Ocean, w<sup>ch</sup> excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the Inlande is moche more weake and unmanned.

### Cap. 9.

The names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. Over against the ilande of Margarita there is a Towne called Cumina wherein is great store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the Towne w<sup>ch</sup> onely dragge perles: This Towne is the farthest eastwarde w<sup>ch</sup> the kinge hath on the north side of India: It is environed w<sup>th</sup> their enemyes viz. the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this Towne to Margarita.

2. The nexte Towne westwarde is Carakas w<sup>ch</sup> is very riche of golde. This Towne standeth upon the sea and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise w<sup>th</sup> the Indians their mortall enemyes.

<sup>1</sup> A version of this French report is in the Cotton MSS. Otho E VIII.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen and the treasure taken awaye.

4. The nexte Towne to the westwarde is called Coro which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls, this standeth upon the sea. This is a Civill Contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a Towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver but no golde, and not farr from thence there is a perle house: There is plentie of victualls, the Contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes com-aundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he wan this Towne and was m<sup>r</sup> of yt three daies in his laste voyadge.<sup>1</sup>

6. further westwarde is a Towne called Santa Maren alias Marta where is greate store of golde but little victualls. This is envyroned w<sup>th</sup> Indians enemyes to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte Towne is Carthagen where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This Towne hath a number of Indians and Symerons to their enemyes, there is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte Towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and Jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the southe sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete which taketh in halfe<sup>2</sup> their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores and from thence into Spaine: This towne hath no victualls but such as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea: By this Towne is a gulfe called Guluata, where the Cymerons and Indians have certaine Townes and kepe warres dayly w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls, this is a civill Contrie nere to the Towne, the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh out of the

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be an interpolation by Hakluyt, who probably had the note from Hawkins.

<sup>2</sup> 'All' in the Cotton version.



Southe Sea, and there is a place where they make their frigotts: there ys little victualls, the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a Towne called Hondoras alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls: This Towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This Towne hath within a mile great plentie of Indians, w<sup>ch</sup> are at warr w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes.

12. Then there is a towne called Porto de Cavallos where is store of silver, stones, perles, and jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles: To this Towne come yerely twoo shippes that goo from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine w<sup>th</sup> all their riches. This Towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the gulfes Dowse.<sup>1</sup>

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian Townes and full of victualls. There is one Towne named Vera Crux to w<sup>ch</sup> Towne cometh all their Treasure from the Citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Ulloa, from thence to Havana and so into Spayne.

## FLORIDA

In florida the Spaniardes have one Towne called Sancta Helena where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls: The florldians be a gentle sorte of people, and use somtymes to heade their arowes w<sup>th</sup> silver<sup>2</sup>.

There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan alias Rio de Maio where in an iland standeth a forte w<sup>ch</sup> was Ribaults, w<sup>ch</sup> River ronnethe through the Lande into the southe sea from whence greate plentie of Treasure is brought thither: There are small pynnesses that use the same river: It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said River:<sup>3</sup> This is very full of victualls: There was by Peter Melanda<sup>4</sup> a River cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio, so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte w<sup>th</sup> small pynnesses.

*A speciall  
note of a  
passage.*

<sup>1</sup> Golfo Dulce.

<sup>2</sup> "Head all their arowes-with silver," in the Cotton version.

<sup>3</sup> This supposed river is shown on Michael Lok's map of 1582, and John Dee's of 1583. The Cotton version has "south ende".

<sup>4</sup> Pedro Melendes. No such cut was made.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St. Augustine in Bresill conteyneth in lengthe alongest to the sea side xxj C miles, In whiche compasse and tracte there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale nor any Christian man but onely the Caribes, Indians, and salvages. In w<sup>ch</sup> places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly Ile called Trinidada conteyninge C xx<sup>th</sup> miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and Savages borne in the said Ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, w<sup>th</sup> divers faire frutes and other commodities: Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. With the kinge *The Frenche.* of this Ilande wee are in league.

#### Cap. 10.

A brefe declaration of the chefe Ilandes in the Baye of Mexico beinge under the Kinge of Spaine w<sup>th</sup> their havens and fortes and what commodities they yelde.

There ys one Ilande as the fleete cometh into the Baye named Margarita<sup>1</sup> wherein is greate store of perle: a riche Ilande full of Maiz (w<sup>ch</sup> is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woodds.

Over againste the said Iland northewarde, there is one other Iland named St. John de porto ricco w<sup>ch</sup> hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire Iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited havinge one Citie called Sancto Domingo, w<sup>ch</sup> hath a faire haven whereunto many of the shippes of the kinges fleete come and there devide themselves, some goo to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other portes of the mayne lande: This is a frutefull Iland for all manner of victuall hides and suger.

The nexte Ilande is called Jamaica and hath in it great store of victualls.

<sup>1</sup> In the Caribbean Sea, which the fleet entered first from the Atlantic.

The nexte is a faire greate and longe Iland called Cuba: this Iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, w<sup>ch</sup> is the key of all India: It is called the key of India for that the Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine,<sup>1</sup> but that they muste touche there for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessities. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the gulfes of Bahama.<sup>2</sup> This Ilande hath great plentie of victualls, but it is not greatly inhabited.

There be divers other Ilandes riche for victualls, as Aeriuba, Corsal, Marigalante, &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.<sup>3</sup>

Thus you see that in all those infinite Ilandes in the gulfes of Mexico whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as St Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola and Havana in Cuba: I may therefore conclude this matter w<sup>th</sup> comparinge the Spaniardes unto a dromme or an emptie vessell, w<sup>ch</sup> when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sound and that afarr of, but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothings in them, or rather like unto the asse w<sup>ch</sup> wrapte himselfe in a Lyons skynne and marched farr of to strike terro<sup>r</sup> into the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the Forrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if w<sup>th</sup> percinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the west Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte colo<sup>rs</sup>.<sup>4</sup> And if any man woulde objecte that if by his weakenes he had loste the Treasure of the west Indies, yet the riches of the easte Indies woulde holde upp his heade: I answer that those Contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the portingale and the Spaniarde as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the

<sup>1</sup> "Come ne goe home" in the Cotton MS.

<sup>2</sup> Strait of Florida. The circular route followed by the fleet was necessitated by the winds and currents.

<sup>3</sup> Here the French captain's notes end.

<sup>4</sup> Drake proved this in his West Indian raid of the following year.

treasure of the west Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

Cap. II.

That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoo woulde joyne w<sup>th</sup> us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

So many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people together with the spoiles of Townes, provinces, and kingdomes w<sup>ch</sup> have bene moste ungodly perpetrated in the west Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more than one chapter especially where there are whole bookes extant in printe not onely of straungers but also even of their owne contrymen (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas a Bisshope in Nova Spania),<sup>1</sup> yea such and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene that the very rehersall of them drave divers of the cruell Spanishe w<sup>ch</sup> had not bene in the west Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified.

Quis talia fando;  
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Uliisses,  
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheles I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what cause the small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes and to shake of from their

<sup>1</sup> An English version of his famous work *Relación de la destruyción de las Indias*, was published in 1583.

shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, w<sup>ch</sup> in many places they have already begonne to doo of themselves w<sup>th</sup>oute the helpe of any christian Prynce.

[This being so I leave it to the depe consideration of the wise, what greate matters may be broughte aboute by our nation if her Ma<sup>tie</sup> (beinge a mightie prince at sea) woulde put in a foote in that enterprise, and assiste the revolted Indians, Symérons and Chichimici after one or twoo yeres planting there, and growinge into acquaintance and familiaritie w<sup>th</sup> those oppressed nations.]<sup>1</sup>

Nowe because these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas the Bishhoppe above mentioned and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, w<sup>ch</sup> author testifieth that to his inspeakable grefe he was an eye witnesse of many of them, therefore it semeth best unto me to bringe him in, w<sup>ch</sup> in his firste chapter describeth the same in manner followinge. Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians) so meke, so qualified and endowed of their maker and creato<sup>r</sup> as hath bene saied, entred the spanishe, incontinent as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as Tigres moste cruell of longe tyme famished: and have not don in those quarters these 40. yeres be paste, neither yet doo at this presente oughte els, then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflict them, tormente them and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like, (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter) so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have seene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the Contrie. The Ile of Cuba w<sup>ch</sup> is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day as it were all waste. St. John's Isle, and that of Jammaica bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the northside unto that of Cuba, in number beinge above three score Ilandes, together with those w<sup>ch</sup> they call the Isles of Geant, one w<sup>th</sup> another greate and little whereof the very worste is

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt struck out this paragraph. It was a proposal hardly consonant with a professed Christian and clergyman and might easily give offence to the Queen.

fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the Contrie the helthsomest in the worlde: There were in some of these Isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature, for they have bene all of them slaine after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more lefte of the Inborne natives of that Iland: A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte all these Ilandes to thende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the Remainder of these folke (for there was a goodd Christian moved w<sup>th</sup> pitie and compassion to converte and wynne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde) there were not founde but eleven persons w<sup>ch</sup> I sawe.<sup>1</sup> Other Iles more than thirtie nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene despoiled and massacred. All those Iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande wee are certaine that o<sup>r</sup> Spaniardes by their cruelties and cursed doinges have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne Realmes greater then all Spaine comprisinge therein also Arragon and Portingale, and twice as moche or more lande than there is from Civill to Jerusalem, w<sup>ch</sup> are above a thousand leagues: w<sup>ch</sup> Realmes as yet unto this presente day remain in a wildernes and utter desolation, haveinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

Wee are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte that there is w<sup>th</sup>in the space of 40. yeres by these said tyranies and devillishe doinges of the Spaniardes don to deathe unjustly and tyranously more then xij millions of soules men women and children.

And I verely doe beleve and thinke I doo not mistake therein there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules: Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter. In the chapter of Hispaniola it thus followeth:

Nowe after sondry other forces violences and tormentes w<sup>ch</sup> they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them there-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Bishop saw.

fore hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children, some other fledd into the mountaines to seperate themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation: The Spaniardes buffeted them w<sup>th</sup> their fistes and bastianadoes, preasinge<sup>1</sup> also to lay their handes on the Lordes of the Townes: And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and Lorde of this Ile: Since w<sup>ch</sup> time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes and sett themselves in armes: But what kinde of armes? Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence: Wherefore all their warres are no more warres then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes w<sup>th</sup> their horses, speares, and launces began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties: They entred into Townes, Burroughes, and villages sparinge neither children, nor olde men, noyther women w<sup>th</sup> childe, neither them that laye in, but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt upp in their folde: They laied wagers w<sup>th</sup> suche as w<sup>th</sup> one thruste of a sworde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or w<sup>th</sup> one blowe of a sworde most readily and most deliverly<sup>2</sup> cut of his heade, or y<sup>t</sup> woulde best perce his entralls at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles rampinge them from their mothers brestes and crussshed their heades against the cliftes. Others they caste into the Rivers, laughinge and mockinge, and when they tombled into the water, they saied, nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a ones corps: They put others together w<sup>th</sup> their mothers and all that they mett to the edge of the sworde. They made certaine gibbetts longe and toughe in such sorte that the feete of the hanged on touched in a manner the grounde, every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our saviour and his xij Apostles (as they used to speake), and setting to fire, burned them all quicke<sup>3</sup> that were fastened. Unto all others whome they used to take and reserve alive cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied, Go you w<sup>th</sup> these letters

<sup>1</sup> Striving.<sup>2</sup> Deftly.<sup>3</sup> Alive.

to cary tydings to those w<sup>ch</sup> are fled by the mountaines: They murtherd commonly the Lordes and nobilitie on this fasshion, they made certen grates of perches<sup>1</sup> laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe to the intente that by little and little yellenge and despairinge in these tormentes they mighte give up the ghoste.

One time I sawe foure or five of the principall Lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrans: also I thincke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrans garnished w<sup>th</sup> the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the Capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he com-aunded to strangle them: The serjeant w<sup>ch</sup> was worse then the hangman that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe puttinge bullets in their mowthes to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges and others infinite: And forasmoche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men so w<sup>th</sup>oute all manhodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankinde, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to tear them in peces at the first viewe, and in the space that one might say a *Credo* assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine: These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmoche as somtymes (thoughe seldome) the Indian put to deathe some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe of due Justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

*Bishop  
Bartholomew  
de las Casas  
an eye  
wytnes of  
these  
cruelties.*

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholomew de las Casas Byshoppe of the citie of Chiape in the west Indies, where he lyved many yeres.<sup>2</sup>

Will you nowe heare one Testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whoo was a papiste and favoured the spanishe superstition, yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the

*Johannes  
Metellus  
Sequanus.*

<sup>1</sup> Wooden gridirons.

<sup>2</sup> This quotation is from the English translation, *The Spanish Colonie*, London, 1583.



Historie of Osorius *de rebus gestis Emanuelis*,<sup>1</sup> fol. 16: At vero ut semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res novas contra hispanos moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia favendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa christianæ reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et invitis dubio procul militibus hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis novorum dominorum in miseras immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplabilem avaritiam, et ex hijs graviore quosque tumultus, unde novi orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam. Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, uti ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, ut servos suos gravissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentove effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid levioris denique delicti perpetrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, cœnæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transverso palo revinciebant: mox chorda bubalove nervo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleove ferventi guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus obbluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animadvertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos servos domi familiaris esse dicitur: post carnificium hujusmodi, si durior dominus illis contigerat, vivos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non raro accidit, dominus singula servorum capita regi in occisorum locum sufficiens, ab homicidij pœna liberabatur. Hanc crudelitatem lege Baiona, quam dicunt, quidem excusant. Sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis expers: Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos jure quidem obtinuit: Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos exercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sævities, multis iam bellis asperata, plerosque habendi sitis impulit. Hinc hispanus miles quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, jam inde ab invento novo orbe ferri cœpit. Aut igitur bello captos in servitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum

<sup>1</sup> Published 1571.

mancipio, magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflabat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat: fuere qui servos fodinis manciparent, in quibus insolito labore fractæ multæ servorum myriades periere. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt alione modo distrahere: Idque tam inclementer et amare nonnulli fecerunt, ut christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos utriusque sexus homines, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, navibus in vicinas Insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueverant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, fœtore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? Quod fæminæ complures ex hispanis gravidæ, una cum innoxio fœtu pro ancillis sunt venditæ? Atque hijs quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes pervenerunt: Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti: Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, ut inventi sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam insignem novorum hominum injustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a long beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the spanishe nation in every place of the west Indies moste heynously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, ut ea non solum Indos, verum etiam servorum maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam Insula ad septem millia defecisse: Quos hispani initio securos et incautos facilime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantiores factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius, quam armis frustra tentassent: Multi denique fugitivi Mauri in nominis dei provinciæ silvis habitant: qui initia cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque hispanos ubicunque persequuntur, et inventos frustratim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses that those Contries whereof the Spaniarde ys Lorde, are partely ruinated, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible and more then barbarous and savage endeles cruelties, and partely grievously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted, and consequently he is easie to be driven thence; and turned out of all

*The Spanishe  
monarchy is  
like unto the  
monarchy of  
Alexander  
the greate.*

w<sup>th</sup> moche lesser force then is commonly ymaged: for, *Nullum violentum est diuturnum, et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus.*

And surely the more I thinke of the spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the Empire of Alexander the greate, w<sup>ch</sup> grewe upp sooddenly and sooddenly vpon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the kinge of Spaine nowe 59. yeres of age as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526 in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life, and leauinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a gouernemente, and a question risinge whether his younge weake sonne by his sister's daughter be lawfull heire, they are like vpon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongst themselves,<sup>1</sup> and then as men moste odious not onely to the people of the west Indies, but also to all Christendome and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that every province will seke their libertie? And to say the truthe what nation I pray you of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forwarde and for aduantage? The Italians w<sup>ch</sup> sometime were Lordes of the earthe in greate parte nowe broughte under his vile yoke, doo many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insolencies, and in all their playes and commodities bringe in the spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus*:<sup>2</sup> notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride and shamefull vaine glorie. The Citie of Rome beinge sackt by Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The venecians stande daily in feare of them almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubtte that if they be not w<sup>th</sup> spede restrained they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberaulter: The frenche remembre the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in florida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete,<sup>3</sup> their

<sup>1</sup> Philip died in 1598, and was succeeded by Philip III.

<sup>2</sup> The *capitano spavente* or military braggart was a stock character of the *commedia dell' arte*.

<sup>3</sup> In 1582.

takinge of Tercera, and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then Scorpions: The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia,<sup>1</sup> the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies: His innumerable outrages in the netherlandes have inforced the flemynge to those termes w<sup>ch</sup> nowe they stande at: Their manifolde practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to bethinke ourselves howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes: The poore oppressed Prince and people of Portingale doo watche nighte and day when to finde a convenient occasion of defection. In fine there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde w<sup>th</sup> the poet: *Distuleratque graves in idonea tempora pœnas*: And so *eum multos metuere necesse est, quem multi metuunt*: And *multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest*.

### Cap. 12.

That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde: that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, w<sup>ch</sup> by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawn to more Civilitie.

In this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe the burnte zone nor to passe throughe the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate unto a Contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not as longe voyadges doe the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes,<sup>2</sup> whereby the marchant nede to expecte<sup>3</sup> twoo or three yeres for one returne,

<sup>1</sup> Hesse; the list is of the Protestant Princes.

<sup>2</sup> These facts were strongly and repeatedly stressed by the advocates of colonisation.

<sup>3</sup> 'Wait.' The adverbial clause refers to 'long voyages'.

as in the voyadge of Sr ffraunces Drake, of ffenton and William Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> but may receave twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls, w<sup>ch</sup> thinge I my selfe have seene and understoode in ffraunce this presente yere don by the frenchemen: whoo, settinge furthe in January broughte their bankefishe w<sup>ch</sup> they tooke on the bancke forty or three-score leagues from Newe-foundelande to Roan in greate quantitie by the ende of May, and afterwarde returned this yere againe to the fisshinge and are looked for at home towards the fine of November. To the speddy perfourmaunce of w<sup>ch</sup> voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce, that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde<sup>2</sup> suffiseth to make this: w<sup>ch</sup> was no doubt the cause of the quicke returne of my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoo departed from Newhaven in January was twelve moneths,<sup>3</sup> arryved at Cape Briton in xx<sup>ti</sup> daies space, and from thence discovered very diligently CC leagues towards Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelve places, founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home w<sup>th</sup> a diligent description of the coaste in the space of foure monethes, w<sup>th</sup> many commodities of the contrie w<sup>ch</sup> he shewed me. Moreover this passage is neither by the straites of Giberault, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, ffraunce, nor fflaunders, neither by the sounde of Denmarke nor Wardhouse in Norway, so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the Cursaries in the levant, nor of the Gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the frenche, nor the dane, nor of any other Prince nor Potentate within the sounde in the northe or in the northeaste partes of the worlde: Wee may also travell thither and perfourme the same at all tymes of the yere w<sup>th</sup> the like facilitie

<sup>1</sup> All these were for China or the Moluccas, and none was actually carried through. Drake's did not sail (the circumnavigation is not here referred to), Fenton's and 'old' William Hawkins' (1582 and 1583 respectively) miscarried.

<sup>2</sup> An easterly outward bound, and a westerly returning. Much delay was caused when a cape had to be 'doubled'.

<sup>3</sup> January 1583. Bellinger must have examined the whole length of Nova Scotia. This is the sole record of his voyage.

as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouthe, and other partes of the west Contries travell for woade to the iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (w<sup>ch</sup> are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. ffor this coaste<sup>1</sup> ys never subjecte to the Ise, w<sup>ch</sup> is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande. Besides this in our way as wee passe to and froe wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoy the enemyes to Ireland and succour the Queenes Mat<sup>ties</sup> faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie, and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever commodities they nowe receive at the handes of the Spaniardes:<sup>2</sup> So the Spaniardes shall wante the ordinary victualls they receive every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque, nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governmente there, as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doo daily, to the greate expences of her Mat<sup>tie</sup>, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state. And to conclude in tradinge to these Contries wee shall not nede for feare of the Spanishe bloody Inquisition to throwe our Bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the spanishe searchers to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of almightie god, as wee are driven to contynually in followinge our ordinary traficque into the Kinge of Spaines dominyons whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Of Norumbega (roughly New England) and Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> There was a trade of very old standing between the west of Ireland and the Iberian peninsula, and a Spanish fishing fleet made use of Irish ports. The idea of substituting economic links with England for those with Spain was a sound one.

## Cap. 13.

That hereby the Revenewes and Customes of her Mat<sup>tie</sup> bothe outwarde and inwarde shall mightily be enlarged by the Toll excises, and other dueties w<sup>ch</sup> withoute oppression may be rayسد.

The manifolde Testimonies verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapter of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis and others w<sup>ch</sup> all were the discoverers of the coaste and Inlande of America betwene 30. and 63. degrees prove infallibly unto us, that Golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and Turqueses, and Emraldes, and many other commodities have bene by them founde in those Regions. To w<sup>ch</sup> testimonies I coulde have added many moe yf I had not feared to be tedious: Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforementioned commodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter beinge yerely reserved unto her Mat<sup>tie</sup> accordinge to the tenor of the Patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xj<sup>th</sup>. yere of his raigne to John Gabott and his three sonnes Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius. The wordes whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe as they are printed in my booke of voyadges:<sup>1</sup> these are the wordes: Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obventionibus ex hujusmodi navigatione provenientibus, prefatus Johannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristollia<sup>e</sup> applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri sive in mercibus sive in pecunijs persolvere.

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines revenewes, w<sup>ch</sup> he nowe hath oute of all his domynions in all the west Indies. The like in all respectes may be saied of the revenewes of the Crowne of

<sup>1</sup> *Divers Voyages*, 1582.

Portingale w<sup>ch</sup> beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their Embassadors would strive and chalenge for the chefest place w<sup>th</sup> the Embassadors of the greatest kinges of Christendome, as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my Lordes table<sup>1</sup> by men of greate hono<sup>r</sup> and experience, in w<sup>ch</sup> Citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their Embassadors commonly resident. To leave them and to come to our nation I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Ma<sup>ties</sup> customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shippes beinge harde at hande and bearinge the sway already amongst all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande,<sup>2</sup> and what by the fortes that there may be erected and helde by our people, wee shall be able to inforce them havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us suche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them:<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> Imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely w<sup>th</sup> sondry sortes of fish, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furies and hides,<sup>4</sup> cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales but also of the frenche men our olde and auncient enemies: What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes, welshe frise,<sup>5</sup> and Irishe ruggs<sup>6</sup> that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the Lande amonge the Esquimawes of the graunde Bay and amonge them of Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga w<sup>ch</sup> are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their Sommers be hotter moche then oures. Againe the multitudes of small yron and copper workes wherew<sup>th</sup> they are

<sup>1</sup> At the English Embassy.

<sup>2</sup> According to Parkhurst, and to those who were with Gilbert.

<sup>3</sup> Actually the shipping route to the Banks and Grand Bay was not controlled by Cape Breton.

<sup>4</sup> All the evidence points to a fur trade already as well established as the fisheries.

<sup>5</sup> Frieze.

<sup>6</sup> Coarse piece-goods imported at Chester and Liverpool.



exceedingly delighted, will not a little encrease the customes being transported oute of the lande: I omitt the rehersall of a Thowsande other triflinge wares, w<sup>ch</sup> besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them woulde also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes: Lastly whatsoever kind of commodyties shoulde be broughte from thence by her Mat<sup>ties</sup> subjectes into the Realme, or be thither transported oute of the Realme, cannot choose but inlarge the Revenewes of the Crowne very mightely and inriche all sortes of subjectes ingenerally.

Cap. 14.

That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the sup-  
portation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.

In the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of o<sup>r</sup> navigation in the Raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seconde, Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup>, and her Mat<sup>le</sup> that nowe ys<sup>1</sup> thoughte many and sondry rewardes were proposed to encourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, not-w<sup>th</sup>standinge so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day<sup>2</sup> for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulde take at sea. Yea albeit there hath bene graunted a certene proportionable allowaunce oute of Thexchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr,<sup>3</sup> yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe: for setting the Citie of London aparte, goe your waye into the west parte of England and Wales, and search howe many shippes of CC tonnes and upwardes those partes can affoorde, and you shall finde (god wotteth) no such number as at firste you did ymagine: At this

<sup>1</sup> Acts of 1562 and 1570.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1563.

<sup>3</sup> H.C.A. 25 (1). Stephen and William Borough received a subsidy for building the *Judith* of London in 1573. Her burden was 110 tons.

day I am assured<sup>1</sup> there are scarce twoo of CC Tonnes belonginge to the whole Citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the Channell of Severne from Glocester to the Landes ende on the one side, and Milfordehaven on the other: Nowe to remedie this greate and unknowen<sup>2</sup> wante no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our great shippinge then this Westernne fortifienge and planting. ffor in this action wee are not to cutt over the narrowe seas in a day or a nighte betwene fflaunders, ffraunce, or Ireland in small barkes of xx<sup>tl</sup>. or xxx<sup>tl</sup>. Tonnes, but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine Ocean and to lye at sea a moneth or sixe weekes together, where-by wee shall be constrayned of our selves w<sup>th</sup>oute chardginge of the Prince to builde greate shippes as well to avoide the daunger of tempest, as also for the commoditie of portage whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, w<sup>ch</sup> the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience. Whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. viij. C. and a M. Tonnes to sende into their easterne and westernne Indies.<sup>3</sup> The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothing that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. ffor beinge possessed of Newfounde lande w<sup>ch</sup> the last yere was seized upon in her Ma<sup>ties</sup> name,<sup>4</sup> wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workemanshippe of the same. All w<sup>ch</sup> commodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the buildinge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrightes of the worlde, whereof some for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes as into Denmarke: Moreover in the judgements of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breed more skilfull, connynge, and stowte pilotts and maryners then other belonginge to this lande: ffor it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate Clymates as those of the portingales into their west Indies) that harden seamen and open unto them the secretes of navigation, the nature of

<sup>1</sup> By his Bristol friends.

<sup>2</sup> Unrecognised.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Bodenham was one of those who urged on the state the need for ships of burden.

<sup>4</sup> By Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

*A lecture of  
the arte of  
navigation.*

the windes, the currentes and settinge of the Sea, the ebbinge and flowinge of the mayne Ocean, the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiaall planetts, and force w<sup>ch</sup> they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body: whiche skill in sea causes the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles the fyfte knowinge howe moche yt did ymporte his state, to the intente it mighte better encrease amongst the Spaniardes, in great providence erected a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the west Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and upon due examynacion were allowed as sufficient by him and others adjoynd unto him as assistantes to examyn matters of experience: w<sup>ch</sup> order if it had bene established in england such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste away the Admirall of S<sup>r</sup> Humfryes company w<sup>th</sup> an C. persons in her to the west of Newfounde lande this tyme twelve moneths,<sup>1</sup> had not bene admitted to take so greate a chardge: But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our shippes and shippmen, I say this is not as the voyadge to Muscovy which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe: Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy, wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a yere: ffor here there is a greate hope the Contrie beinge as bigge as all Europe and nothinge in frutefulness inferior to yt, as I have proved before at large in the thirde chapter, that wee shall have twoo fleetes as bigge as those of the kinge of Spaine to his west Indies employed twice in the yere at the leaste, especially after our fortifieng in the Contrie, the certen place of our factory beinge there established, whereby yt muste nedes come to passe that our navye shalbe mightely increased and mayneteyned: w<sup>ch</sup> will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayneteynaunce of many M<sup>rs</sup>, maryners, and seamen, whereby they their wyves and children shall have their lyvinges, and many Cities, Townes, villages,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt must have been writing this in August 1584. He later published the self-vindication of Richard Clarke, the Master referred to.

havens, and Creekes nere adjoyninge unto the seacoaste, and the Queenes subjectes, as Brewers, Bowchers, Smithes, ropers, shipwrights, Tailor<sup>s</sup>, shoemakers, and other victuallers and handicraftes men inhabitinge and dwellinge nere thereaboutes shall also have by the same greate parte of their lyvinge. ffor prooffe hereof wee nede not to seeke any further then unto oure neighboures of Spaine and Portingale, whoe since the firste discoverie of their Indies have not onely mightely enlarged their domynions, marveilously enriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, M<sup>rs</sup>, and maryners, a matter of no small momente and importaunce. In so moche that nowe of late kinge Phillippe hath made the Marques de La Cruz, w<sup>ch</sup> laste yere wanne Tercera graunde Admirall of the Ocean sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa Admirall in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves even by our trade of fisshinge in New-founde lande w<sup>ch</sup> as yt is well knowen hath bene occasion that in sondry places of this Realme divers tall shippes have bene builte and sett furthe even of late daies,<sup>1</sup> and more would be if whereas nowe havinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawn more south westerly where the speciall fisshing places are bothe for plentie and greatenes of fishe,<sup>2</sup> and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nerenes unto our fortes there builte aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbourhooode be themselves in more securitie. ffynally their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers as they are in all other trades of Christendome: but shoulde enjoye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doo in their native Contrie, the havens, Townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjectes.<sup>3</sup> W<sup>ch</sup> freedome and libertie will greatly incourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

*Marques de  
la Cruz Ad-  
myrall of the  
Ocean.*

*A meane to  
avoide the  
sodden  
arrests of  
our navy.*

<sup>1</sup> Parkhurst speaks of the rapid increase of the English Banks fleet.

<sup>2</sup> In the Gulf of Maine.

<sup>3</sup> Again Hakluyt is envisaging large-scale and widespread settlement.

## Cap. 15.

That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations w<sup>ch</sup> have the like intention: w<sup>th</sup> the order thereof and other reasons therew<sup>th</sup>all alleaged.

Havinge by gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happely this presente westerne discoverye, after the seekinge the advauncement of the kingdome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, w<sup>ch</sup> consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other commodities of England, and in receaving backe of the nedeful commodities that wee nowe receive from all other places of the worlde. But forasmoche as this is a matter of greate ymport-  
aunce and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at,<sup>1</sup> this one thinge is to be don, w<sup>th</sup>oute w<sup>ch</sup> it were in vaine to goe aboute this, and that is the matter of plantinge and fortificacion,<sup>2</sup> w<sup>th</sup>oute due consideracion whereof in vaine were it to thinck of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken, by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable Rivers w<sup>ch</sup> are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our Colonies. And so beinge firste settled in strengthe<sup>3</sup> w<sup>th</sup> men, armo<sup>r</sup> and munition, and havinge our navy w<sup>thin</sup> our Bayes, havens, and Roades, wee shall be able to lett<sup>4</sup> the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same withe freshe men as the soodden feightes shall require. And by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoye suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve. And shalbe able w<sup>th</sup> our navye to sende advertisemente into England upon every soodden<sup>5</sup> whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the Contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these

<sup>1</sup> Resent.<sup>2</sup> The new trade must be protected.<sup>3</sup> Again the stress on large-scale settlement.<sup>4</sup> Prevent.<sup>5</sup> Emergency (O.E.D.).

fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable Ryvers, may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, Barkes, Barges, and boates into the Inland w<sup>th</sup> all the commodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the commodities of the Inlandes that wee shall receive in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England: And thus settled in those fortes yf the nexte neighbours shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon the Rivers w<sup>th</sup> our shippes, pynnesses, Barkes and boates and enter into league w<sup>th</sup> the petite princes their neighbours that have alwayes lightly warres one w<sup>th</sup> an other, and so entringe league nowe w<sup>th</sup> the one, and then w<sup>th</sup> the other wee shall purchase our owne safetie and make ourselves Lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise w<sup>th</sup>oute this plantinge in due tyme wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language manners and customes of the people of those Regions, neither shall wee be able thoroughly to knowe the riches and commodities of the Inlandes w<sup>th</sup> many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And althoughe by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the french that swarme w<sup>th</sup> multitude of people, or other nations mighte secretly fortifie and settle themselves before us hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge, and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes: wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine. To make this plaine by example in the vj<sup>th</sup> leafe of the Italian edition of the *Historie of ffernando Cortes* written by ffranciscus Lopez de Gomera is lively described the folly of John Grigalva for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche Contrie of Jucatan, w<sup>ch</sup> ymmediatly after he had neglected, the same ffernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed and gott all the hono<sup>r</sup> and commoditie from him, leaving greate wealthe and hono<sup>r</sup> to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The storie is thus: Giovan di Grigalva se n'ando a Jucatan combattere conquelli Indiani di Cimpoton, et se ne ritorno ferito entro nel fiume di Tanasco che per questo si chiama ora Grigalva, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di

poca valuto molto oro, robbe et cottone, et bellissime cose di penne. Statte in San Giovanni di Ullua, piglio possessione di quel paese per il re, in nome del Governatore Diego Velasques: et cambio la sua merciarìa per pezzi di oro, coperte di cottone et penne. Et si havesse conosciuto la ventura sua, haveria fatto populatione in paese così ricco, come lo preganano i suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il cortes. Ma tanta ventura non era riservata per chi non la conosceva, ancora che si scusana che lui non andana per popularè, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che levana del governatore: et discoprire, se quella terra di Jucatan era Isola o terra ferma.

And if any man liste to knowe what intertainement he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same Chapter in these wordes: Et quando arrivo non lo volse videre il governatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritana.

The like story wee have fol. 298.<sup>1</sup> of ffranciscus Lopes de Gomera his *generall historie of the west Indies* of Vasques de Coronado, w<sup>ch</sup> after excedinge greate chardges bestowed for his royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyage to Cevola and Quivera for wante of courage and for other private respectes neglected plantinge therè had as colde welcome at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne of Don Antonio de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, as Grigalva had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quivera:—

Cascò del Cavallo in Tiguez Francisco Vasques, e con il colpo uscì di Cervello et disvariana. Questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'ebbero grandissimo dolore: Quelli che l'intendevano a mala parte stavano male con lui per che non si metteva a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiagne a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fussero ritornati, per che havena speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa, molti volevano restare là, ma Francesco Vasques di Coronado, che ricco era et nuovamente maritato con una bellissima donna non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne defendere in così povero paesa et tanto lontani del soccorso. Caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa Giornata.

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, vol. iii.

Notw<sup>th</sup>standinge these colourable excuses and dispraisinges of the Contrie yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: E Quivera in quaranta gradi. E paesa temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, et melloni, et une, che naturano bonissimo, non vi è cottone, et vestono pelle di vacche e capriole.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge w<sup>th</sup> spede of goodd Contries newe discovered beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortifie at his firste voyadge thoughe it were but w<sup>th</sup> thirtie men: w<sup>ch</sup> that you may the better understande together w<sup>th</sup> the wise course and choice of place w<sup>ch</sup> oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes w<sup>ch</sup> are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my Lorde) saith he I truste you will not thincke it amisse (consideringe the commodities that may be broughte thence) yf wee leave a number of men there, w<sup>ch</sup> may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessarie. ffor in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don at the begynnyng to fortifie and people the Contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our Companie, but many of them offred to tary there, yea w<sup>th</sup> suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a number did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their importunitie. And namely of our shippe M<sup>rs</sup> and pilotts and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit wee lefte there but to the number of 30. men in all gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners and that at their owne sute and prayer and of their owne free willes, and by the advise and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have lefte unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience and the firste that from the begynnyng offred to tary, and further by their advise choice and will inscaled and fortified them in an Iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious upon a River which wee named Chevonceau, and the habitation and fortres Charlesforte. After wee had instructed and duely admonished them of what they should doe, as well for their manner of procedinge, as for the goode and lovinge

*The chefes  
pointe in a  
newe dis-  
coveries.*



behavior of them, the xj<sup>th</sup>. day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from porte royall, &c.

*The cause  
why these  
discoveries  
went not  
forward in  
Kinge Henry  
the Seaventh  
tyme.*

Nowe to leave the Spaniardes and frenche and to come to ourselves, Seinge it hath pleased almightie god at this instant<sup>1</sup> to reveale unto her M<sup>tie</sup> and the Realme that once againe afreshe, w<sup>ch</sup> was in part discovered by Sebastian Gabota and other the subjectes of this lande to her moste famous Grandfather Kinge Henry the Seaventh, and was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute foure score and sixe yeres: If nowe the Queene her Counsell and other subjectes shall never so little delaye the throughe managinge of the cause and entringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late and a day after the faire. ffor as the wise man saieth *post est occasio calva*. ffor to speake nothinge of the laste yeres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by our men w<sup>ch</sup> preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the travers of Burwage,<sup>2</sup> the men of St. John de Luze sent the laste yere to sollicite the frenche kinge and his Counsell to plante there,<sup>3</sup> And nowe our neighbours the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste of this yere 1584 are come home w<sup>th</sup> five shippes from Canada and the Contries upp the Bay of St. Laurence and have brought twoo of the people of the Contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte,<sup>4</sup> as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme, w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Pryhouse beinge yet in London was at St. Malowe w<sup>th</sup>in these five weekes,<sup>5</sup> and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes and the riche commodities and under-

<sup>1</sup> It must therefore have been in mid-September, when Raleigh's two barks returned, that this section was written.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> The Basques (cf. *supra*, p. 232).

<sup>4</sup> These were the voyages in which Jacques Cartier's nephew and grand-nephews took part.

<sup>5</sup> Again confirming the date at which this section was written as mid-September. For Pryhouse read Prideaux.

stoode of the greate preparation, And lieth nowe at London in philpott lane at the stonehouse there. And that it may be knownen that not onely the ffrenche affecte this enterprize, but even the duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius the great Geographer told me at his laste beinge in England 1577<sup>1</sup> that if the warres of fflaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the northwest straite before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge into England was to no other ende but to pry and looke into the secretes of ffrobishers voyadge, for yt was even then when ffrobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the north west.<sup>2</sup> To conclude yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge, (and where our men have nowe presently discovered<sup>3</sup> and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte and in truthe more agreable to our natures, and more nere unto us then Nova hispania), the frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the duche, or some other nation will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Laurence where they have gotten the starte of us already, thoughte wee had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them,<sup>4</sup> but also will deprive us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as god defende<sup>5</sup> they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singuler commoditie and inestymable benefite, but also incurr greate daunger and inconvenience in suffringe papistes by plantinge rounde aboute us to take from us all succours, and to lett them enriche themselves under our noses to be better able to supplant or overronne us.

<sup>1</sup> When he also saw Camden and Dee.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. his second voyage.

<sup>3</sup> Captains Amadas and Barlow.

<sup>4</sup> A reference, presumably, to Florio's *Cartier*.

<sup>5</sup> Forbid.

## Cap. 16.

Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

Every newe enterprise is in the begynnyng burdenous, chardgeable and heavie, and moste commonly hath many greate enemies: w<sup>ch</sup> is the cause that many goodd men much affected to their Contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise w<sup>ch</sup> wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced specially by our mightie faction of the papistes),<sup>1</sup> is an enterprize that requireth beside the favour of the prince no small chardge, Therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste<sup>2</sup> tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same,<sup>3</sup> that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe w<sup>th</sup> ease, fame, and profitt w<sup>th</sup>oute shame of all the bymedlers<sup>4</sup> and fauters<sup>5</sup> of the same. And entred into consideracion hereof, this cometh to mynde, that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned, and borne, for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth honor, credite, profite and the whole sequele of the enterprize: Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge by the commodities in trafficque that wee shall receive by passinge into the Inland by River and otherwise: But admittinge the worse that the people will neither receive o<sup>r</sup> commodities, nor yelde us theirs againe; Then wee are to devise of our selves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaille our chardges and become greate gayners will or nill the naturall inhabitants of those Regions or others: And that is by enjoyning certaine

<sup>1</sup> Who had lost their opportunity when Sir George Peckham's efforts failed.

<sup>2</sup> Least.

<sup>3</sup> Ralegh.

<sup>4</sup> Those who take part, not used in any bad sense.

<sup>5</sup> Partisans.

naturall commodities of the landes infinitely aboundinge in no accompte with them and w<sup>th</sup> us of greate price, w<sup>ch</sup> is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie Ryvers all alonge many hundreth miles into the Inland are infinitely full fraughte w<sup>th</sup> swete wooddes of ffyrr, cedars, cypres, and w<sup>th</sup> divers other kindes of goodly trees: And settinge upp mylles to sawe them, suche as be commen in poland and in all the northeaste regions, wee may w<sup>th</sup> spede possesse infinite masses of boordes of these swete kindes, and those frame and make ready to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, tables, deskes &c. upon the returne. And consideringe the present wante of tymber in the Realme, and howe derely the Cipres chestes are solde that come from the Ilandes of the levant seas, and lately from the Azores to Bristoll<sup>1</sup> and the westernne havens, these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes of the Realme and of the Realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that in this age every man desireth to fill his house w<sup>th</sup> all manner of goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculier commodities, this onely I say were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of all the begynnynge of the enterprize, and that oute of hande, for suche mylwrightes may easely be procured from suche places where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England, for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill w<sup>th</sup>in these xxx<sup>ti</sup>. yeres was sett upp in Worcestershere by a knyghte of that Contrie. And one man onely were able to directe a thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade, and Carpinters and Joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a nede.<sup>2</sup> And w<sup>th</sup> like ease and shortenes of time wee may make of the wooddes there pitch and tarr w<sup>ch</sup> are thinges fitt for o<sup>r</sup> navie and marchandizes of goodd vente and of common neede.

*Sawe milles.*

And w<sup>th</sup> like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plentie of sope asshes a commoditie very dere and of greate and ample vent w<sup>t</sup> us and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt frequently reveals his special knowledge of Bristol trade.

<sup>2</sup> Unemployment was common among artisans as well as among agricultural labourers.

Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chasinge staves, oares, halberts, and the like for cullen<sup>1</sup> cleftes<sup>2</sup> for sondry uses, &c. And also wee may there w<sup>th</sup>oute payeng for the same, have tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into this Realme, and have goodd sale of the same.<sup>3</sup>

All this I say may be broughte to passe, if wee wisely plante upon o<sup>r</sup> arryvall aboute the mouthes of greate Rivers and in the Ilandes of the same: and so wee shall have the starte before the frenche and all others, and our people sente thither for the purposes afore, shall be ready to man our shippes to give repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett foote to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemente, The firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate hono<sup>r</sup> and highe estymation w<sup>th</sup> all degrees in England, and havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte of the enterprize, they stande full able to followe the same w<sup>th</sup>oute cravinge aide of the lingringe<sup>4</sup> marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque w<sup>th</sup> the people, w<sup>ch</sup> they may bringe aboute eyther w<sup>th</sup> curtesie or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge now w<sup>th</sup> this petite kinge and nowe w<sup>th</sup> that, &c.

And this once plainly founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citizen or contryman will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of o<sup>r</sup> clothes, to the purchasinge of riche commodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren,<sup>5</sup> to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes, and greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynge geveith abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers commodious places even at the firste.

<sup>1</sup> Selected.

<sup>2</sup> Split timber.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt ignores the problems of organisation and capital expenditure necessary for setting up new industries even where raw material costs nothing.

<sup>4</sup> Dawdling, reluctant.

<sup>5</sup> Younger sons of the nobility and gentry.

## Cap. 17.

That by these colonies the northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute as well by River and overlande as by sea, for proofoe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testimonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

In the thirde volume of Navigations and voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius fol. 417. pag. 2. I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe if this misfortune had not happened unto him (w<sup>th</sup> the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured w<sup>th</sup> the greate liberalitie of kinge ffraunces), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of Lande even to the poole.<sup>1</sup> Neither woulde he have contented himselfe w<sup>th</sup> the outeside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp w<sup>th</sup>in the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked w<sup>th</sup> him have told me that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the frenche kinge to sende oute of ffraunce a goodd number of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste w<sup>ch</sup> be of ayre temperate and of soile moste fertile, w<sup>th</sup> very faire ryvers and havens able to receave any navie: The inhabitants of w<sup>ch</sup> places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes, and amongst other to reduce those poore rude and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of god and true relligion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion Contries: And in time mighte discover the partes w<sup>th</sup>in lande, and see if amongst so many Ilandes there be any passage to the southe sea, or whither the firme lande of fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.<sup>2</sup> Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thincke it not amisse to alleage those Testimonies tendinge to the proofoe of this longe desired

<sup>1</sup> Pole.

<sup>2</sup> Here the quotation from Ramusio ends.

northwest passage, w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> no small care these many yeres I have observed in my readings and conferences<sup>1</sup> concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste authoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius in the discourse of the discoverie of the Ilandes freseland, Iseland, Estotiland, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria made in the northe by Sr Nicholas Zeny Knighte and Mr. Anthony his brother in the yere 1380.<sup>2</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> discourse amonge many other things tendinge to the prooffe of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scopirono vna Isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu che mille miglia, whereof I gather that whereas still he calleth Estotiland an Ilande and that it is distant westwarde from ffrislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth miles further then ffrobisher and his companie discovered: ffor he himself confesseth y<sup>t</sup> he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of ffrislande<sup>3</sup> and here is mention made that those fishermen that discovered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this northwest passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde volume where he alleageth in manner followinge that w<sup>ch</sup> Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter: Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote our contryman a venecian and a man of greate experience and very singuler in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of Cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova ffrancia, at the chardges of kinge Henry the seaventh kinge of England, and he signified unto me that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde these Ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an halfe] under the north pole, on the xj<sup>th</sup> day of June, and findinge the sea open and w<sup>th</sup>oute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia w<sup>ch</sup> is in the easte: and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipm<sup>r</sup> and unruly mariners

<sup>1</sup> Probably since about 1577.

<sup>2</sup> This spurious narrative was accepted by Dee, Ortelius and Mercator.

<sup>3</sup> Frobisher mistook the south of Greenland for the mythical Friseland.

had not inforced him to returne homewardest from that place; But it semeth (saith Ramusius) that god doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, w<sup>ch</sup> for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this enterprize woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres w<sup>ch</sup> are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.<sup>1</sup>

3. Thirdly the reporte w<sup>ch</sup> the people of Hochelaga made to Jacques Cartier, in the viij<sup>th</sup> chapter of his seconde relation of the River three monethes navigable to the southewarde dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. ffourthly the relation of the people of Canada in the xij<sup>th</sup> Chapter followinge on this manner. Moreover they tolde us and gave us to understande that there are people cladde w<sup>th</sup> clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited Townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande beyonde the River firste above mentioned even to Hochelaga and Saguenay there is an Ile environed aboute w<sup>th</sup> that and other Rivers w<sup>ch</sup> beyonde Saguenay entereth into twoo or three greate lakes. Also that there is founde a sea of freshe water the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had thoroughly searched as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. ffyftly in the ende of that seconde relation this postscripte is added as a speciaall pointe. To witt that they of Canada say that it is the space of a moone (y<sup>t</sup> is to saye a moneth) to saile to a lande where Cynamon and cloves are gathered, and in the frenche originall which I sawe in the kinges Library at Parris in the Abbay of St. Martines<sup>2</sup> yt is further put downe that Domaconna the Kinge of Canada in his barke had traveled to

<sup>1</sup> This passage in his favourite text-book made a deep impression on Hakluyt.

<sup>2</sup> Henry II transferred the Library from Fontainebleau to St Martin's Abbey.



that contrie where Cynamon and cloves are had, yea and the names whereby the Savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly this passage is likewise proved by the double reporte of Vasques de Coronado. ffor firste he beinge at Cevola, w<sup>ch</sup> standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione: whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys w<sup>th</sup>in viij. daies journey of Cevola. Againe when he was afterwardes at the Towne of Quivera, w<sup>ch</sup> is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees he founde there shippes w<sup>th</sup> maryners w<sup>ch</sup> had the picture of a birde called Alcatrazzi in silver upon their bonnetts<sup>1</sup> and on the forepartes of their shippes w<sup>ch</sup> signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place, where it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China seinge that there is none but spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Nova Spania.

7. Seavently the people of fflorida at the River of May in 30. degrees signified to John Ribault and his Company that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the Contrie by Ryver to Cevola in xx<sup>th</sup>. daies: These are the wordes: viz. As wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the Towne of Cevola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence and is scituated w<sup>th</sup>in the lande and towards the sea called mare del sur) they shewed us by signes w<sup>ch</sup> wee understoode well ynoughe that they mighte goe thither w<sup>th</sup> their boates by Rivers in xx<sup>th</sup>. daies.<sup>2</sup>

8. Eightly Don Antonio di Castillo Embassador to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> from Henry the kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London the yere before his departure,<sup>3</sup> that one Anus Corteriall Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe to discover the northwest passage w<sup>ch</sup> arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude founde a greate entraunce very depe and broad w<sup>th</sup>oute impeditente of Ise into w<sup>ch</sup> they passed above xx<sup>th</sup>. leagues and founde it alwayes to tende

<sup>1</sup> Top-sails.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> In March 1581/2, before the beginning (March 25th) of 1582. The Ambassador left in April 1582.

towards the southe, the lande lay lowe and plaine on either side, they woulde have gon further but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, w<sup>th</sup> hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage whereof they sawe not small<sup>1</sup> likelihoodde.

9. Nynthly Don Antonio Kinge of Portingale<sup>2</sup> shewed me in Paris this present sommer a greate olde rounde carde (out of w<sup>ch</sup> Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe<sup>3</sup>) that had the northwest straite plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente made as yt shoulde seme by Verarsanus,<sup>4</sup> traced all alonge the coaste from fflorida to Cape Briton w<sup>th</sup> many Italian names, w<sup>ch</sup> laieth oute the sea making a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much lyke the streyte necke or Isthmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke.<sup>5</sup>

11. Eleventhly there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster w<sup>ch</sup> also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge havinge the coaste described in Italian w<sup>ch</sup> laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees w<sup>th</sup> the sea joyninge harde on bothe sides as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios w<sup>ch</sup> were a matter of singuler importaunce yf it shoulde be true as it is not unlikely.<sup>6</sup>

12. Twelvethly the judgements of Gerardus Mercator that excellent Geographer, w<sup>ch</sup> his sonne Rumolde Mercator shewed me in a letter of his and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded :<sup>7</sup> These were his wordes : Magna tametsi pauca de nova navigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. great likelihood. Hakluyt prefixed this story to his *Divers Voyages*, without naming Castilio, *supra*, cf. p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> The Pretender.

<sup>3</sup> The world map of Postellus (1581) was on a polar projection.

<sup>4</sup> Who probably gave it to Henry VIII on his visit in 1525. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Lok used it in compiling his map for *Divers Voyages*.

<sup>6</sup> Among maps showing this isthmus is the Vesconte de Mailolo Map of 1527.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 177.

In quod regnum si recte navigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc Idololatri Christi nomen communicabunt. You write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters thoughe very brefely of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not these many yeres heretofore attempted: ffor there is no doubte but there is a streighte and shorte waye open into the west even to Cathaio. Into w<sup>ch</sup> kingdome if they governe their voyadge well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of all the worlde and shall make the name of Christe to be knowen to many Idolaters and heathen people.

13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Leau an honest gent of Morleux<sup>1</sup> in Britaine w<sup>ch</sup> tolde me this springe in the presence of divers englishe men at Paris that a man of St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the backside of Hochelaga.<sup>2</sup>

14. Moreover the relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same, for as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writinge, he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the north sea.<sup>3</sup>

15. Againe the prohibition which Kinge Philippe hath made<sup>4</sup> that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northewardes of 45. degrees may seme chefully to procede of these twoo causes: The one leaste passage further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our northerne sea: The other because they have not people ynoughe to possesse and kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly I will ende w<sup>th</sup> the earnest peticion and constant assertion of Ramusius, in his firste Volume fol. 374. where speakinge of the severall waies by w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> spicery bothe of olde and of late yeres hath bene broughte into Europe, he useth these speaches in the person of another: Why doo not the princes (saieth he) w<sup>ch</sup> are to deale in these affaires sende furthe twoo or three Colonies to inhabite the Contrie and to reduce this savage nation to more civilitie consideringe what a battle<sup>5</sup> and frutefull

<sup>1</sup> Morlaix.

<sup>2</sup> He possibly glimpsed Lake Ontario.

<sup>3</sup> Ingram was examined by the Committee of 1582. His *Relation*, printed in 1589, was omitted from the 1599 edition of the *English Voyages* as unreliable.

<sup>4</sup> Referred to by Gilbert in his *Discourse*.

<sup>5</sup> Rich.

soile it is, how replenished w<sup>th</sup> all kinde of graine, howe it is stored w<sup>th</sup> all kinde of birdes and beastes, w<sup>th</sup> such faire and mightie Rivers that Capitaine Cartier and his Companie in one of them sailed upp an C. and iiij<sup>xx</sup>. leagues findinge the Contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate aboundaunce: And moreover to cause the governours of those Colonies to sende furthe men to discover the northe landes aboute Terra de Labrador and west northwest towards the seas, w<sup>ch</sup> are to saile to the Contrie of Cathaio and from thence to the Ilandes of Molucka. These are enterprises to purchase ymmortal praise w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord Antony de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico willinge to put in execution sente furthe his Capitaines bothe by sea and lande upon the northwest of Nova Spania and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven Cities aboute Cevola: And Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towards the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea w<sup>ch</sup> lieth betwene Cathaio and America where he mett w<sup>th</sup> the Cathaian shippes: And no doubt if the frenche men in this their Nova Francia woulde have discovered upp further into the lande towards the west northwest partes they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio: Thus farr Ramusius.

God w<sup>ch</sup> doth all thinges in his due tyme, and hath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp the mynde of her M<sup>tie</sup> at lengthe to assiste<sup>1</sup> her moste willinge and forwarde Subjectes to the perfourmance of this moste godly and profitable action w<sup>ch</sup> was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the eighte her father, and lefte as it semeth to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon) to the makeinge of her Realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selfe moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Not merely the licence but the purse of the Queen was what Hakluyt aimed at for Raleigh's venture.

## Cap. 18.

That the Queene of Englandes Title to all the west Indies or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other christian Princes.

To confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiabable Spaniardes to all the west Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Maties title and of her noble progenitors if not to all yet at leaste to that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the west Indydes w<sup>th</sup> the Ilandes and continent of the same were firste discovered and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particularly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the sixte a spaniarde borne of all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine and their Successors, to the greate prejudice of all other christian Princes but especially to the damage of the kinges of England.

ffor the firste pointe wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall Chronicles written in the welshe or brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth a Prince of North Wales beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his Contrie, made two voyadges oute of Wales and discovered and planted large Contries w<sup>ch</sup> he founde in the mayne Ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170. This historie is also to be seene in englishe in printe in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Princes of Wales, dedicated to Sr Henry Sidney.<sup>1</sup> And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the graunde Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree w<sup>th</sup> the welshe in divers wordes and names of places by experience of some of o<sup>r</sup> nation that have bene in those partes.<sup>2</sup> By this Testimonie it appereth that the west Indies were dis-

<sup>1</sup> Powell's edition of Lhuyd's *History of Cambria*. The Dedication is to Philip Sidney.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Walker and David Ingram.

covered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge w<sup>ch</sup> was in the yere 1492.

Secondly the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh at the very firste maketh moche for the title of the kinges of England although they had no former interest: w<sup>ch</sup> I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh Chapter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the Relation of the life and doinges of his father.<sup>1</sup> This practise saieth he of the kinge of Portingale (w<sup>ch</sup> was secretly to deprive him of the hono<sup>r</sup> of his enterprize) beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceived so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile w<sup>th</sup> a younge sonne that he had by his wife called Diego Colon, w<sup>ch</sup> after his fathers deathe succeeded in his state. But fearinge yf the kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprise he shoulde be constrayned to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spent therein, he sente into England a brother of his w<sup>ch</sup> he had w<sup>th</sup> him named Bartholmewe Columbus: Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates w<sup>ch</sup> robbed him and his other Companions that were in his shippe of all that they had: By w<sup>ch</sup> occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes w<sup>ch</sup> cruelly afflicted him in a strange Contrie, he deferred for a longe space his Embassage, till havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize w<sup>th</sup> kinge Henry the seaventhe the father of kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> nowe reigneth: to whome he presented A general Carde<sup>2</sup> wherein these verses were written, w<sup>ch</sup> I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie:

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras  
 Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit:  
 Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque  
 Isodorus: non una tamen sententia cuique.  
 Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis  
 Hispanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti  
 Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

<sup>1</sup> From the Venetian edition of 1572.

<sup>2</sup> A world map.

And somewhat more beneath he saied :

*Pro authore sive pictore.*

Janua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus  
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud  
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno  
Octavo, decimâque die cùm tertia mensis  
Februarij: Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

But to returne to the kinge of England I say<sup>1</sup> that after he had sene the generall Carde, and that w<sup>ch</sup> the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer w<sup>th</sup> a cherefull countenance, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne Judges, but are able to prove as you see by a forren Testimonie of singuler greate authoritie that Christopher Columbus beinge in Portingale before he wente into Castile sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise w<sup>th</sup> kinge Henry the seaventh aboute the discovery of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lorde 1488. the xiiijth. of ffebruary, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine fferdinando and Isabella, w<sup>ch</sup> was the thirde of Auguste 1492. It appereth also that the onely cause of his slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pyrates w<sup>ch</sup> spoiled him and his Companie of all that they had, whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and sea cardes to get somewhat aboute him that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the kinges presence. Also that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes, as is further to be seene in the 60. chapiter of the same historie: where I reade y<sup>t</sup> Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of England upon all Capitulations, and returninge into Spaine by ffraunce to fetch his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of Spaine and was entred into the action for him, was not a little

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the author, Hakluyt.

vexed for his brothers abusinge the kinge of England w<sup>ch</sup> had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slacknes or unwillingnes of the kinge, in the meane season for feare of beinge prevented by the portingales w<sup>ch</sup> once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the hono<sup>r</sup> of the action oute of his handes, was stirred contrary to honesty to play on bothe handes, and to deal w<sup>th</sup> the Princes of Spaine before he had received the kinge of Englandes resolucion. But leavinge this abuse offered to the kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the kinges of Spaine in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes w<sup>ch</sup> was first sente to him and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered parte of the Ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove most plainly, that a very greate and large parte as well of the continent as of the Ilandes was firste discovered for the kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote an Englishe man borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote a venesian, in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde 1496 as an Italian gent a greate philosopher and mathematitian witnesseth w<sup>ch</sup> harde the same of his owne mouthe,<sup>1</sup> and there were many then also lyvinge w<sup>ch</sup> wente with him in that voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise: These be the very wordes of this gent w<sup>ch</sup> he uttered to certen noblemen of Venyce upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerie: Know yee not (quoth he) to this effecte to goe to finde the easte Indies by the northwest, that w<sup>ch</sup> one of your Citie hath done: which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and Cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greatly advaunced him, that the kinge hath geven him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the west Indies, so that w<sup>th</sup>oute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the graund pilott. This was segnior Sebastian Gabote w<sup>ch</sup> I wente to see beinge myselfe in Cyvill

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt returns to Ramusio for his evidences. For a discussion of this passage see J. A. Williamson, *Voyages of the Cabots*, p. 232.



certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me good entertainment he shewed me many singularities w<sup>ch</sup> he had, and amonge the rest a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me that his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him w<sup>th</sup> him to the Citie of London, thoughe he were very younge: yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied of humanitie and the sphere: Moreover that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the west Indies and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. w<sup>ch</sup> reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine to have founde out that way never knowne before, to goe by the west into the easte: This brute<sup>1</sup> of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determyned also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the Sphere that, in directinge my course righte towarde the northwest I shoulde shorten the way greatlye to goe to the easte Indies, w<sup>th</sup>out delaye I gave the kinges Ma<sup>tie</sup> to understande of myne opinion, w<sup>ch</sup> was marveylously well pleased: and he furnished me of twoo shippes w<sup>th</sup> all thinges necessarie: and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnyng of sommer: And I began to saile towardes the northwest thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towardes the Indies. But after certaine daies I discouered lande w<sup>ch</sup> ronned towards the northe, wherew<sup>th</sup>all I was exceedingly agreved: notwithstandinge I ceassed not to ronne alonge that coaste towardes the northe to see yf I coulde finde any gulfes w<sup>ch</sup> turned towardes the northwest, until I came to the heighte of 65. degrees of our pole. Beinge there I sawe that the coaste turned towarde the easte and beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towarde the equinoctiall w<sup>th</sup> in-

<sup>1</sup> Report.

tention alwayes to finde some passage to the Indies, and in followinge this coaste I sailed as farr as that parte w<sup>ch</sup> at this present they call fflorida: and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved, but I founde greate troubles of the people that were upp in armes, by reason of the warres in Scotland: whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration: Upon this Relation Monsieur Popiliniere being a Frencheman in his seconde booke *Des Trois Mondes* inferreth these speaches: This then was that Gabote w<sup>ch</sup> firste discovered Florida for the kinge of England, so that the englishemen have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to have righte unto a Contrie it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same: Howbeit Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente w<sup>ch</sup> was graunted to his father John Gabot, to Lewes, himselfe, and Sancius his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe,<sup>1</sup> and moreover he broughte home three of the Savages of the Indies as Fabian in his auncient Chronicle<sup>2</sup> dothe write declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which he saieth he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them two yeres after they were broughte into England in englishe apparell: Nay that w<sup>ch</sup> is more Gabota discovered this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. ffor the firste parte of the firme Land called Paria and Bocca di Dragone that is to say the Dragons mouthe, lienge to the southe of the Iland of Hispaniola was discovered by him in his thirde voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> as Peter Martir de Angleria w<sup>ch</sup> was one of the Councell of the west Indies wryteth, was in the yere 1498, w<sup>ch</sup> is confirmed by ferdinandus Columbus his owne sonne w<sup>ch</sup> was with his father in the voyadge as Oviedo confesseth libr. 19. cap. 1., and wrote a journall of that voyadge, shewing in the 67. chapter of his historie that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of

*The reason why the discovery was lefte of in Kinge Henry the Seaventh's tyme.*

<sup>1</sup> In the *Divers Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Fabian*, 1559.

Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe w<sup>ch</sup> is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the cople whereof was sett oute by M<sup>r</sup>. Clemente Adams and is in many marchantes houses in London:<sup>1</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> mappe<sup>2</sup> in the Chapter of Newfoundelande there in Latyn is put downe besides the yere of our Lorde even the very day, w<sup>ch</sup> was the day of St. John Baptiste, and the firste lande w<sup>ch</sup> they sawe, they called prima visa or prima vista, and M<sup>r</sup>. Roberte Thorne in his discourse to doctor Ley kinge Henry the eightes embassador to Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott of Bristoll were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves thoughe full sore againste their willes are constrained to yelde unto us therein: ffor ffranciscus Lopez de Gomera in the 4. Chapter of his seconde booke of his *generall historie of the Indies* confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the west Indies from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heichte of 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall: He whiche broughte moeste certeine newes of the Contrie and people of Baccalaos, saith Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot a venesian, w<sup>ch</sup> rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of kinge Henry the seaventh of England havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the portingales did: he caried w<sup>th</sup> him CCC. men and tooke the way towards Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of July it was so colde and the Ise so greate, that he durste not passe any further, that the daies were very longe in a manner w<sup>thout</sup>e any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot feelinge the colde turned towards the west, refreshinge himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England: Moreover this ffraunces Lopez de Gomera acknow-

<sup>1</sup> Clement Adams did other cartographical work. His version of Cabot's map appears to have been a woodcut.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* in Cabot's original.

ledgeth in his firste booke and xxj<sup>th</sup>. Chapter of his *generall historie of the Indies* that Columbus on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St. Lucar of Barameda in Spaine in the ende of May, Anno 1497. In w<sup>ch</sup> thirde voyadge at lengthe after many greate dangers by the way he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies towards the province called Paria, w<sup>ch</sup> all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the kinges of Spaine. So to conclude whether wee beleve the Testimonie of Peter Martir and fferdinandus Columbus w<sup>ch</sup> affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste in Anno 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabote and the englishe above twoo yeres before, To witt in the yere 1496 in the monethes of June and July: Or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera w<sup>ch</sup> saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande 1497, yet wee of England are the ffirste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before hem: To witt 1496. or as Clement Adams saith 1494. in the Chapter of Gabbotts mapp *de terra nova*,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is above three yeres before the Spaniarde or any other for the kinges of Spaine had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise by Gomera his owne confession from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towards the equinoctiall wee have beste righte and Title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce de Leon<sup>2</sup> beinge in Anno 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our Title as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyadge.

### Cap. 19.

An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the vi<sup>th</sup> whoe was himselfe a spaniarde borne.

Whereas ffraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. Chapter of his firste booke of his *generall historie of the Indies* putteth downe that Pope Alexander the vi<sup>th</sup> of his proper will and of his

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this date see J. A. Williamson, *loc. cit.* p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Of Florida.

owne mere motion w<sup>th</sup> the consente of his Cardinalls gave of his free grace to the kinges of Spaine all the Iles and firme landes w<sup>ch</sup> they shoulde discover towards the west, and therew<sup>th</sup>all alledged the Bull itselfe: I aunswer that no Pope had any lawfull auctoritie to give any such donation at all: ffor prooffe whereof I say that if he were no more then Christes vycar, as Gomera calleth him in that place, then he must nedes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his Mr. Nowe our saviour Christe beinge requested and intreated to make a lawfull devision of inheritaunce betwene one and his brother, refused to do yt, sayenge *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth then the Pope not beinge spoken to nor entreated of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no not beinge thereunto instantly requested woulde not have to deale in? Againe oure saviour Christe confessed openly to Pilate that his kingdome was not of this worlde, Why then doth the Pope that woulde be Christes servaunte take upon him the devision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that w<sup>ch</sup> he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull,<sup>1</sup> To witt that god is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and Empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome god stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes and Portingales, when they were devidinge the worlde betwene themselves alone, is so well known as I nede not stand to repeate it:<sup>2</sup> But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called: They mighte rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd Apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself w<sup>th</sup> the affaires of this presente life, because he woulde please him that hath chosen him to be a souldier, and then they woulde learne to kepe themselves w<sup>th</sup>in the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function where-

<sup>1</sup> The Bull was printed by Richard Eden in his *Decades*, 1555.

<sup>2</sup> As told by Gomara; it is also in Eden. See *infra*, p. 306.

unto they are called: which ecclesiasticall function hath nothinge to doe w<sup>th</sup> absolute donation and devidinge of mere Temporalities and earthly kingdomes: St. Chrisostome in his dialogue *de dignitate sacerdotali* saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge given by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give or to take kingdomes nor to make lawes for the politique governemente. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Empero<sup>r</sup> Constantine againste Auxentius Bisshoppe of Milan: Our saviour Christe himselfe saieth to his disciples that while they were in the worlde they shoulde be broughte before kinges and pollitique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be Judges and magistrates themselves especially in the devisions of kingdomes, and to leave all spirituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his Apostles under the civill magistrate and politique governemente: yet the Pope whoe saieth he is Peters successor will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions: The Apostle saieth Romaines the 13. Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers: Nowe if the Popes will not beleve the worde of god w<sup>th</sup>oute the exposition of the fathers of the Church, at leaste let them beleve St. Chrisostome and give eare to that w<sup>ch</sup> he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be commaunded to all men saieth he bothe to prestes and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen the Apostle declareth even in the very begynnynge when he saieth in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, though thou were an Apostle, though thou were an Evangeliste, though thou were a prophet, or though thou were any other whatsoever. ffor obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines: But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upon whome they please, by Samuels example that annointed David and deposed Saul: of Elyas that annoynted Hazaell kinge of Siria in steade of Benhadad, and Jehu kinge of Israell in steade of Jehoram; as also by the example of Jehoida the highe preste that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas the younge sonne of Ochosias in the kingdome.

All those examples make nothinge at all in the worlde for

them: for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter w<sup>th</sup>oute an expresse commaundement and all circumstances from the mouthe of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible: Samuell also did his commission full sore againste his will, and Elias, and Elizeus w<sup>th</sup> greate feare of their lyves: As for Athalia she was an usurper and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coulde possibly lay handes on, and therefore Jehoiada the highe preste not of his owne absolute auctoritie, but by the helpe of the kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to death. He was also uncle to the younge kinge by mariage of his wife Jehosheba w<sup>ch</sup> was sister to Ahasia the father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde in conscience and affinitie to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynoritie.

Nowe when the Popes have the like excellent spirites of prophecie, and the like chardges and expresse commaundementes from Gods owne mouthe in the behalf of some one by name againste some one w<sup>ch</sup> God by name woulde have deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for his synnes. But none of the prophetts made Bulls or donations in their palaces under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes w<sup>ch</sup> they never sawe nor knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or to say the truthe whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine: He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd, that is he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those Idolatrous kinges and their people, and then if they woulde not by any meanes have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God againste them shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the Inhabitanes of the same, and that God in his justice woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them to take vengeance of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes but also any other godly and zealous Bisshoppe

or mynister may doo beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinarye warrante of his worde. Yea but the Popes can shewe goodd Recordes that they have deposed Emperors, y<sup>t</sup> they have translated Empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germanes, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geven them to another. In deede in some respectes they have done so: But how? They never gave that w<sup>ch</sup> was in their actuall possession yf by any meanes possible they mighte have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges as wee say of other mens hides, and to be liberall of other mens goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the west Indies of his free grace to the kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a peny: But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne and not of other mens: ffor to take from one that w<sup>ch</sup> is his to give it to another to whom it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no liberalitie, thoughe the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede: ffor as one saieth *Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, injustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna*. To take from one fraudulently to give to an other mercifully is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie: The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the west Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and greedy wolves: He should have remembred the worde of our savio<sup>r</sup> whoe saieth: *Beatius est dare quàm accipere*: It is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receave. The Popes say they gave Ireland to kinge Henry the seconde and his successors, and indeede they have don it in wordes: But when gave they y<sup>t</sup> unto him, forsoothe after he had faste footinge in it, and when Dermutius the King of Leynester had firste offred to make the kinge his heire: And for all their donation yf the kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte holpe himselfe the Popes donation had stooode him in small stede: neither did the kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation: If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England: To conclude this pointe thoughe wee confesse that the Popes have don this or



that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say that they did it and therefore it is lawfull, unless they coule shewe that they did it rightfully: *de facto constat, de jure non constat*. And they themselves are driven to confesse that their medlinge on this sorte w<sup>th</sup> kingdomes ys not directly but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.<sup>1</sup>

Nowe to the donation it selfe wee are firste to consider whoe it was that was the author thereof, secondly unto whome it was made, thirdly what were the causes and inducementes that moved the Pope thereunto, fourthly the fourme and manner of donation, fyftly the inhibition of all other christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doo the contrarye: Lastly the recompence of the kinges of Spaine to the sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste the Author hereof was Pope Alexander the vj<sup>th</sup>. whoe as Platina, and Onuphrius and Bale doo write was himselfe a Spaniarde and borne in Valencia of the familie called Burgia, and therefore no marvell thoughe he were ledd by parcialitie to favour the spanishe nation, thoughe yt were to the prejudice and dommage of all others. Whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appere, that havinge in all the tyme of his Popedom created sixe and thirtie Cardinales of those xxx<sup>te</sup>vj. he made xvij. to witt the one halfe spaniardes as Bale dothe testifie<sup>2</sup> writinge of his life: Nowe let any man be judge whether that were extreame parcialitie and ambition to make Spaine equal in that pointe w<sup>th</sup> all the rest of Christendome: No marvaile therefore thoughe as in this, so in his donacion he was beyonde all reason caried away w<sup>th</sup> blynde affection to his nation, w<sup>ch</sup> faulte of his had bene more to be borne w<sup>th</sup>all yf it had bene in a private or small matter: But in this so generall and common cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable: If any man liste to see this man painted oute farther in his colo<sup>rs</sup>, let him reade John Bale in his eighte Centurye where he shall finde so many of his badd partes as a man woulde thincke he coule not be a fitt man to make a goodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

<sup>1</sup> This learnedly argued discourse is a reminder that Hakluyt was a student and professor of divinity.

<sup>2</sup> John Bale, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella Princes of Spaine, to whome and to their heires and successors for ever he confirmed the same excluding all other Christian Princes: These Princes thought otherwise very vertuous and commendable, yet at the time of the makinge of this donacion were more unable then divers other kinges of Christendome to accomlishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greatly ympoverished w<sup>th</sup> the warres of Granadoe so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. of England to subdue the Moores in their owne Contrie. Yea Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne Jewells to gage to borowe money to sett furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapter of the historye of Ferdinandus Columbus his owne sonne. It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes for wante of people of their owne Contrie, have not bene able now, in the space of <sup>xx</sup><sub>iii</sub> and xij. yeres to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste Contries w<sup>ch</sup> are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducements that moved his holines to graunt these unequall donations unto Spaine were firste (as he saith) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian Relligion and Catholique faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spreadd abroad throughoute the worlde especially in his daies, and that the salvation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe &c.

To this I aunswer that if he had ment as in deede he saith he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke belonginge to the duetie of all other Christian Princes unto the kinges of Spaine onely, as though god had no servauntes but in Spaine. Or as though other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce gods glory as they. Or howe mente he that every one shoulde put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian princes, in paine of his heauey curse and excommunicatyon to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes though yt were to the conversion of thinhabitauntes in those partes. And

whereas to colo<sup>r</sup> this his donacion he addeth that the kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardges in that discoverie, in respecte whereof he was induced to deale so franckly w<sup>th</sup> them, yt is evident that the Bull was graunted in the yere 1493. the iiij<sup>th</sup>. of the moneth of May at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely w<sup>th</sup> one small shippe and twoo little Caravells, and had in all his Companie but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stode the kinge of Spaine in 2500. Crownes only. So these 2500. Crownes were the greate chardges that the Pope speaketh of that induced him to graunte so large a donacion, for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. Chapiter of his owne sonnes historie: Moreover where the Pope confesseth he was informed before the donation of his Bull, That the kinges of Spaine had purposed by the aide of God to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and Ilandes w<sup>th</sup> their inhabitantes whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in commendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully w<sup>th</sup>oute makinge of him privy to their enterprice, w<sup>ch</sup> they did not in their firste sendinge furthe of Columbus: And w<sup>th</sup> what righte he builded and lefte men in Hispaniola at the firste before the Popes donation, w<sup>th</sup> the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwarde discover. So then the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that w<sup>ch</sup> they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie: and as for their former zeale and resolucion to publishe the christian faithe in those quarters w<sup>ch</sup> the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whoe seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge but to that w<sup>ch</sup> he acknowledgeth to have bene in them already, and so he did nothinge but *actum agere*. Againe in that he saith that in no other respecte but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *And for certeine secrete causes* he gave unto them all the Ilandes and firme landes w<sup>ch</sup> already have bene founde and w<sup>ch</sup> shoulde afterwarde be founde, w<sup>ch</sup> were then discovered or afterwarde to be discovered, towardes the west and the southe<sup>1</sup>, drawinge a straighthe

<sup>1</sup> It seems clear that the original intention of the Bull was to donate nothing *north* of the latitudes of Spain.

line from the Pole articke to the Pole antarticke, whether the landes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towardses the Indies or towards any other quarter, intendinge nevertheles that this line be distant an hundred leagues towardses the west and the southe from the Iles w<sup>ch</sup> are commonly called the Azores, or those of Cape Verd: To this wee aunswer that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his holines beinge a Spaniarde borne sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie and of his mere motion and francke liberalitie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation w<sup>th</sup> doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye and more unto all other Princes of Christendome: ffor what els can those wordes importe that he did it also for certen secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte indifferent and sincere dealinges? And surely if he had ment uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainly, for truthe seketh no secrete corners. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else but the feare and jelousie that he had that kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. of England withe whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprice and even aboute this time had concluded w<sup>th</sup> the kinge upon all pointes and articles, whoe even now was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action, w<sup>ch</sup> if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes in the profitt, and greatly ecllips their hono<sup>r</sup> and glorie. Also he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of Portingale and offer w<sup>ch</sup> he made firste of all to the said kinge of this discovery, whoe thoughe at the firste delte doubly w<sup>th</sup> Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offred, yet they missinge of their purpose, the kinge of Portingale woulde have employed Columbus and delte effectually w<sup>th</sup> him to that ende, but he conceavinge a greate displeasure againste the kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his hono<sup>r</sup> and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his Realme into Castile. But the Pope fearinge that either the kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled

to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawn into England by interposinge of his usurped auctoritie, thoughte secretly by his unlawfull division to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite: Loe, these were indeede those secrete causes sodenly w<sup>th</sup>oute makinge the other kinges privie, to make his generall and universall donation of all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one Pole unto another passinge a hundred leagues westwarde of the Iles of Azores, w<sup>ch</sup> division howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor simple childe, ffraunces Lopes de Gomera one of the Spaniardes owne Historiographers dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this Chapiter (saith he) I will recite to recreate the Reader that w<sup>ch</sup> happened upon this partition to the Portingales: As ffraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria and others came to this assembly and passed the River by Quidiana a little Infant that kepthe his mothers clothes w<sup>ch</sup> she had washt and honge abroade to drye, demaunded of them whither they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde w<sup>th</sup> the Empero<sup>r</sup>? and as they aunswered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them, Drawe your Lyne throughe the middest of this place: This saith the Author was published in contempte all abroade bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these Committies. The Portingales were greatlye angrie therew<sup>th</sup>all, but the rest turned yt to a Jest and laughed yt oute. But what wiseman seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne and made them ridiculous and their partition in the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste speakinge w<sup>th</sup> mans voyce, reproveth the foolishnes of Balam the prophett.

4. The fourthe pointe w<sup>ch</sup> I purpose to touche is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a large preface and connyng preamble, and that begynneth in this manner:

Wee therefore by the auctoritie of God almightie w<sup>ch</sup> is geven to us in the person of Sainte Peter, and w<sup>ch</sup> wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the Ilandes and firme landes w<sup>th</sup> their seigniories, Cities, Castells,

&c. In w<sup>ch</sup> repetition of his donation the seconde time for failinge he woulde shewe unto the world by what auctoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, Contries, seigniories, Cities, Castells, places, villages, rightes, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenaunces and thinges belonging to the same to the kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successors for ever. This usurped auctoritie as I have plainly confuted and denied in the begynnyng, so nowe in a worde or twoo I will shewe that God never gave unto the Popes any suche auctoritie. The chefest and greatest auctoritie that ever was geven by Christe to Peter is mentioned in the 16. Chapiter of St<sup>t</sup> Mathewe where Christe saieth unto him, I will give unto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe, shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven: St. Hierome expoundinge of this place saieth that the Priestes or Bisshopps duetie and auctoritie of the keyes, to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy scripture and by the judgements of the Catholique Church, when and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of god, and whoe beinge once a Christian, is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Church: These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes w<sup>ch</sup> God hath put into prestes handes: And Peter Lombarde the M<sup>r</sup> of the Sentences one of their owne Doctors is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what auctoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, John 20. vers. 21. sayenge to them all, Whosoever synnes yee remitte they are remitted unto them, and whosoever synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme that they had auctoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche Contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor hearde, nor any mane else as I verely beleve: W<sup>ch</sup> moste unjuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa beinge an Infidell: ffor after ffryer Vincent of Valverde of the companie and traine of Pisar had made an oration to him,

*Matth: 16.*

the somme whereof was that he shoulde become a Christyan and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperor to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome: Atabalipa beinge greatly insensed replied that seeinge he was nowe free he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater Lorde then himselfe, but that he was willinge to be the Empero<sup>rs</sup> frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate Lorde that sente so many armies abroade into the worlde: He aunswered moreover that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope seinge he gave away that w<sup>ch</sup> belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome that came unto him by inheritaunce to one w<sup>ch</sup> he had never seene in his life. And whereas ffryer Vincent beinge displeased at his replye was gladd to seeke any waye to wreake his anger upon him, in somoche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse<sup>1</sup> fall to the grounde, he was so testye, that he sett Pisar and his souldiers forwardes cryenge, vengeaunce Christians vengeaunce, give the chardge upon them, whereby many Indians w<sup>th</sup>oute resistaunce or any stroke stricken on their partes were moste pitefullye mured and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwarde trecherously put to deathe: This ffrier himselfe by gods juste judgemente was afterwarde beaten to deathe w<sup>th</sup> clubbes by the Inhabitanes of Puna as he fledd from Don Diego de Almagre, as ffraunces Lopes de Gomera precisely and of purpose noteth libro. 5. cap. 85. of his *generall historie of the Indies*, and besides him all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell and of the Popes donation came to moste wretched and unfortunate endes, as the aforesaide Author there setteth downe in twoo severall Chapters of considerations as he calleth them. Moreover since the fourme of the donation ronnet not absolutely but w<sup>th</sup> this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., That the kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the Inhabitanes of those Contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the catholique faithe, and noseled<sup>2</sup> in goodd manners, and that they shoulde carefullye applye themselves thereunto: Wee aunswer that these conditions have bene

<sup>1</sup> Breviary (O.E.D.).

<sup>2</sup> Instructed.

wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in religion nor manners: and consequently that the conditions beinge not perfourmed the donation oughte of righte to be voide: ffor the kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures as Bartholmewe de Casas the Bisshoppe of Chiapa in the west Indies, a Spaniarde borne dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And Gonsalvo de Oviedo another of their owne historiographers and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola affirmeth the like. ffor there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saith he, w<sup>ch</sup> havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaied the partes not of men but of dragons and infidells, and havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And although those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Mat<sup>te</sup> and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the Lande shoulde not wholly have bene disinhabited, w<sup>ch</sup> by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the Contrie conquered and pacified. But I call it quoth Gonsalvo the contrie w<sup>ch</sup> is destroyed and ruyned: yea so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of Christianitie and true Religion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saith, The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you. ffor prooffe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that w<sup>ch</sup> Peter<sup>1</sup> Benzo of Milan hath written whoe remayned in these Indies and served in the warres w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres: This Benzo saith that the Indians not havinge studied Logicke concluded very pertinently and categorically that the Spaniardes w<sup>ch</sup> spoiled their Contrie, were more dangerous then wilde beastes, more furious then Lyons, more fearefull and



terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outrageous in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes w<sup>ch</sup> are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye w<sup>ch</sup> they have in their Contrie: There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is frustrated of the ende w<sup>ch</sup> he intended in his donacion, and so the same oughte not to take effecte.

5. fiftly yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earnest that all Empero<sup>rs</sup> and kinges w<sup>ch</sup> should sende their subjectes or others to discover w<sup>th</sup>oute the kinge of Spaines leave shoulde be excommunicated by him: Why did he not first excommunicate kinge Henry the seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota w<sup>th</sup> three hundred englishemen, whoe by Gomera his owne confession discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like to kinge Henry the eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde in the xix<sup>th</sup>. yere of his reigne while he was yet in obedience to the Church of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed against Queene Mary whoe suffered her subjectes in the yere 1556. to seke oute by the northeaste the way to Cathaio and China,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> are bothe w<sup>th</sup>in the pretended lymites of his donation as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doo write? Why did he not exercise his censures ecclesiasticall against the kinge of ffraunce, ffraunces the firste for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twice or thrise, Iaques Cartier twice, and Robervall once towards the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the seconde of ffraunce excommunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasill under the Tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the ix<sup>th</sup>. for ayinge Ribault firste and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault to fortifie and inhabite in florida? Or why did he not thunder against Emanuell kinge of Portingale for sufferinge Gasper Cortereal twice to seke to finde oute the northwest passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the kinge of Denmarke for suffring his subjecte John

<sup>1</sup> Steven Borough's voyage.

Scolno a dane in the yere 1500. to seke the straighte by the northweste, of whome Gemma ffrisius and Hieromy Gerava a Spaniarde make mention?<sup>1</sup> Or what shoulde be the reason that all these kinges of England, ffraunce, Portingale and Denmarke beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Church of Rome, shoulde w<sup>th</sup>oute consente as yt were disanull and never make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? w<sup>ch</sup> thinge doubtles they woulde never have don yf they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any prince or Empero<sup>r</sup> of what estate or condition soever shoulde attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he shoulde be assured to incurr the indignation of Almighty God, and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle: But nowe seinge all the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne w<sup>th</sup>oute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme w<sup>th</sup> one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconyng of the breache of that Bull as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian Princes of the worlde. Againe yt were small charitie in the Popes, to curse those princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the hono<sup>r</sup> and glory of god, and the lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoever Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of god and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of Infidells and heathen people of the west Indies, w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and to those w<sup>ch</sup> he cursed undeservedly woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte thoughe Pope Alexander the vj<sup>th</sup>. by his unequall division hath so puffed upp and inflamed w<sup>th</sup> pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves that they shall shortly attaine to be Lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, insomuche as Gonsalvo de Oviedo sticketh not to write to Charles the

<sup>1</sup> The obscure voyage of John Scolvus is dated 1476 on Gemma Frisius' Globe. See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 81.

Empero<sup>r</sup> sayenge, God hath geven you these Indies *accio che vostra majesta sia uniuersale et unico monarcha del mondo*, to the intende that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the world: yet god that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble ther faces to the duste, yea he will make them at his goodd time and pleasure to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely, as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, w<sup>ch</sup> not longe since takinge upon them to deuide the worlde w<sup>th</sup> lynes, doo nowe beholde the line of gods iuste judgemente drawn over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions: And nowe no doubtte many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heaue woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled.

6. ffinally to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you consider what recompence the kinges of Spaine have made to the Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, you shall easely see and acknowledge w<sup>th</sup> me that they were either moste ungratefull or, w<sup>ch</sup> is moste likely, that they never thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their Title unto those Regions depended upon his francke almes or liberalitie: ffor if they had don soe, they coulde have done no lesse but have geven him the presentation of all Archebisshopricks and Bisshopricks, and other greate ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and large curtesie: Wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reservinge onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all the Archebisshopricks and Bisshopricks that they have erected in the west Indies: ffor as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and 23. Chapter of his *generall historie of the Indies*, The kinge of Spaine is patrone of all the Archebisshopricks, Byssshopricks, dignities, and Benefices of the west Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lorde of the Indies.

This argueth that the kinges of Spaine never made any greate accompte of the Popes' donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde w<sup>th</sup> the sea of Rome; ffor doubtles if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende as I saied of the Popes

mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute Patrones of all ecclesiasticall dignities whatsoever.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 20.

A brefe Collection of certaine reasons to induce her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the state to take in hande<sup>2</sup> the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

1. The soyle yeldeth and may be made to yelde all the severall commodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes domynions and Territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this Realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to shorte, but easie and to be made twice in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any Prince, nor nere any of their contries or Territories and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by Prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth o<sup>r</sup> trades in the Levant seas w<sup>th</sup>in the straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas w<sup>th</sup>in the kinge of Denmarkes straite, and the trades to the portes of Norway and of Russia &c., for as in the southwest straite there is no passage in sommer by lacke of windes, so w<sup>th</sup>in the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed by the peculiar commoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher hono<sup>r</sup>, mighte and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde: It cometh nowe so to passe that by the greate endevo<sup>r</sup> of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the west Indies nowe daily more

<sup>1</sup> This dissertation must have been aimed at the Catholic faction, for the Pope's Bull had no force among Protestants.

<sup>2</sup> The crux of the discourse; cf. *supra*, p. 38. The chapter is largely recapitulation.

and more multiplienge, That the wolles of England and the clothe made of the same, will become base,<sup>1</sup> and every day more base then other, w<sup>ch</sup> prudently weyed, yt behoveth this Realme yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes<sup>2</sup> and basenes, but to stande in present and late former hono<sup>r</sup> glorie and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped,<sup>3</sup> the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall commoditie of this Realme, And effectually pursueinge that course wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome) an ample vente, but also shall from the northside of that firme finde oute knownen and unknownen Ilandes and domynions replenished w<sup>t</sup> people that may fully vent the aboundance of that our commoditie<sup>4</sup> that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small valewe by forreine aboundaunce &c., So as by this enterpryce wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades that els muste nedes fall upon the Realme w<sup>th</sup>out breache of peace or sworde drawn againste this Realme by any forreine state,<sup>5</sup> and not offer our auncient riches to scornefull neighbours at home nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie w<sup>th</sup> greate desire of our overthrowe indevoured, and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve oughte, they be so sotted w<sup>th</sup> opinion of their owne,<sup>6</sup> and yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this Realme.

6. This enterpryse may staye the spanishe kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plant-

<sup>1</sup> Of less value.

<sup>2</sup> Meanness.

<sup>3</sup> Manufactured.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Tartary and China by the N.W. Passage.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* economic disaster.

<sup>6</sup> The elder Hakluyt also hints at the blindness and conservatism of the English manufacturers and merchants, and their unwillingness to take adequate steps to meet foreign competition.

inge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returns oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega, and on that tracte faste by more to the northe and northeaste,<sup>1</sup> and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth more contynuanee of ordinary windes then the present course of the spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Matle may by the benefete of the seate havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hemepe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price and w<sup>th</sup>oute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this Realme swarminge at this day w<sup>th</sup> valiant youtthes rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connynge shipwrightes of the worlde to be Lordes of all those Sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his Treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equallitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cutt of the common mischefes that comes to all Europe by the peculiar aboundance of his Indian Treasure, and this w<sup>th</sup>oute difficultie.

7. This voyadge albeit it may be accomplished by barke or smallest pynnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profits sake use it but by shippes of greate burden, so as this Realme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and

<sup>1</sup> Norumbega was considerably to the north of Wingandacoa, afterwards Virginia, and it is probable that sections of Chapter 15, written after the return of Raleigh's 'two barks', were inserted after the completion of the rest of the Discourse.

of greate strengthe for the defence of this Realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and w<sup>th</sup>all greate increase of perfecte seamen, w<sup>ch</sup> greate Princes in time of warres wante, and w<sup>ch</sup> kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this Realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the base Contries, in Spaine, ffraunce, Portingale &c., in the tymes of Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, ffraunces the frenche kinge and others, but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe w<sup>th</sup>oute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte, or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the commaundement of the prince, w<sup>th</sup> mariners, artillory, armor, and munition ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe be driven by windes and Tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the weste Contries &c. and so our marchantes in respecte of private state and of the Realme in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischeefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes w<sup>th</sup>oute payment of custome once twice or thrise before it come into the Realme, and so all forren commodities become derer to the subjectes of this Realme, and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided, and the forren commodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate Treasure in the Realme, whereas nowe the Realme becomethe poore by the purchasing of forreine commodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque w<sup>th</sup> the people of those partes, the subjectes of this Realme for many yeres shall change many cheape commodities of these partes, for thinges of highe valor

there not esteemed, and this to the greate enrichinge of the Realme, if common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those Regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure w<sup>th</sup>oute staye or restraunte of forreine Prince, whereas upon staies and restraints the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over of his ware, and buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade w<sup>th</sup> smalle stocke and withoute takinge upp money upon interest,<sup>1</sup> and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the commodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the Realme.

13. By makinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same: By makinge of Cables and Cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie and by thousandes of thinges there to be don, infinite numbers<sup>2</sup> of the english nation may be sett on worke to the unburdenynge of the Realme w<sup>th</sup> many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makinge of salte, and the Inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges &c., and for makinge of yron, all w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> moche more is hoped. w<sup>th</sup>oute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the frenche, of the spanishe, of the portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the Realme.<sup>3</sup>

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receave out of ffrance, fflaunders, Germanye &c. and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this Realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the ffranche and flemynge, better cheape, and in the ende for the parte that this Realme was wonte to receave dryve them out of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* with small capital, and without borrowing from the bankers.

<sup>2</sup> Mass emigration was in Hakluyt's mind.

<sup>3</sup> The Hakluyts believed in economic pressure as more efficacious and more humane than warfare.



16. Wee shall by plantinge there inlarge the glory of the gospell and from England plante sincere religion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of gods worde.<sup>1</sup>

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a number fitt for the service of the warres and for the defence of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies w<sup>th</sup> all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into Gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye w<sup>th</sup> one voice *liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedom, so no doubt whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughoute all that tracte to use the naturall people there w<sup>th</sup> all humanitie, curtesie, and freedom, they will yelde themselves to her government and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially, when they shall understande that she hath a noble navie, and that she aboundeth w<sup>th</sup> a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence, and her Ma<sup>tie</sup> havinge S<sup>r</sup> fraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite w<sup>th</sup> the Symérons, a people or greate multitude already revolted from the spanishe government, she may w<sup>th</sup> them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation trayned upp in the late warres of ffraunce and fflaunders, bringe greate things to passe, and that w<sup>th</sup> greate ease:<sup>2</sup> and this broughte so aboute, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize that nowe passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande of all the commodities of Europe, w<sup>ch</sup> trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (w<sup>th</sup>oute the benefite of the rich myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by Customes to fill her Ma<sup>ties</sup> coffers to the full: and if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this Realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were

<sup>1</sup> Protestant refugees.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt here refers to his project for seizing Magellan's Strait. See *supra*, p. 17.

five times so many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnyn and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade in the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be cast of, and ofte to be idle and so by povertie to fall to piracie: But this course to Norumbega beinge longer and a contynuanee of themployment of the maryner dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and from necessitie, and so it cutteth of the principall actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes overthrowen by suertishippe,<sup>1</sup> by sea or by some folly of youthe, that are not able to live in England may there be raised againe,<sup>2</sup> and doo their Contrie goodd service: and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate numbers that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiërs and servito<sup>rs</sup> in the ende of the warres that mighte be hurtfull to this Realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this Realme, and to o<sup>r</sup> forreine benefite there as they may be employed.

22. The frye<sup>3</sup> of the wandringe beggars of England that growe upp ydly and hurtefull and burdenous to this Realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste Contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another as in all places they doe, This Norumbega (yf it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By becoming surety for a debt or for an accused person. Hakluyt may have had Michael Lok in mind.

<sup>2</sup> Here Hakluyt is prophetic. Thousands of men must have rehabilitated themselves in the Colonies.

<sup>3</sup> Children. The migration of orphan and destitute children to the Colonies has usually been very successful.

<sup>4</sup> This concludes the argument for territorial expansion. Chapter 21 is merely an appendix.

## Cap. 21.

A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideracion, then for any other reason, for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, w<sup>th</sup>oute the which the voyadge is maymed.

VICTUALL BY ROOTES  
AND HERBES.

## DEAD VICTUALL.

Hoggs fleshe barrellled and salted in greate quantitie.  
Befe barrellled in lesse quantitie.  
Stockfishe meale in barrells.  
Oatemeale in barrells, nere cowched.  
Ryse. Sallett oile. Barrellled butter.  
Cheese. Hony in Barrells.  
Currans. Raisons of the sonne.  
Dried prunes. Olives in Barrells.  
Beanes, dried on the killn.  
Pease dried likewise.  
Canary Wines. Hollocke.<sup>1</sup>  
Sacks racked.<sup>2</sup>  
Vinegar very stronge.  
Aqua vitæ.  
Syders of ffraunce, spaine, and England.  
Bere brewed specially in speciall tyme.

Turnep seede.  
Passeneape Sede.  
Radishe.  
Cariott.  
Naviewes.<sup>3</sup>  
Garlicke.  
Onyons.  
Leekes.  
Melons.  
Pompions.  
Cowcombers.  
Cabage cole.  
Parseley.  
Lettis.  
Endiffe.  
Alexander.<sup>4</sup>  
Orege.<sup>5</sup>  
Tyme.  
Rosemary.  
Mustard seede.  
ffennell.  
Anny seedes<sup>6</sup> newe and freshe to be sowen.

<sup>1</sup> Red Wine.<sup>2</sup> Drawn from the lees.<sup>3</sup> Rape-seed.<sup>4</sup> Horse-parsley.<sup>5</sup> Marjoram.

<sup>6</sup> Aniseed.\*This list indicates the importance of vegetables and salads in an Elizabethan garden and dietary.

THE ENCREASE RENEWE Y<sup>e</sup> CONTINEWE OF VICTUALL AT THE  
PLANTINGE PLACES, AND MEN AND THINGES INCIDENT AND  
TENDINGE TO THE SAME.

Bores, Sowes.

Conies bucke and dowe.

Doves male and female.

Cockes. Hennes.

Duckes male and female for lowe soiles.

Turkies male and female.

Wheat. Rye. Barley.

Bigge or burley bere.

Oates. Beanes.

Pease. ffacches.<sup>1</sup>

Three square graine.<sup>2</sup>

Suger cane planters w<sup>th</sup> the plantes.

Vyne planters.

Olyve planters.

Gardiners for herbes rootes, and for all earthe frutes.

Graffers for frute trees.

Hunters skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.

Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyne.

ffowlers.

Sea fisshers.

Freshwater fisshers.

Knytters of netts.

Butchers.

Salters and seasoners of vittell.

Saltemakers.

Cookes.

Bakers.

Brewers.

Greyhoundes to kill deere &c.

Mastives to kill heauey beastes of ravyne and for nighte  
watches.

Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

} To sowe, to  
vittell by  
breaue and  
drinke,  
&c.

<sup>1</sup> Vetches.

<sup>2</sup> Buckwheat.

## PROVISIONS TENDINGE TO FORCE.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.

Platformes<sup>1</sup> of many formes redied to carry w<sup>th</sup> you by advise of the best.

Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.

Souldiers well trayned in fflaunders to joyne w<sup>th</sup> the younger.

Harqubusshiers of skill.

Archers stronge bowmen.

Bowyers.

ffletchers.

Arrowheadmakers.

Bowstave preparers.

Glewmakers.

Morryce pikemakers<sup>2</sup> and of halbert staves.

Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trentchers, and fortemarkers.

Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and Rampiers.

Pioners and spademen for fortification.

Salte peter makers.

Gonne powder makers.

Targett<sup>3</sup> makers of hornes defensive againste Savages.

Oylethole<sup>4</sup> doublett makers defensive lighte and gentle to lye in.

Turners of Targetts of elme and of otheroughe woodds lighte.

Shippes, Pynesses, Barkes, Busses w<sup>th</sup> flatt botoms, furnished w<sup>th</sup> experte seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare to perce Ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe offensive and defensive againste savages devised by Mr Bodenham of Spaine.<sup>5</sup>

Shipwrightes in some nomber to be employed on the Timber.

Oare makers, and makers of Cable and Cordage.

<sup>1</sup> For artillery.

<sup>2</sup> Pikes of Moorish type (O.E.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Light shields.

<sup>4</sup> Eyelet-hole, *i.e.* laced.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Bodenham; see *supra*, p. 8.

PROVISIONS INCIDENT TO THE FIRSTE TRAFICQUE AND TRADE OF  
MARCHANDIZE.

Grubbers and rooters upp of Cipres, Cedars, and of all other faire trees for to be employed in coffers deskes &c. for traficque.

Mattocks narrowe and longe of yron to that purpose.

Millwrightes to make milles for spedy and cheape sawinge of timber and boordes for trade and firste traficque of suertie.

Millwrightes for corne milles.

Sawyers for common use.

Carpinters for buildinges.

Joyners to cutt oute the boordes into chestes to be imbarqued for England.

Blacksmithes to many greate and nedefull uses.

Pitche makers.

Tarr makers.

Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes.

Cowpers for barrells to inclose those asshes.

Tallowchandlers to prepare the Tallowe to be incasked for England.

Waxehandlers to prepare waxe in like sorte.

Diers to seeke in that firme<sup>1</sup> that riche Cochinilio and other thinges for that trade.

Mynerrall men.

ARTESANES SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS NOT IN TRAFICQUE  
BUT FOR BUILDINGES.

Brickmakers.

Tilemakers.

Lyme makers.

Bricklayers.

Tilers.

Thackers w<sup>th</sup> reede, russhes,  
broome or strawe.

Synkers of welles and finders  
of springes.<sup>2</sup>

Quarrellers to digge Tile.

Roughe Masons.

Carpinters.

Lathmakers.

<sup>1</sup> On that continent.

<sup>2</sup> Diviners.

ARTESANES SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS AND IN PARTE  
SERVINGE FOR TRAFICQUE.

Barbors.	Bottlemakers of London.
Launders.	Shoemakers. Coblers.
Tailors.	Tanners. White tawyers. <sup>2</sup>
Botchers.	Buffe skynne dressers.
Pailemakers.	Shamew <sup>3</sup> skynne dressers.
Burrachiomakers. <sup>1</sup>	

A PRESENT PROVISION FOR RAISINGE A NOTABLE TRADE FOR THE  
TIME TO COME.

The knitt wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine called *bonetto rugio collerado* so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people, and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a greate reliefe to oure poore people, and a sale of our woll and of our labour, and beinge suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easelie compasse, the sale wilbe greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their first arryvall there.<sup>4</sup>

THINGS FORGOTTEN MAY HERE BE NOTED AS THEY COME TO MYNDE  
AND AFTER BE PLACED W<sup>TH</sup> THE REST, AND AFTER THAT IN ALL  
BE REDUCED INTO THE BEST ORDER.

That there be appointed one or twoo preachers for the voyadge that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe.

That the voyadge be furnished w<sup>th</sup> Bibles and w<sup>t</sup> bookes of service.

That the bookes of the discoveries and conquests of the easte Indies<sup>5</sup> be carried w<sup>t</sup> you.

<sup>1</sup> Makers of leather bottles for wine (Sp. *borracha*).

<sup>2</sup> Leather dressers.

<sup>3</sup> Chamois.

<sup>4</sup> The elder Hakluyt more than once spoke of these caps as a profitable line. He must have seen them made at Hereford (c.f. *supra*, p. 192).

<sup>5</sup> N. Lichfield's translation of Castanheda, published 1582.

That the bookes of the discoveries of the west Indies and the conquestes of the same<sup>1</sup> be also caried to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnyng of common daungers in suche cases arising.

And because men are more apte to make themselves subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any Capitaine be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wisshed that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke in their discoveries for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had perused most of the lawes of thempire and of other princes Lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders fitt for voyadges and begynnynge, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Q. moste excellent majestie and her wise counsell and faire ingrossed mighte in a Table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyadge, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.<sup>2</sup>

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and by phisicke to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche, as fall into disease and distemperature.

A Surgeon to lett bloude and for such as may chaunce by warres or otherwise to be hurte is more nedefull for the voyadge.

An Apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite, and the phisition dienge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of the one and thother, and to sende into the Realme by seede and roote herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these Regions as is saied, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyadge, suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drinke called meth,<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer as in North Wales for their wine, and, if you cannot cary any suche,

<sup>1</sup> The translations by Thomas Nicholas (1578 and 1581) and Willes' *History of Travayle* are no doubt referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt may have had the Doughty affair in mind.

<sup>3</sup> Mead, metheglin.



to cary the order of the makinge of yt in writinge that it may be made for a nede.

And before many thinges this one thinge is to be called as yt were w<sup>th</sup> spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes overthrowen by losse at sea, by usuerers, suertshippe and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannott for their debtes shewe their faces,<sup>1</sup> and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their goodd giftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves. But are w<sup>th</sup>oute some speciall meane used to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte,<sup>2</sup> and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawn to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greate uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by auctoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully or for triflinge causes are deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades and to employe them, for so they may be relieved and the enterprice furthered in many respectes.

*A moste  
nedeful Note.*

And in choise of all Artesanes for the voyadge this general rule were goodd to be observed that no man be chosen that is knownen to be a papiste for the speciall inclynation they have of favour to the kinge of Spaine.

That also of those Artesanes w<sup>ch</sup> are protestantes, that where you may have chaunge and choise, that suche as be moste stronge and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his Bowe or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goers in the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. And therefore (many goinge) yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a Booke before they be receaved, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that, according as occasion of nede shall require.<sup>3</sup>

#### FINIS

<sup>1</sup> Imprisonment for debt was a fate that overtook men of the highest standing, often through no fault of their own.

<sup>2</sup> Anxiety.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's planning was admirable, but if settlers are to be carefully selected and a balanced number of each trade and profession secured, time and a large capital are necessary.



THE RECTORY, WETHERINGSETT  
*From a photograph by the Rev. W. W. Lillie.*

## Document 47

### PAMPHLET FOR THE VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1585

INDUCEMENTS TO THE LIKING OF THE VOYAGE  
intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees of latitude,  
written 1585. by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT the elder, sometime  
student of the Middle Temple

1 The glory of God by planting of religion among those  
infidels.

2 The increase of the force of the Christians.

3 The possibilitie of the enlarging of the dominions of the  
Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and consequently of her  
honour, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.

4 An ample vent in time to come of the Woollen clothes of  
England, especially those of the coarsest sorts, to the mainten-  
ance of our poore, that els sterve or become burdensome to the  
realme: and vent also of sundry our commodities upon the tract  
of that firme land, and possibly in other regions from the  
Northerne side of that maine.<sup>1</sup>

5 A great possibilitie of further discoveries of other regions  
from the North part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable  
honor and benefit that may rise upon the same, by the trades to  
ensue in Iapan, China, and Cathay, &c.

6 By retorne thence, this realme shall receive (by reason of  
the situation of the climate, and by reason of the excellent soile)  
Oade, Oile, Wines, Hops, Salt, and most or all the commodities  
that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall  
receive the same better cheape, than now we receive them, as we  
may use the matter.

<sup>1</sup> Ortelius' World Map of 1564 (used by Gilbert) suggested that, travelling north from Norumbega (see Plate V) the north coast of America would be reached in 50° N. lat., whence easy routes would lie to the east of Asia.

7 Receiving the same thence, the navie, the humane strength of this realme, our merchants and their goods shal not be subject to arrest of ancient enemies & doubtfull friends, as of late yeeres they have beene.

8 If our nation do not make any conquest there, but only use trafficke and change of commodities, yet by meane the countrey is not very mightie, but divided into pety kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy, but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9 Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steelyard merchants, or by our owne merchants from Eastland, be it Flaxe, Hempe, Pitch, Tarre, Masts, Clap-board, Wainscot, or such like; the like good may we receive from the North and Northeast part of that countrey neere unto Cape Briton, in returne for our course Woollen clothes, Flannels and Rugges<sup>1</sup> fit for those colder regions.

10 The passage to and fro, is thorow the maine Ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemies coast.

11 In the voyage, we are not to crosse the burnt Zone, nor to passe thorow frozen seas encombred with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the yeere: and it requireth not, as the East Indie voiage doth, the taking in of water in divers places, by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks: and by the shortnesse, the merchant may yeerely make two returnes (a factory once being erected there) a matter in trade of great moment.

12 In this trade by the way in our passe to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps, all the ports of Ireland to our aid, and no neere coast of any enemy.

13 By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland, and succour the Queenes Maiesties friends there, and in time we may from Virginia yeeld them whatsoever commoditie they now receive from the Spaniard; and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heertofore they received yeerely from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practise against this government, as now by their trade thither they may.

<sup>1</sup> Imported from Ireland, and produced in South Lancashire and Cheshire.

14 We shall, as it is thought, enioy in this voyage, either some small Islands to settle on, or some one place or other on the firme land to fortifie for the saftie of our ships, our men, and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any forren place of our trafficke, in which respect we may be in degree of more safetie, and more quiet.

15 The great plentie of Buffe hides, and of many other sundry kinds of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of Whale and Seale fishing, and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bayes, and seas there, shall presently<sup>1</sup> defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise, and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia, where many yeeres were spent, and great summes of money consumed, before gaine was found.

16 The great broad rivers of that maine that we are to enter into so many leagues navigable or portable into the maine land, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soile on both sides, doe seeme to promise all things that the life of man doth require, and whatsoever men may wish, that are to plant upon the same, or to trafficke in the same.

17 And whatsoever notable commoditie the soile within or without doth yeeld in so long a tract that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deepe, do yeeld no small benefit for the sure, safe, easie and cheape cariage of the same to shipboord, be it of great bulke or of great weight.

18 And in like sort whatsoever commoditie of England the Inland people there shall need, the same rivers doe worke the like effect in benefit for the incariage of the same, aptly, easily, and cheaply.

19 If we finde the countrey populous, and desirous to expel us, and iniuriously to offend us, that seeke but iust and lawfull trafficke, then by reason that we are lords of navigation, and they not so, we are the better able to defend our selves by reason of those great rivers, & to annoy them in many places.

20 Where there be many petie kings or lords planted on the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. immediately. The argument was sound, but the development of these resources required the right type of settler, suitably equipped and supported by the fishing and leather interests at home. The first Virginia colonists were not of this type.

rivers sides, and by all likelihood mainteine the frontiers of their severall territories by warres, we may by the aide of this river ioine with this king heere, or with that king there, at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may, if we will proceed with extremitie, conquer, fortifie, and plant in soiles most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subiection and to civilitie.

21 The knowen abundance of Fresh fish in the rivers, and the knowen plentie of Fish on the sea coast there, may assure us of sufficient victuall in spight of the people, if we will use salt and industrie.

22 The knowen plentie and varietie of Flesh, of divers kinds of beasts at land there, may seeme to say to us, that we may cheaply victuall our navies to England for our returnes, which benefit every where is not found of merchants.

23 The practise of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portugals their lading of Spice: and heereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any commoditie of theirs without conquest, (which requireth some time) yet may we mainteine our first voyage thither, till our purpose come to effect, by the sea-fishing on the coasts there, and by dragging for pearles, which are said to be on those parts; and by returne of those commodities, the charges in part shall be defraied: which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

24 If this realme shall abound too too much with youth, in the mines there of Golde, (as that of Chisca and Saguenay) of Silver, Copper, Yron, &c. may be an imployment to the benefit of this realme; in tilling of the rich soile there for graine, and in planting of Vines there for Wine; or dressing of those Vines which grow there naturally in great abundance, Olives for Oile; Orenge trees, Limons, Figs and Almonds for fruit; Oad, Saffron, and Madder for Diers; Hoppes for Brewers; Hempe, Flaxe; and in many such other things, by imploiment of the soile, our people void of sufficient trades, may be honestly imploied, that els may become hurtfull at home.

25 The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many Mariners for service, and mainteine much navigation.

26 The number of raw Hides there of divers kindes of beasts, if we shall possesse some Island there, or settle on the firme, may presently imploy many of our idle people in divers severall dressings of the same, and so we may returne them to the people that can not dresse them so well; or into this realm, where the same are good merchandize; or to Flanders, &c. which present gaine at the first, raiseth great incouragement presently to the enterprise.

27 Since great waste Woods be there, of Oake, Cedar, Pine, Wall-nuts, and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of Ships, Hoies, Busses and Boats; and in making of Rozen, Pitch and Tarre, the trees naturall for the same, being certainly knowen to be neere Cape Briton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places there about.

28 If mines of white or gray marble, Jet, or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in the mines of the same, and in preparing the same to shape, and so shaped, they may be caried into this realm as good balast for our ships, and after serve for noble buildings.

29 Sugar-canes may be planted aswell as they are now in the South of Spaine, and besides the imploiment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper, and not enrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commodity.

30 The daily great increase of Woolles in Spaine, and the like in the West Indies, and the great imploiment of the same into Cloth in both places, may moove us to endeavour, for vent of our Cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions, where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

31 This land that we purpose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40 degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbone in Portugall doth, and in the more Southerly part as the most Southerly coast of Spaine doth,<sup>1</sup> may by our diligence yeeld unto

<sup>1</sup> About 36° N.

us besides Wines and Oiles and Sugars, Orenge, Limons, Figs, Resings, Almonds, Pomegranates, Rice, Raw-silks such as come from Granada, and divers commodities for Diers, as Anile and Cochenillio, and sundry other colours and materials. Moreover, we shall not onely receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shal in time finde ample vent of the labour of our poore people at home, by sale of Hats, Bonets, Knives, Fish-hooks, Copper kettles, Beads, Looking-glasses, Bugles, & a thousand kinds of other wrought wares, that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that countrey, to the great reliefe of the multitude of our poore people, and to the woonderfull enriching of this realme. And in time, such league & entercourse may arise betweene our Stapling seats there, and other ports of our Northern America, and of the Islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of, may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mightie enemies, and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1. \text{ To plant Christian religion.} \\ 2. \text{ To trafficke.} \\ 3. \text{ To conquer.} \end{array} \right.$	Or, to doe all three.
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To plant Christian religion without conquest, will bee hard. Trafficke easily followeth conquest: conquest is not easie. Trafficke without conquest seemeth possible, and not uneasie. What is to be done, is the question.

If the people be content to live naked, and to content themselves with few things of meere necessity, then trafficke is not. So then in vaine seemeth our voyage, unlesse this nature may be altered, as by conquest and other good meanes it may be, but not on a sudden. The like whereof appeared in the East Indies, upon the Portugals seating there.

If the people in the Inland be clothed, and desire to live in the abundance of all such things as Europe doth, and have at home all the same in plentie, yet we can not have trafficke with them, by meane they want not any thing that we can yeeld them.

Admit that they have desire to your commodities, and as yet have neither Golde, Silver, Copper, Iron, nor sufficient



quantitie of other present commoditie to mainteine the yeerely trade: What is then to be done?

The soile and climate first is to be considered, and you are with Argus eies to see what commoditie by industrie of man you are able to make it to yeeld, that England doth want or doth desire: as for the purpose, if you can make it to yeeld good Wine, or good Oile, as it is like you may by the climat, (where wilde Vines of sundry sorts doe naturally grow already in great abundance) then your trade may be maintained. But admit the soile were in our disposition (as yet it is not) in what time may this be brought about?

*Meanes to  
breed a  
speedie trade.*

For Wine this is to be affirmed, that first the soile lying in 36 or 37 degrees in the temperature of South Spaine, in setting your Vine-plants this yeere, you may have Wine within three yeeres. And it may be that the wilde Vines growing there already, by orderly pruning and dressing at your first arrivall, may come to profit in shorter time.

And planting your Olive trees this yeere, you may have Oile within three yeeres.

And if the sea shores be flat, and fit for receipt of salt water, and for Salt making, without any annoy of neere freshes, then the trade of Salt onely may mainteine a yeerely navigation (as our men now trade to the isle of Maio,<sup>1</sup> and the Hollanders to Terra Firma neere the West end of the isle of Margarita.)

But how the naturall people of the countrey may be made skilfull to plant Vines, and to know the use, or to set Olive trees, and to know the making of Oile, and withall to use both the trades, that is a matter of small consideration: but to conquer a countrey or province in climate & soile of Italie, Spaine, or the Islands from whence we receive our Wines & Oiles, and to man it, to plant it, and to keepe it, and to continue the making of Wines and Oiles able to serve England, were a matter of great importance both in respect of the saving at home of our great treasure now yeerely going away, and in respect of the annoyance thereby growing to our enemies. The like consideration would be had, touching a place for the making of Salt, of temperature like those of France, not too too colde, as the Salts of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Cape Verde Is.

*A gentle  
course best to  
be held.*

Northern regions be; nor too too firy, as those be that be made more Southerly than France. In regard whereof, many circumstances are to be considered; and principally, by what meane the people of those parties may be drawn by all courtesie into love with our nation; that we become not hatefull unto them, as the Spaniard is in Italie and in the West Indies, and elsewhere, by their maner of usage: for a gentle course without crueltie and tyrannie best answereth the profession of a Christian, best planteth Christian religion; maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firme and stable, and least subiect to remoove by practise of enemies. But that we may in seating there, not be subiect wholly to the malice of enemies, and may be more able to preserve our bodies, ships, and goods in more safetie, and to be knowen to be more able to scourge the people there, civill or savage, than willing to offer any violence. And for the more quiet exercise of our manurance<sup>1</sup> of the soiles where we shall seat, and of our manuall occupations, it is to be wished that some ancient captaines of milde disposition and great iudgement be sent thither with men most skilfull in the arte of fortification; and that direction be taken that the mouthes of great rivers, and the Islands in the same (as things of great moment) be taken, manned, and fortified; and that havens be cut out for safetie of the Navie, that we may be lords of the gates and entries, to goe out and come in at pleasure, and to lie in safetie, and be able to command and to controule all within, and to force all forren navigation to lie out in open rode subiect to all weathers, to be dispersed by tempests and flawes,<sup>2</sup> if the force within be not able to give them the encounter abroad.

1 The Red Muscadell grape, that bishop Grindall procured out of Germanie; the great White Muscadell; the Yellow grape: the cuts<sup>3</sup> of these were woont yeerely to be set at Fulham; and after one yeeres rooting to be given by the bishop, and to be sold by his gardener. These presently provided, and placed in earth, and many of these so rooted, with store of cuts unrooted besides, placed in tubbes of earth shipped at the next voyage, to be

<sup>1</sup> Tillage.

<sup>2</sup> Sudden gusts.

<sup>3</sup> Cuttings. Grindal lived at Fulham Palace until 1570. His famous grapes proved an acceptable gift to the Queen and to Cecil.

planted in Virginia, may begin Vineyards, and bring Wines out of hand.

2 Provision great of wilde Olive trees may be made out of this citie<sup>1</sup> so then to be caried, to encrease great store of stocks to graffe the best Olive on: and Virginia standing in the same degree that The Shroffe<sup>2</sup> the Olive place doth in Spaine, we may win that merchandise, grafting the wilde.

3 Sugar-canes, if you can not procure them from the Spanish Islands, yet may you by your Barberie merchants procure them.<sup>3</sup>

4 There is an herbe in Persia, whereof Anile is made, and it is also in Barbarie: to procure that by seed or root, were of importance for a trade of merchandise for our clothing countrey.

5 Oad by the seeds you may have; for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied: and having soile and labor in Virginia cheape, and the Oad in great value, lying in small roome, it will be a trade of great gaine to this clothing realme: and the thing can not be destroyed by Salvages. The roots of this you may have in plenty and number comming in the trade: so this may grow in trade within a yeere ready for the merchant.

6 Figge trees of many good kinds may be had hence in barrell, if now presently they be provided; and they in that climat will yeeld noble fruit, and feed your people presently, and will be brought in frailes<sup>4</sup> home as merchandise, or in barrell, as Resings also may be.

7 Sawed boords of Sassafras and Cedar, to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlewomen, would become a present trade.

8 To the infinite naturall increase of Hogs, to adde a device how the same may be fed by roots, acornes, &c. without spoiling your corne, would be of great effect to feed the multitude continually imployed in labour: and the same cheaply bred and salted, and barrelled there and brought home, will be well solde for a good merchandise; and the barrels after, will serve for our home Herring-fishing; and so you sell your woods and the labour of your cooper.

<sup>1</sup> London.

<sup>3</sup> From South Morocco.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Arabic *Sharef*.

<sup>4</sup> Rush baskets.

9 Receiving the salvage women and their children of both sexes by courtesie into your protection, and imploying the English women and the others in making of Linnen, you shall raise a woonderfull trade of benefit, both to carie into England and also into the Islands, and into the maine of the West Indies, victuall and labour being so cheape there.

10 The trade of making cables and cordage there, will be of great importance, in respect of a cheape maintenance of the Navie that shall passe to and fro; and in respect of such Navie as may in those parties be used for the venting of the commodities of England to be brought thither. And Powldavies,<sup>1</sup> &c. made for sailes of the poore Salvages, yeeld to the Navie a great helpe, and a great gaine in the trafficke.

But if seeking revenge on every iniurie of the Salvages we seeke blood & raise war, our Vines, our Olives, our Figge trees, our Sugar-canes, our Orenge and Limons, Corne, Cattell, &c. will be destroyed, and trade of merchandise in all things overthrown; and so the English nation there planted and to be planted, shalbe rooted out with sword and hunger.

Sorts of men which are to be passed in this voyage

- 1 Men skilfull in all Minerall causes.
- 2 Men skilfull in all kinde of drugges.
- 3 Fishermen, to consider of the sea fishings there on the coasts, to be reduced to trade hereafter: and others for the fresh water fishings.
- 4 Salt-makers, to view the coast, and to make triall how rich the sea-water there is, to advise for the trade.
- 5 Husbandmen, to view the soile, to resolve for tillage in all sorts.
- 6 Vineyard-men bred, to see how the soile may serve for the planting of Vines.
- 7 Men bred in the Shroffe in South Spaine, for discerning how Olive trees may be planted there.
- 8 Others, for planting of Orenge trees, Figge trees, Limon trees, and Almond trees; for iudging how the soile may serve for the same.

<sup>1</sup> Coarse canvas normally imported from Brittany.

9 Gardeners, to proove the severall soiles of the Islands, and of our setling places, to see how the same may serve for all herbs and roots for our victualling; since by rough seas sometimes we may want fish, and since we may want flesh to victuall us, by the malice of the naturall people there: and gardeners for planting of our common trees of fruit, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, Peaches, Medlers, Apricoes, Quinces for conserves, &c.

10 Lime-makers, to make lime for buildings.

11 Masons, Carpenters, &c. for buildings there.

12 Bricke-makers and Tile-makers.

13 Men cunning in the art of fortification, that may chuse out places strong by nature to be fortified, and that can plot out and direct workemen.

14 Choise Spade-men, to trench cunningly, and to raise bulwarks and rampiers of earth for defence and offence.

15 Spade-makers, that may, out of the Woods there, make spades like those of Devonshire, and of other sorts, and shovels from time to time for common use.

16 Smithes, to forge the yrons of the shovels and spades, and to make blacke billes and other weapons, and to mend many things.

17 Men that use to breake Ash trees for pike-staves, to be imploied in the Woods there.

18 Others, that finish up the same so rough hewd, such as in London are to be had.

19 Coopers, to make caske of all sorts.

20 Forgers of pikes heads and of arrow heads, with forges, with Spanish yron, and with all maner of tooles to be caried with them.

21 Fletchers, to renew arrowes, since archerie prevaieth much against unarmed people: and gunpowder may soone perish, by setting on fire.

22 Bowyers also, to make bowes there for need.

23 Makers of oares, since for service upon those rivers it is to great purpose, for the boats and barges they are to passe and enter with.

24 Shipwrights, to make barges and boats, and bigger vessels, if need be, to run along the coast, and to pierce the great Bayes and Inlets.

25 Turners, to turne targets of Elme and tough wood, for use against the darts and arrowes of Salvages.

26 Such also as have knowledge to make targets of horne.

27 Such also as can make armor of hides upon moulds, such as were wont to be made in this realme about an hundred yeeres since, and were called Scottish jacks: such armor is light and defensive enough against the force of Salvages.

28 Tanners, to tanne hides of Buffes, Oxen, &c. in the Isles where you shall plant.

29 White Tawyers<sup>1</sup> of all other skinnes there.

30 Men skilfull in burning of Sope ashes, and in making of Pitch, and Tarre, and Rozen, to be fetched out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages, being there in maner of slaves.

The severall sorts of trees, as Pines, Firres, Spruses, Birch and others, are to be boared with great augers a foot or halfe a yard above the ground, as they use in Vesely<sup>2</sup> towards Languedock and neere Bayona in Gascoigne: and so you shall easily and quickly see what Gummes, Rozen, Turpentine, Tarre, or liquor is in them, which will quickly distill out cleerely without any filthie mixture, and will shew what commoditie may be made of them: their goodnesse and greatnesse for masts is also to be considered.

31 A skilfull painter is also to be caried with you,<sup>3</sup> which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, townes, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Workmen who prepare white leather.

<sup>2</sup> Vézelay, (Yonne).

<sup>3</sup> John White went out for this purpose.

## Document 48

### PAMPHLET FOR THE VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE ASCRIBED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, lawyer

Inducements to the lykinge of the voyadge intended to that p<sup>te</sup> of America w<sup>ch</sup> lyethe betwene 34. and 36. degree of Septentrionall Latytude.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Countrey wherunto we dyrecte our voyadge lyinge as aforesaid conteynethe the Clymates of Barbary, Spayne, Portingale, ffraunce, Germany, Englande, Danske, Norway and Moscovia.

2. And we maye make our voyadge to and from thence in three monethes and soe make 2. or 3. retournes yearlie, a matter in trade of greate moment.

3. The Soyle is moste exelente and fruitfull garnished w<sup>th</sup> woodes of dyvers sortes of trees w<sup>th</sup> many lardge and deepe Ryvers replenished w<sup>th</sup> great plentye of Beastes, fowle, fyshe, fruites, and mynes of dyvars kyndes, and all other Comodyties for the lyef of men.

4. The people be well proportunityed in there Lymbes, well favored, gentle, of a mylde and tractable disposition, apte to submytte them selves to good government, and ready to imbrace the christian faythe.

5. By inhabytinge of Countreyes w<sup>th</sup> Englishe people dyvers Comodyties will ensue: as:

ffirste the glorie of god by plantinge of christian Religion among the Gentilles there.

Item the enlarged domynions, power, Revenewes, and honnor of the Quenes moste exelent mat<sup>ie</sup> her heires and successo<sup>rs</sup>.

Item the increase of Shippinge and mariners and the mayntenance of much navigacion w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of the Realme.

<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet printed in 1602 (Doc. 47) refers in the title to lats. 40°-42°, but in the text lats. 36°, 37° and 40° are mentioned: perhaps the title was adapted to fit Brereton's purpose, which was to deal with North Virginia, the former Norumbega.

Item the poore and Idle persons w<sup>ch</sup> nowe are ether burdenson or hurtefull to this Realme at home maye hereby become profytable members by ymployinge them ether at hōme. viz.

Item ymployinge them in those Countreyes in mynes of goulde, sylver, copper etc.

In dregginge of Pearle etc.

In plantinge of sugar canes in the moste southerlie partes.

In mayntenance and increasinge of silke wormes for sylke and dressinge of the same.

In gatheringe of Cotten whereof there is great store.

In Tyllinge of the Soyle there for grayne etc.

In plantinge of Vynes for wyne.

Ollives for oyle.

Trees for orrenge, leomandes, Almondes, fygge and other fruictes.

In sowinge oade and madder for dyvers [dyers].

Hempe and flaxe for Clothes Cordage etc.

In dressinge of rawe hydes of dyvers kindes of Beastes.

In makinge of Salte as in Rochell or Bayion.

In killinge the whale, wherpole, seale, and porpose etc. for Trayne oyle.

ffyshinge saltinge and dryinge Lynge Codd Salmon etc.

In makinge of Ropes and other Cordages.

In makinge and gatheringe Honye, waxe, Pitche, Tarre, Rosen, and Turpentyne.

In hewinge and shapinge of Stone as marble, gete, Christall, freestone etc. w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe good Balest for our Shippes homewardes and after serve for noble buildinges.

In felling of Timber, hewinge and sawinge the same for buildinge of howses and shippes etc.

In makinge of Caske owers and all other manner of staves.

In buildinge of Churches Townes fortes etc.

In powdringe and barellinge of fyshe and fowles w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe noble provyion for sea and lande.

In dryinge sortinge and packinge of feathers wherof there may be had great quantitie.

6. Soe as by reason of the varyable Climates in the saide Countreyes and excellent Soyle w<sup>th</sup> the industrye aforesaide we



may retorne from thence all the Comodyties w<sup>ch</sup> we nowe receave from Barbarye, Spayne, Portugale, Italy, Danske, Norway and Muscovia better cheape than nowe we have them and not inrytche our doubtfull frendes and infydelles as nowe by our ordynary trade we doe.

7. Our ladinge and unladyng there wilbe boathe easye and cheape, by reson the Ryvars be soe deepe.

8. The passage to and froe is nether by the Coaste of ffrance, nor throughe the streight of Juberaltar, nor by the Streight of Denmarke. Soe as we shall not be in daunger of the frenche-man, nor the Spanyarde, nor Turke, nor of any State of Italye, nor of the kinge of Denmarke, nor any other Prince or Potentate in the northe nor in the northe Easte partes of the worlde.

9. In this voyadge we are not to pass the burnt lyne nor to passe the frozen Seas but in a temperate Clymate at all tymes of the yeare, and yt requireth not as longe voyadges doethe the takinge in of water in dyvers places by reson yt maye be sayled in v or vi weekes, whereby the merchaunt maye make yearly 2. or 3. retournes.

10. In this trade by the waye in passage to and froe, we have in Tempestes and other happes all the portes of Ireland to our ayde and noe nearer Coaste of any Enimye.

11. By this ordynary trade we may enjoye [annoye] the Enimyres to Ireland and succoure the Queenes Ma<sup>tes</sup> frendes there and in shoarte tyme we maye from these Coastes yealde them whatsoever Comodyties they nowe receave from Spayne, and so the Spanyard shall wante the ordynary victualles that they receave yearlie from thence wherby they cannot con-tynewe trade nor fall so aptly to practize against this government as nowe by there trade thither they maye and doe.

12. In tradinge to those Countreyes we shall not neade (for to feare the Spanishe Inquisition) to throwe out our Bibles and prayer bookes into the Seas before arryvall nor yet take suche horrible othes offred by the Spanishe searchers to such daylie wilfull and highe offence of the Almightye as daylye we doe in followinge our Trades into Spayne.

13. In this voyadge having settled our factorye in some convenient place fortyfied by nature or arte, our Shippes men

and goodes shall not be subjecte to the daunger of our Auncyent Enemyes or doubtfull frendes as in other forren places of usuall trade they have bynne and yet are, in w<sup>ch</sup> respecte we shalbe in more safetye and quiett then before.

14. Yf our nacion doe not make any Conqueste there but onlye use trafique and chaunge of Comodyties by meane<sup>r</sup> the Countrye is not so mightie a nacion as ether ffraunce or Spayne, they shall not dare to offer us any anoye but suche as we maye easylie revenge w<sup>th</sup> sufficient Chastisement to the unarmed people there.

15. Yf they will not suffer us to have any Comodyties of theres w<sup>thout</sup> Conqueste w<sup>ch</sup> doethe require long tyme, yet maye we maynteyn our firste voyadges by the Sea fysHING on the Coastes there, and by retorne of that Comodyties the Chardges shalbe defrayed w<sup>ch</sup> is a matter of consyderacion in enterprises of Chardge.

16. Yf we fynde any kinges readye to defende their Tirratories by warre and the Countrye populous desieringe to expell us that seeke but juste and lawfull Traffique, then by reason the Ryvers be lardge and deepe and we lordes of navigacion, and they w<sup>thout</sup> shippinge, we armed and they naked, and at continuall warres one w<sup>th</sup> another, we maye by the ayde of those Ryvars joyne w<sup>th</sup> this kinge here or w<sup>th</sup> that kinge there at our pleasure and soe w<sup>th</sup> a fewe men be revenged of any wronge offered by them and consequentlie maye yf we will conquere fortifye and plante in soyles moste sweete, most pleasaunte, moste fertill and strounge. And in the ende to bringe them all in subjection or scyvillitie for yt is well knowen they have bynne contented to submytte them selves and all that w<sup>ch</sup> they possesse to suche as hathe defended them againste there Enemyes speciallie againste the caniballes.

17. ffrom the northe partes of these Countreyes there is great hope to sayle into the Southe Sea, whereby unspeakable honnor and benyfitt maye aryse by the trades to ensue aswell in Caytaia the Islandes of Malucos and other landes and Islandes in thother Hemispherie for Spice, drugges, goulde, sylver, pearle, pretious stones and other ritche marchaundizes for the

<sup>r</sup> Because.

weh we maye have large and ample vente not only of our wolleyn Clothes of Englande but also of the labor of our poore people at home by sale of Hattes, Cappes, and a thousande kynde of other wrought ware that in tyme may be brought in use amounge the people of those Countreyes to the great relief of the multitude of our pore people, and to the wounderfull inrytching of this Realme, and in tyme such league and entercourse maye aryse, betwene our Staplynge Seate there and all the portes of Amerycā that incredible thinges may followe tendinge to the ympeachment of our myghtye Enimyēs and to the comon good of all the Domynions of this noble government.

18. And to conclude by reason of the great increase of wolles in Spayne the like in the weste Indyēs and the great ymployment of the same into Cloathe in both those places w<sup>th</sup> the great decaye of our usuall Trades in all places in Europe at this tyme, And the wounderfull increase of our people here in Englande and a great number of them voyde of any good trade or ymployement to gete their lyvinge maye be a sufficient cause to move not onlye the marchaunts and Clothiers but alsoe all other sortes and degrees of our nacion to seeke newe discovereyes of peopled regions for vente of our Idle people, otherwyse in shourte tyme many mischeifs maye ensue.

## Document 49

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1585

To the right honourable SR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, principal secretarie to her Mat<sup>tie</sup>, give these at the Courte.

Your Honors goodnes extended diverse ways unto mee at my being in England the last somer,<sup>1</sup> doth much encourage mee at this present to crave yo<sup>r</sup> favour in a matter more then reasonable.

Yt plesed her Mat<sup>tie</sup> twoe dayes before my despach, upon the sight of a couple of bookes of myne in writing, one in Latin upon

Arystotles politicks,<sup>1</sup> the other in English concerning Mr Rawleys voyage<sup>2</sup> (the copie whereof I purpose to send yor honor immediately after Ester) to grant mee the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol, w<sup>ch</sup> is a thinge of very smal vallue. The words of my grant are, that I shold enjoy yt next, whether yt be by death, vacation, resignation, or any other waye howsoever. And yet since my cominge out of England I am advertized that one Mr Sanders, a prebend of that place, ether hath or meaneth to resigne his roome to another, w<sup>ch</sup> if yt be not hindered by yo<sup>r</sup> honors favour, my reversion wil not be worth the mony that the seales did stand mee in, for if these resignations be permitted, I may bee these sevene and sevene yeares before I shal be placed. Therefore I am humbly to beseech yo<sup>r</sup> honor that you wold not suffer my graunte to be frustrated by any such dealing.

How careful I have bin to advertise S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawley from tyme to tyme, and to send him discourses both in printe and written hand, concerning his voyage, I had rather you shold understand of him than of myselfe. I was loath to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> honor wth these my matters, consideringe the business of the tymes. And to medle in other matters that appertayne not unto mee without commission, I cold not tell howe yt wold have bin taken. Notwithstanding, since these new Grisons tumults, I have bin more vigilant and careful to seeke how thinges goe than heretofore, and what I can lerne amonge them of the religion, I alwayes bring unto my lord, w<sup>ch</sup> can judge of reportes and advertise you of the truth.

One thinge I note, that the Spanish ambassadour, the Popes nuncio and the Jesuits, if any thing fal out in any parte of Christendome on ther side, they blase yt abroad by their swarmes of spies to the uttermoste in every corner. And if matter fayle them, they cease not every second day to coyne newe rumors and false bruits, w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding they be most untrue and vague, yet I find by experience that they worke very great and strange affects. On the other side, if any thinge fal out against them, they seeke a thousand devises and shiftes to suppress y<sup>t</sup>, as they covered cunningly a good while their overthrow in Februarie last among the Grisons: and nowe of late

<sup>1</sup> Document 41.

<sup>2</sup> Document 46.

with terrible othes they deny theyr defeyt upon the river of Antwerpe: w<sup>ch</sup> we cannot urge soe far forth as we wold, unless we had certayne advertisement thereof out of England.

Notwithstanding, I have bin advertised by men of good intelligence that whereas the Prince of Parma had purposed to have ayded Guise<sup>1</sup> with 1500 footmen and three hundred Albaneses horsemen, upon these newe accidents at Ostend and on the river he hath been constrayned to send a countermaunde to stay them at home: w<sup>ch</sup> matter of Andwerpe, if yt be wel followed, wil frustrate Guise of his forces that he hoped for out of the Lowe Countreys, and constrayne him and his faction to surcease his troubling of them of the religion, and to growe more willingly to composition with the King.

It was told mee in secret that the King had sent by Marseilles a messenger to Constantinople within less than this month, yo<sup>r</sup> honor may gesse why. Wee heere that heere is looked for shortly a legate from Rome.

I wold have sent yo<sup>r</sup> honor diverse Pamphlets, both in writing and printed, but that I knowe Mr Wade<sup>2</sup> hath them al for yo<sup>r</sup> Honor. Therefore for the present I surcease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse and prosper yo<sup>r</sup>. Paris the 7th of April, 85.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors humble to command

*Richard Hakluyt*

The rumor of Sir Walter Rawles fleete, and especially the preparation of Sir Francis Drakes,<sup>3</sup> doth soe much vexes the Spaniard and his fautors<sup>4</sup> as nothing can doe more: and therefore I could wysh that although Sir Frances Drakes journey be stayd, yet the rumor of his setting forth might be continued. They have sent some to enquire of that action in cunning manner of my lord himself, as he told me.

They have given out here within these three dayes, even in the French Courte, that divers my Lords in England were up in armes, and the catholicks with them, and that they have taken an Iland, yea, Curtis, yo<sup>r</sup> man, was diverse tymes demanded thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Head of the Catholic League.

<sup>2</sup> William Wade, son of Armigil Wade, who went to the New World with Richard Hore in 1536.

<sup>3</sup> Destined for a raid on the Indies.

<sup>4</sup> Partisans.

## Document 50

### NOTE FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO A GENTLEMAN, 1585

These xx several Tytles are the heades of the chapters conteyned in the booke of Sir Wal: Reighleyes viage to the west Indes, w<sup>ch</sup> bycause of the rarenes of matter therein conteined, and also for that fewe or none (her ma<sup>tie</sup> excepte) hath seene, I thought it best to offer yo<sup>r</sup> worship my labor therein, as one who best deservth the same: and therefore have sent yo<sup>r</sup> the Tytles to know whether yo<sup>r</sup> like of ye same or noe.

This bearer and auctor of ye foresaid woorke, Mr. Hacklyuit, doth at this instant present the booke, written all w<sup>t</sup> my hand, to Mr secretary, who hath very earnestly often tymes wrytt for yt, and so hath ye Erle of Leycester. But as yet this is the first excription, and yf youre worship plees you shall have the second, when I shall understand so.<sup>1</sup>

## Document 51

### LETTER FROM RALPH LANE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1585

An extract of M. LANES letter, to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT Esquire, and another gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

In the meane while you shall understand that since Sir Rich. Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soile under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and

<sup>1</sup> The wording of this note is obscure, but it would appear that Hakluyt dispatched it (with the chapter headings) to the unknown, so as to reach him while he himself was taking the complete work to Walsingham. It may have been hastily dictated to the actual messenger, who would then be identical with the copyist who prepared the manuscript for Walsingham. But the 'I' of the last phrase must be Hakluyt himself, and the confusion between the first and third persons may merely be due to carelessness.

most pleasant gummess, grapes of such greatnes, yet wild, as France, Spaine nor Italy hath no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here a Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread, 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also *Terra Samia*, otherwise *Terra sigillata*. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territorie of the world (for the soile is of an huge and unknown greatnesse, and very wel peopled and towned, though savagelie) and the climate so wholesome, that we have not had not one sicke, since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but Horses and Kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this alreadie we find, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East parts doe yeeld unto us in wines of all sortes, in oiles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, currans, sugers, and such like, these parts do abound with ye growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like wel of, but copper caryeth ye price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and master H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me most hartily to you both, I commit you to ye tuition of the Almightye. From the new Fort in Virginia, this 3. September, 1585.<sup>1</sup>

Your most assured friend *Rafe Lane*.

<sup>1</sup> Within a year the Colonists were on their way home.

## Document 52

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1585

Then coasting along the shore of Florida, they [Drake and his men] seized two Towns, S. Antonies and S. Hellenes, both of them abandoned by the Spanish garrisons, and burnt them. Lastly, sayling along by a wasted coast, they found certaine Englishmen, which had seated themselves in Virginia, so named in honour of Queen Elizabeth, a Virgin, whom Sir Walter Rayley, a man in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, had sent thither of late for a Colony, in a most commendable desire to discover farre countries, and to advance the glory of England for navigation. Lane & those which were carried thither, being in great penury and out of all hope of victualls out of England, & greatly weakened in their number, with one voyce besought Drake that he would carry them back againe into ther owne country, which hee willingly did.

And these men which were brought back, were the first that I know of, which brought into England that Indian plant, which they call Tobacco, & Nicotia, and use it against the crudities, being taught by the Indians.<sup>1</sup> . . . Whilst these things were done in America under the burning Zone, John Davis with two ships set forward at the charges of Wm. Sanderson (one that hath deserved well of the Geographical studies by setting forth Globes)<sup>2</sup> and other Londoners, searched for a passage by the Frozen Zone, by the upper part of America to East India.

<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect, see *supra*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Made by Emery Molyneux.



## Document 53

VERSE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1586<sup>1</sup>

*In laudem eorum qui novas orbis partes detexerunt.*

Sinarum tractus gens Lusitana subegit,  
Et Mexicanos fortis Iberus agros:  
Olim magnanimis concessit Florida Gallis:  
VIRGINIA et sceptro nuper, Elisa, tuo.  
Lusitana suum celebrat gens inclita Gamam:  
Terra que Cortesium jactat Ibero suum.  
Dat Laudonnerio palmam fortique Ribalto  
Gallia, nos primas clare Raleghe tibi.

Richardus Hakluit Anglus.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the French edition of Laudonnière. Translation:

*In praise of those who have discovered new parts of the world.*

The Portuguese subdued the tracts of China  
And the stout Spaniard the fields of Mexico:  
Florida once yielded to the noble French:  
VIRGINIA now to thy sceptre, Elizabeth!  
The illustrious race of Portugal celebrates its Gama,  
And the land of Spain boasts its Cortes,  
France gives the palm to Laudonnière and brave Ribault,  
But we, noble Ralegh, assign first place to thee.

Richard Hakluyt, Englishman.

## Document 54

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH BY MARTIN BASANIER, 1586

A ILLUSTRE ET VERTUEUX SEIGNEUR WALTER RALEGH, Chevalier Anglois, Seneschal des Duchez de Cornuall & d'Exon, Gouverneur & Capitaine des Chasteaux & Seigneuries d'icelles pour la serenissime maiesté de la Royne d'Angleterre, grand maistre & surintendât des mines d'estain par les provinces de Cornuall' & d'Exon.

Monseigneur, l'histoire estât cōme un miroir, par le moyē duquel nous formons nos actiōs au moule des vertus de ceux qui nous y sont representez: & lisant les gestes des hommes, n'est autre chose que de hanter & frequenter avec eux, pour profiter en leur compaignie & continuelle conversation: si bien que les historiens sont merueilleusement bien venuz & receuz chez ceux qui font profession de la vertu. C'est pourquoy ayant ouy si haut & iusques icy entonner les belles & louables vertus qui vous assistent, & la naturelle inclination qu'avez eüe & continuez avoir à l'art de navigation, que ie puis dire à bon droict exceller les autres, tant pour le bien & profit qui en revient au public, que pour la grande communication qu'il reçoit de ses belles sciences mathematiques, recognees entre toutes les humaines, participer de divinité, & retenues au premier degré de certitude, par lesquelles aussi nous parvenons à la cognoissance des plus beaux & plus profonds secrets de la nature des choses: i'ay pensé faire un deu & tres-bon office à la memoire du Capitaine Laudonniere, & à vous (Monseigneur) service agreable, si vous presentant l'histoire de ses navigations ie le faisois, comme nouveau domestique de vostre maison, revivre en ce monde inferieur, & converser familièrement avec vous, lequel vous recevrez, s'il vous plaist, comme un pilote que ie vous ameine, duquel ie m'asseure que la frequentation vous donnera non seulement plaisir & contentement, mais vous rendra

d'autant plus ardent & affectionné à continuer les beaux & genereux exercices, qui desia vous ont acquis un triomphe d'honneur & gloire incomparable: en ce mesmement que n'y avez esparagné ny vos grands biens ny vostre personne mesme, ny autre chose qui puisse depēdre de l'homme qui fait profession d'honneur & de vertu, ayant en ce suivy le vray sentier tramé par nos ancestres, quand ils ont desiré proffiter à leurs republiques, immortaliser leurs noms, & en fin parvenir à la gloire de Dieu, qui sont trois poincts principaux, auxquels l'homme d'honneur & de vertu doit infalliblement aspirer: en quoy par une ferme & louable constance perseuezerez iournellement avec augmentation d'honneur & proffit à vostre nation. Tesmoins en sont de fresche & recente memoire les deux voyages faits depuis deux ans<sup>1</sup> en ça par vos vaisseaux, vers les parties occidentales, où vous & aucuns de vos amys n'avez moins employé de soixante mil' escus: tellement que selon le rapport de personnes signalez & dignes de foy, y avez de rechef descouvert quelques Isles & terre continente entre la Floride & le Cap Breton, nommee à present (à l'honneur de vostre tres-vertueuse & serenissime Royne) Virginea, où le Seigneur Greenvill' a estably vostre colonie, exercice certainement beaucoup louable & non moins profitable à une republique. Par ainsi (Monseigneur) ayant tousjours esté curieux recueillir les histoires des navigations modernes, le plus fidelement & sincerement qu'il m'a esté possible, & icelles faire recognoistre par ceux mesme qui y avoient commandé, ou à faute d'eux, à ceux qui y avoient assisté, & apres les verifier és poincts dependans des Mathematiques, par lesquelles elles se peuvent & doivent certainement confirmer, en fin ceste histoire passee par la mesme pierre de touche, & conferee avec la semblable, qui est entre mes mains, toutesfois descrite par un autre grād Pilote François, en laquelle il a diligēment observé les latitudes des lieux & profonditez des havres & rivieres le long de la coste (l'edition de laquelle je difere à autre occasion :) & estant la presente aussi bien & deuement descrite, qu'il s'en puisse ou doive desirer de la bouche d'un Capitaine de marine, duquel il ne faut esperer une langue si diserte ou telle profundité de doctrine qui seroit requise en la description de l'histoire de navigation:

<sup>1</sup> In 1584 and 1585.

estant neantmoins supprimee & esteinte ia par l'espace de vingt ans ou environ, ie l'ay tiree avec la diligence de Monsieur Hakluit, homme certainement bien versé en l'histoire géographique & ayant bonne part en la diversité des langues & sciences, comme du tombeau, où elle avoit ia si long temps inutile reposé, pour la mettre où il m'a semblé par la frequente lecture d'icelle qu'elle se demandoit. Ainsi qu'il appert par les trois nauigatiōs y cōtenues, & principalement par la seconde, où l'on cognoist nos François avoir autāt receu d'humanité & courtoisie des vostres, que d'affliction d'autres, & specialement d'un general Anglois, nommé le seigneur Hawkins, qui lors vint surgir en la coste de ladite Floride, & terrir au fleuve de May, où estoit nostre fort & colonie, duquel les humanitez & courtoisies dont il usa envers nos François, ne le peuvent certainement declarer autre qu'homme d'honneur & de vertu. C'est pourquoy (Monseigneur) apres avoir ainsi fidellement recueilly ladite histoire, sans y avoir diminué, adjousté, ou innové, en quelque sorte que ce soit (suyvant le devoir du vray hystoriographe) & mesmement laissé le mesme François avec sa nue nayfveté, sans le farder ou desguiser en aucune sorte, sinon apostiler en marge, & mettre en la fin un ordre succinct des choses plus notables, je l'ay bien voulu mettre ainsi candidement en lumiere, en faveur de vous, pour la vous dedier, comme à celui qui est tres-digne d'icelle, voire de plus grand chose, ensemble le vœu que ie fais vous faire tres-humble service, que recevrez s'il vous plaist d'aussi bonne volonté que je prie Dieu.

Monseigneur, vous donner par sa sainte grace tres-longue & tres-heureuse vie. De Paris ce premier jour de Mars, 1586.

Vostre tres-humble serviteur

*M. Basanier*

## Document 55

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR W. RALEGH, 1586

To the right worshipful and worthy knyght S<sup>r</sup> WALTER RALEGH  
give these with speede. At the Cowrte or at Durham house.

Sr, Yo<sup>r</sup> parliament at home beinge ended, I thinke you are nowe  
at more leasure to heere what passeth abroade in these parts.

Yt is certayne, and yt may bee you knowe yt alreadie that the  
Queene mother and the kinge of navarre have spoken together at  
Cognac within a dosen leages of Rochel. She told hym that he  
shold have any thinge he cold desire savinge the free exercise of  
the relligion, w<sup>ch</sup> the kinge of france her sonne in noe wise wold  
yeld unto: whereuppon for al that she cold doe to retayn hym he  
departed in a greate choler after that he had signified unto her  
that as long as he and his frendes lived they wold never remitte  
any jotte of their former libertie which they had before the  
revocation thereof by the last edicte. The wiser sort thinke there  
wilbe noe peace until the Germanes come into ffrance, w<sup>ch</sup> in my  
judgment wil not be until July or August.

Roncroix is rendred as I ever thought. But the condition was  
more honest then I feared yt wold be, for they were licensed to  
departe and had a piece of money. The kinge wrote to place one  
governour in yt, and the Duke of Guise strake hym out and put  
in another at his owne pleasure: where in he hath braved hym  
most shamefully. He hath written to his officers to sel al that he  
hath in and aboute Paris: w<sup>ch</sup> giveth occasion to many men to  
muse what he shold meane by yt. Nowe that Roncroix is  
rendred there is a brute that he wil set uppon the Duke of  
Bouillon and besiege Sedan on the one side and the Duke of  
Parma wth his fresh forces and the bishoppe of liege on the  
other side, w<sup>ch</sup> if they shold doe the poore yonge duke were  
undon without the present succours of Lowe Almagne, or by  
our effectual stirring in Holland to cal backe the Spanish forces.  
The Duke de mayne havinge gotten pay of the kinge and licensed

the ragged remnant of the Suisses and reysters to departe home, is come out of Gascoigne hither.

Duke Joyeuse the admiral is likewise here arrived: and both of them were present on this newe yeres day at the election of their newe knights, w<sup>ch</sup> were but fower, by reason that al the other roomes were filled the yere before. At these solemnities the Duke de Mayne twice intruded hymselfe in dancinge before the Duke de Longeville, whereuppon there is like to growe some quarel as some thinke.

Eight cardinals are newly created by the Pope, one french, whose name is monsur lenoncourte, the rest are al except one Italiens.

Madame Conestable the mother of mareshal Montmorencie and wife of the old constable w<sup>ch</sup> was slayne at the Battayle of St. Denis is now dead indeed, and her goods are given in keeping to Madame l'Angolesme, the kings base sister.

Duke de Mercured [Mercoeur] the governour of Bretaine and the cardinal of Voydement his brother are here at court. By the consent of the nobilitie and the parliament of Paris the king rayseth at this instant very greavous and general impositions uppon wyne, flesh, corne, w<sup>th</sup> lynyen cloth, sylkes and diverse other marchandise. He borroweth of certayne Italien rich bankers and others twelve hundred thousand crownes, w<sup>ch</sup> with the interest is to be payd uppon these newe taigles.<sup>1</sup> Some that knowe the state of thinges say that this somme will doe noe more but paye that w<sup>ch</sup> is yet owing for the warres newly past. The king wold have had the Prince of Condie give over his government of Picardie to his youngest brother the Comte of Suessons, w<sup>ch</sup> he refuseth.

Monsur Cornuchon the Seneshal of Tholouse, a great soldier and a man of high authoritie in that stronge citie is newly dead by sicknes, and likewise la valette flores the colonel of their footemen. Montmorencie not omitting this opportunitie hath taken a strong litle towne w<sup>th</sup>in three or fower leages of Tholouse called La Bastide.

Yor unhappie Pedro de Sarminto is taken by the protestants wthin fower postes of the frontiers of Spayne.<sup>2</sup> The name of the

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *tailles* = subsidies.

<sup>2</sup> Liberated by Raleigh's influence from captivity in England.

place as yet I cannot perfectly lerne. His ransome is rated at ten thousand crownes. I ascribe this his seconde misfortune to the juste plage of God for his ingratitude to my lord admiral and yo<sup>r</sup> self the authors of his undeserved libertie. There was a packet founde aboute hym contayninge great tresons of Peter Sibures<sup>1</sup> agaynst England.

I heare nothinge from yo<sup>w</sup> of the acceptation of my dedication of that noble historie of the eight decades of Peter Martyr, w<sup>ch</sup> wil cost mee fortie french crownes, and five monethes travayle w<sup>th</sup> that w<sup>ch</sup> is to come before yt be finished, w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe aboute the beginninge of march. Yf her majestie have of late advanced yo<sup>r</sup>, I wold be gladde to be acquaynted wth yo<sup>r</sup> title, and if there be any thinge else that yo<sup>w</sup> wold have mentioned in the epistle dedicatorie, yo<sup>w</sup> shal doe wel to let mee understand of yt betymes.<sup>2</sup>

Yor mappe answerable unto the Spanish voyage of Antonio de Espeio, uppon occasion of business unlooked for, hath bin hitherto differred by Andrewe Home, the Portingale, the prince of the Cosmographers of this age.<sup>3</sup> But w<sup>th</sup>in this moneth yo<sup>r</sup> shall not fayle of yt God willinge, and that in better sorte for the longer staying for yt.

Yf yo<sup>w</sup> proceed, w<sup>ch</sup> I longe much to knowe, in yo<sup>r</sup> enterprise of Virginia, yo<sup>r</sup> best planting wilbe aboute the bay of the Chesepians, to w<sup>ch</sup> latitude Peter Martyr, and franciscus lopez de Gomara the Spaniard confesse that our Cabot and the English did first discover: w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniards here after cannot deny us whensoever wee shalbe at Peace wth them. And yo<sup>r</sup> voyage of Antonie de Espeio bringeth yo<sup>w</sup> to rich sylver mynes up in the country in the latitude of 37½.<sup>4</sup>

Charles Chester,<sup>5</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> in al places speaketh al the good he can

<sup>1</sup> This was the Spanish agent who handled the matter of Drake's spoils.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph indicates the way in which Dedicatory Prefaces were employed for propaganda purposes. Hakluyt had been at work on the Decades since October 1586.

<sup>3</sup> André Homem, cartographer to the Court. There is no evidence that he drew the promised map, but at some time a 'secret map' of the interior of New Spain of date 1585 came into the possession of Raleigh's Virginian observer Thomas Hariot (cf. *infra*, p. 456, *Epistle Dedicatory* of 1599), and presumably first into Raleigh's own hands.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* in the latitude of Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Chester who had accompanied Sarmiento to Paris in November (*Cal. State Papers, Simancas*).

devise of you, sayth he is undone unlesse you helpe hym in his deed of guift for w<sup>ch</sup> he hath byn soe longe a sutor.

Yow shal doe very wel in my judgement to send for Mr. Charles Thynne nowe out of hand, who having alredie spent two yeres here hath gotten two languages, to witte the french and the Italian, and very proper knowledge in arithmeticke, geometrie and fortification: to w<sup>ch</sup> studies I was the man that earnestly persuaded hym in the beginninge of his coming hither; as one that sawe the excellencie of his witte, and the greate service that he might doe his countrie being therewithal furnished eyther in the enterprise of yo<sup>r</sup> Indies, or in any other place of warrelike service. But if yo<sup>w</sup> wil have hym home yo<sup>w</sup> must send hym that twentie pound yo<sup>w</sup> promised for the yong gentleman is in some litle debt. Thus desiring pardon for my boldnes wth my humble dutie to yor selfe and good Mr Stanhoppe I take my leve. Paris the 30th of December 1586. *R. H.*

## Document 56

EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH  
BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1587

ILLUSTRI ET MAGNANIMO VIRO, GUALTERO  
RALEGHO, Equiti Anglo, Cornubiæ & Exoniæ stannifodinarum,  
omniûmq; Regiæ maiestatis castellorum in iisdem prouinciis  
Præfecto Generali, S.D.

Ingenti laude dignos arbitror, Eques illustris & magnanime, qui suis laboribus & vitæ discrimine latentes hactenus tot Antipodum myriadas nostris gentibus cognitatas effecerunt. Illos verò qui ingenio pollentes eorum res præclare gestas æternis literarum monumentis consignarunt, si non maiori, non multo sane minori in precio habendos, nec minus observandos existimo. Non immerito igitur illius summi viri Petri Martyris Anglerij Mediolanensis memoria bonis omnibus sacra & chara imprimis esse debet. Quicquid enim laude vel vituperio dignum



in vastis Novi Orbis regionib<sup>9</sup> partim detegendis, Castellanae partim potētiae subigendis, triginta & quatuor annorum spatio terra marique Hispani praestiterunt, à primis incunabulis historiam exorsus, particulari locorum descriptione, & temporum serie diligentissimè observatis, universo orbi Christiano Commentariis suis doctissimis commendavit. Neque verò carptim, ut plerique alij, neque lingua ut plurimum doctis ignota, neque nudè aut frigide res narrat gestas, sed immensae illius Americae caput, collum, pectus, brachia, totumque adeo corpus suo insigni dextròque penicillo & vivis coloribus ingeniosissimè depingit, ornatu Latio eruditis familiari decentissimè induit, quotiescunque etiam res ipsa postulat, latentes rerum causas scrutatur, arcanos naturae effectus inquirat, & ex intimis reconditae philosophiae penetralibus sententias depromptas, ut splendidissima orationis lumina, gemmasque pulcherrimas creberrimè admiscet. Si ea respiciamus quae in terra procreantur, de viribus herbarum, fruticum fructibus, aromatum vigore, agrorum proventu, praestantia metallorum, quadrupedum coitu, generatione volucrum, natura piscium, ortu, incremento, aetate, victu, proprietatibus omnium ferè animantium, nec Aristoteles, nec Theophrastus, nec Columella, nec ipse Plinius, doctius aliquid, aut accuratum magis, quàm noster hic Martyr unquam concinnarunt. Si vegetabilibus & brutis relictis ad homines & genus nostrum divertamus, gentium mores, urbium situs, foundationes coloniarum, idolorum cultus, sacrificandi ritus, studia belli, armorum genera, vicinorum inimicitias, domesticorum simultates, praeliorum eventus, status regnorum & mutationes, quis Cicero, quis Salustius, quis Cæsar, quis Tacitus, maiori ornatu, brevitate, candore, maiori gravitate aut fide perpolivit? Ut alia taceam quae satis per se manifesta sunt, luculentissimum de fide est hoc argumentum, quòd, longè amotis & posthabitis, amicitiae, spei, invidiae passionibus, & particularium minutis affectibus, cuique quod suū est ubique tribuat, nullius vitia vel amicissimi dissimulando, nec debitas cuiusquam laudes minuendo. Laudat ille quidem multis in locis constantiam & invictos Hispanorum animos, eorumque in siti, fame, periculis, laboribus, vigiliis, crebrisque ærumnis tolerantiam summo cum applausu celebrat. Sed idem ille eorundem

avaritiam, ambitionem, cædes, rapinas, stupra, crudelitatem in nudas & innocuas gentes, interdum etiam armatorum clades & exercituum interneciones à Barbaris eisq; inermibus perpessas passim cōmemorat, & sine omni adulatione perpetrata flagitia acerrimè persequitur. Piget hæc, inquit alicubi, referre, sed oportet esse veridicū. Iam verò si à terra in altū provehamur, de motu Oceani, de eiusdem salsedine, de fluxu & refluxu, de gyris, de vorticibus, de circulari per Occidentem decursu, de cæcis scopulis, de vadis, de syrtibus, ô quanta & qualia apud hunc subinde sese offerunt rationum & obseruationum pondera. Postremò si rectà in cœlos cōvolem<sup>9</sup>, climatū diversitates, ventorum varietates, typhonum insanias, temporum vicissitudines, frigora, calores, siccitates, pluvias, occultos syderum motus & influentias, quis isto divinius unquam descripsit? Quamobrem quod olim Alexander Macedo de inuicto Achille dixisse fertur, ô fortunatum, qui Homerum tuarum laudum præconem inveneris, idem ego vere de gente Hispana effari possum, ô beatos & ter fœlices vos Hispanos, qui Martyrem, admirabilis ingenij virum, maximarum usu rerum pollentem, iudicio maturū, sciētiarum fere omnium cyclopædia exornatum, vestrorum apud Indos Hesperios laborum, rerūque animosè ac fortiter gestarum ebuccinatorem consecuti estis. Ut enim Nasonem sequar imitādo,

—Hesperios quis nosceret Indos,  
Martyris æternum si latuisset opus?

Istius tanti & talis viri opus insigne plusquam dimidia parte mutilum, & à quibusdam mágnis viris, quasi penitus sydere infausto periisset, vehemēter deploratum, integrum, suòq; nativo splēdori, nisi fallor, restitutum, quanta potui maxima diligentia in lucem iam tandem edendum curavi. Præterquā enim quòd infinita errata, summa cum sollicitudine repurgaverim, quibus undique scatebat Complutense exemplar, olim in Hispania semel tantum calchographorum typis mādatum, (quo mihi necessariò utendum erat, quia alię posteriores quatuor Decades nullubi quàm eo loci ederentur) annorum seriem diligēter observatam, nonnullásq; notationes apprimè necessarias ad margines apposui, indicémque amplum & accuratum in omnes libellos concinnatum adieci: nec his contentus, cartam

Geographicam præcipua operis loca continentem, ut perpendicularem appendicem adiunxi, memor illius quod vere dicitur, Geographiam esse historiæ oculum. Cur autem onus hoc in me susceperim rationes erant, partim ne viri docti & industrij tanto tàmque amplo bono fraudentur, qui nullam aut exiguam cognitionem habent linguæ Hispanicæ & Italicæ, quibus omnia fere huius argumēti volumina, hoc unico opere excepto, involvuntur: partim ut aliæ gentes maritimæ, nostrique imprimis insulares Angli, Hispanorum initia & progressus intuētes, ad parem fortitudinis imitationem incitari possent. Nam qui exterorum laudes proponit, suos, si non sunt stipites, provocat. Adde quòd domesticum & familiare hinc petere possunt virtutis exemplum. Hic enim legent Sebastianum Cabotum, Baccalatorum repertorem ter appellari, & esse in confesso, illum, Henrici septimi prudentissimi & fœlicissimi magnæ Elisabethæ nostræ aui auspiciis, anno sexto & nonagesimo supra millesimum & quadringētesimum, trecētis Anglis comitatum, universum illum tractū ab Arctico polo ad latitudinem freti Herculei (quod gradu trigesimo sexto continetur) Cubæque insulæ longitudinem, omnium Christianorū primum detexisse: eundēque ex Anglia à Fernão Catholico Rege in Hispaniam amplis muneribus vocatum Senatus Indici concurialem Martyri actum esse. Ex cuius summi viri è Britānia nostra discessu quantum nobis damni illatū fuerat, Henricus octavus rex invictissimus à suis quibusdam serò admonitus, facilè, quo valuit iudicio, intellexit, statimque clam domum revocatum amplissimo perpetuòque stipēdio ornavit, eūque, nisi mors inopinata impedivisset, munitissima classe, rebūque omnibus necessariis instructum ad novas illas terras, quas, ablatis inde tribus indigenis, non tamen satis accuratè inspexerat, diligentius explorandas quàmprimum dimisisset. Sed hæc, ut videtur, divina providentia, tibi, Ornatissime Eques, reservavit. Tibi igitur has meas vigilias condonatas & consecratas esse volui. Cui enim potius, quàm tibi has noui Orbis Decades offerrem, qui centum ferè millium ducatorū impensa, novis tuis classibus regiones novas, novam iam tertio ducendo coloniam, notas ex ignotis, ex inaccessis pervias, novissimis hisce tēporibus nobis exhibes? Cuius omnes curæ, cogitationes, conatus, huc spectant, hæc versant, in his inhærent.

Cui cum Illustrissimo illo herôe, Carolo Howardo, altero Oceani maris Neptuno, Edoardi Staffordij, nostri apud regem Christianissimum oratoris prudentissimi sororio eadem studia, eadem voluntates, iidem ad res magnas terra marique aggrediendas sunt & fuerunt animorum stimuli. Cùm vero artis navigatoriæ peritia, præcipuum regni iinsularis ornamentum Mathematicarū scientiarū adminiculis adhibitis suū apud nos splendorē posse cōsequi facilē perspiceres, Thomam Hariotum, iuvenem in illis disciplinis excellentē, honestissimo salario iam diu donatum apud te aluisti, cuius subsidio horis successivis nobilissimas scientias illas addisceres, tusque familiares duces maritimi, quos habes non paucos, cum praxi theoriā non sine fructu incredibili cōiungerēt. Ex quo pulcherrimo & sapientissimo instituto tuo, quid brevi eventurum sit, qui vel mediocri iudicio valent, facilē proculdubio divinare poterunt. Unum hoc scio, unam & unicam rationem te inire, qua primò Lusitani, deinde Castellani, quod antea toties cum nō exigua iactura sunt conati, tandem ex animorū votis perfecerūt. Perge ergo Spartam quam nactus es ornare, perge navem illam plusquam Argonauticam, mille cuparum fere capacē, quam sumptibus plane regiis fabricatam iam tādē fœliciter absolvisti, reliquæ tuæ classi, quam habes egregiē instructam, adiungere. Sinarum littora adhuc latentia & freta recondita nobis aperito: portas ab orbis initio præscriptione temporum obseratas tuis reserato. Restāt adhuc tibi novæ terræ, regna amplissima, gentes ignotæ, tibi, inquā, restant adhuc detegendæ, sceptroq; serenissimæ Elisabethæ nostræ, maris Oceani, Hispano confitente, imperatricis, fœlicibus tuis & armis & ausis brevi & facili negotio subigendæ. Sed quorsum currenti calcar addo, cur festinātem à tergis incito? Quorsum ego te, ut in incœpto perstes, hortor aut admoneo, qui, literis nuperrime ab aula ad me datis sponte & ultro cōtestatus es, à tuę Virginiae suavissimis amplexib<sup>9</sup>, quā nymphā pulcherrimā, licet nondum satis plerisq; bene cognitā, munificentissima Regina in sponsam tibi dedit, nullis terroribus, iacturis, infortuniis, posse aut unquam velle amoveri. Hac si constantia paulisper modò usus fueris, novos eósque fœcundissimos partus brevi emittet sponsa tua, quibus te tuósq; omnes mirificē beabit, illósque ignominia & pudore afficiet, qui illi temerē & impudenter

sterilitatem ausi sunt toties obiicere. Quis enim illā Virginiae tuæ Elisię maculā iure merito poterit inurere, cū eius abstrusas opes & divitias, & pulchritudinē hactenus reconditā, nemo adhuc penitus scrutatus fuerit? Abeant quo digni sunt socordes illi fuci, & homines ad ventrem & gulam tantum proni, qui inde redeuntes, illorum vestigia secuti sunt, qui à Mose missi exploratum terram melle & lacte affluentē illius infamiā falsō euulgarunt. Iudex rerū omniū tēpus, diligēsq; tuorum ministrorū inquisitio, multa inopinata, quæ adhuc latent, modo Deus intersit, nobis aperiēt: Deum autē adfuturū nō est cur dubites, quandoquidē de ipsius gloria, animarū infinitarū salute, Reipub. Christianę incremento agitur. Eia ergo age ut cœpisti, & æterna tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla vnquā obliterabit ætas, relinque monumēta. Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificētius trāsmitti potest, quàm Barbaros domare, rudes & paganos ad vitæ civilis societatem revocare, efferos in gyrū rationis reducere, hominēsq; atheos & à Deo alienos divini numinis reverentia imbuere. Eoque magis hoc nostro miserrimo & plusquā calamitoso sæculo, quando in Mahumetēorum cōmodum & incrementū maxima pars Christianorum procerum domesticis dissidiis acerrimē intēta ciuiles tumultus & tragædias Thyestęas quotidie idq; sine fine accumulant. Quod si ex tuis non usque adeo male auspicatis initiis hoc proxime elapso triēnij spacio tanta accessio facta sit ad nominis tui existimationem, ut non modo domi sed & foris etiam à viris egregiis, intērq; alios ab ornatissimo & doctissimo Basanerio meo tuæ laudes certatim celebrētur: quid post hac quęso futurum putabis, cum rebus tuis pręclare gerendis amplam adeo scribendi materiam ingenio pręstantibus sis indies magis magisque prębiturus? Rumpatur Zoilus, nec te permoveant venenata iniquorum & invidorum iacula, qui canem Aesopicum imitati, nec ipsi comodo præsente fruuntur, nec aliis frui cupientibus acquiescunt. Perge, inquam, perge quo pede cœpisti, fortunæ sinciput fortunatū apprehende, immortalem tibi gloriam oblatam ne respue, tibique Ferdinandi Cortesij Castellani, Nouę Hispanię Domitoris fortissimi res gestę hic pulcherrime descriptę semper in auribus canora voce resonent, nec minus noctes insomnes tibi reddant, quàm Themistocli gloriosa Miltiadis trophæa. Id

modò præstiteris, si non Homerū, at Martyrē aliquē, id est, fœlicissimū aliquod ingenium tandem aliquando consequeris, quod tuos conatus plane heroicos à vasto oblivionis hiatus vindicabit. Interea huius laboris nostri tu heres esto, erisque posthac, si quid in hoc scribēdi genere à nobis laude dignū perficietur. Conabimur autem, annuente numine, maritimos hominum nostrorum commentarios sparsos & hactenus squallore obsitos, diligenti temporum serie observata, in ordinem redigere, & pulvere excusso, in lucem brevi spectandos producere, quo posterī maiorum suorum indices, quibus diu caruerunt, diligenter intuetes, hæreditario suo bono frui cognoscant, & serò oblatam rei bene gerendæ occasionem arripiant. Hoc si præstiterimus, diuturni nostri desiderij & voti exoptati compotes erimus; sin minus, saltem iuvandi studium nobis non defuisse testabimur. Vale vir magnanime, & nos, ut facis, ama. Parisiis octavo Kalendas Martij. 1587.

Amplitudinis tuæ studiosissimus,

*Richardus Hakluytus,*

Oxoniensis Anglus.

*Translation*

To the illustrious and right worthy SIR WALTER RALEGH, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Exeter and of all the Queen's Majesty's castles in those provinces, greeting!

I hold those worthy of the highest praise, illustrious and noble Knight, who by their labours and by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite number of the Antipodes,<sup>1</sup> hitherto lying hid. And those, who, of their excellent genius, have recorded the noble deeds of such men, on the imperishable monuments of letters, I consider must be held, if not in greater, certainly in no less honour, and must be no less esteemed. Not undeservedly, therefore, ought the memory of that outstanding man Peter Martyr Anglerius of Milan to be particularly sacred and precious to every right-thinking indi-

<sup>1</sup> The peoples at the opposite ends of the earth.

vidual. For he has published to the whole Christian world in his learned commentaries all that the Spaniards have achieved, whether praise- or blame-worthy, in a space of four and thirty years, on land and on sea, partly in the discovery of the vast regions of the New World, partly in subjecting them to the power of Castile, starting his account from the very first beginnings, and diligently preserving both the careful description of places, and the succession of events. Nor does he relate his facts disjointedly as most others have done, nor in a language, as most often happens, unknown to educated men, nor baldly or frigidly, but he depicts with a distinguished and skilful pen and with lively colours in a most gifted manner the head, neck, breast, arms, in brief the whole body of that tremendous entity America, and clothes it decently in the Latin dress familiar to scholars. And so often as the events themselves demand he examines the hidden causes of things, inquires into the hidden effects of nature, and from the innermost shrines of his erudite philosophy he draws comments which he frequently introduces like brilliant ornaments of his style and the fairest of gems. If we consider what he says of the things that the land produces, the vigour of the herbs, the fruitfulness of the fruit-bearing trees, the strength of the spices, the increase of the fields, the excellence of the metals, the ways of the four-footed animals, the generation of the birds, the nature of the fishes, the birth, increase, age, life and properties of almost all animate things, not Aristotle, or Theophrastus, not Columella, not even Pliny himself, ever composed anything more learned or more accurate than our own Martyr. If turning aside from the plants of the earth and the brutes of the field, we consider what he says of mankind and our own species, what Cicero, what Sallust, what Caesar or Tacitus has written with greater elegance, brevity, lucidity or more weightily or with greater fidelity of the manners of peoples, the positions of cities, the foundations of colonies, the cults of idols, the rites of sacrifice, the passions of war, the kinds of armaments, the feuds of neighbours, the jealousies of families, the results of battles, the states and the changes of kingdoms? Not to mention those matters which of themselves are clear enough, the most fruitful argument for his fidelity is

this, that setting aside and discounting the passions of love, hope and jealousy and the contemptible affections of the partisan, he never fails to give to each his due, dissembling the faults of no man, not even of his greatest friend, and minimising no man's just renown. In many passages he praises the constancy of the Spaniards and their stubborn spirit, and with the warmest approbation he recounts their endurance in thirst, hunger, dangers, toils, watches, and in their frequent troubles. But, at the same time, he also records their avarice, ambition, butchery, rapine, debauchery, their cruelty towards defenceless and harmless peoples, and occasionally the disasters suffered by their warriors and the slaughter of their armies at the hands of uncivilised races, and those too unarmed, and, so far is he from the suspicion of adulation, that he hunts out with the utmost perseverance crimes committed by them. I am ashamed, he says in one place, to recount these matters, but it is essential to set down the truth. And now if we proceed from dry land to the sea, how great is the number and the quality of the weighty judgements and observations which offer themselves repeatedly in his work, on the movement of Ocean, its saltness, its ebb and flow, its whirlpools and eddies, its circular course towards the West, its hidden rocks, shallows, and shoals. Finally if we ascend straight to the heavens, who has described more divinely than he, the diversities of climates, the varieties of the winds, the ragings of typhoons, and the changes of the seasons, cold, hot, dry, wet, with the hidden movements of the stars and their influences? Wherefore I can truly say, what once Alexander of Macedon is reported to have said of invincible Achilles: O happy man, who hast found a Homer to be the herald of thy praises, I can say of the Spanish people: O blessed and thrice happy you men of Spain, who have gotten Martyr,—a man of marvellous genius, excelling by his use of the greatest qualities, mature in judgement, equipped with a cyclopaedic knowledge of almost every field of learning—to be the trumpeter of your labours in the West Indies, and of your spirited and courageous achievements. To adapt Naso's lines:

...Who would know the Indies of the West  
Were Martyr's ageless work unmanifest?



This work of an author, whose powers and qualities are such as I have described, though almost the half of it was missing and had been bitterly mourned by certain eminent men as lost completely under an unlucky star, I have at last, after conducting the most diligent researches, been able to publish in its entirety,<sup>1</sup> restored, if I am not mistaken, to its original splendour. For quite apart from the correction, carried out with the greatest pains, of the infinity of errors in which the Complutensian edition<sup>2</sup> abounded in every part, for only once has the work been entrusted to the hands of the printers in Spain (and this edition I had perforce to use, as the last four Decades occur in no other place than this) apart from such correction I have added in the margins, after a careful study of the chronology, the dates and certain other notes very necessary to the student, and I have prepared and included a full and accurate index for all the books; I have not stopped at this, but I have inserted a geographical map,<sup>3</sup> containing the chief places mentioned in the work, to serve as a plumb-line, mindful of the true saying, that geography is the eye of history. I took this burden upon myself for the following reasons: it was partly that learned and industrious men, who have no knowledge, or only a little of the Spanish and Italian tongues, in which practically all works dealing with this subject, this present work alone excepted, are obscured, should not be deprived of so great and so abundant a boon; and partly that other maritime races, and in particular our own island race, perceiving how the Spaniards began and how they progressed, might be inspired to a like emulation of courage. For he who proclaims the praises of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they be not dolts. Add too that here they may find a homely and familiar example of their own native quality. For here they will read that Sebastian Cabot is thrice mentioned as the discoverer of Baccalaos, and that it is notorious that under the auspices of Henry VII, wisest and most fortunate ancestor of our own mighty Elizabeth, in the year 1496, accompanied by three hundred Englishmen, he, first of all Christian people, dis-

<sup>1</sup> Usually the first three Decades alone were printed.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1530.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 369 n.

covered the whole tract of land which stretches from the North Pole to the latitude of the Pillars of Hercules, which is the thirty-sixth degree, and to the longitude of the Island of Cuba, and that this same man, enticed to Spain from England by His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand, by the offer of ample reward, was made a fellow-member of the Council of the Indies with Martyr. How great a disaster the defection of so great a man from our country was, Henry VIII our invincible King, advised after some time by certain of his councillors, quickly perceived—such was his judgement—and he recalled him immediately, in secret, and honoured him with a permanent pension, and, had not death unexpectedly prevented it, he intended to fit him out with a magnificent fleet and all necessary supplies, and to send him off at the first opportunity to explore more thoroughly those new countries, which though he had brought off with him three of the inhabitants he had nevertheless not investigated in sufficient detail.<sup>1</sup> But this task it seems, most honoured Knight, divine Providence has reserved for you. To you therefore I propose to offer and to dedicate these labours of mine. For to whom should I offer these *Decades of the New World* but to you, whose recent record shows that you have spent nearly 100,000 ducats in equipping your new fleets for the establishment of a third colony to open up countries before unknown and inaccessible? To you, whose every care, every thought and endeavour strive towards this one end, meditate upon it, cling to it? To you whose enthusiasms, whose affections, whose mental urge to seek out new kingdoms over land and sea are one with those of our famous hero, Charles Howard, a second Neptune of the Ocean, and brother-in-law of Edward Stafford, our most prudent Ambassador to his most Christian Majesty? Ever since you perceived that skill in the navigator's art, the chief ornament of an island kingdom, might attain its splendour amongst us if the aid of the mathematical sciences were enlisted, you have maintained in your household Thomas Hariot, a man pre-eminent in those studies, at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure

<sup>1</sup> This must have been the expedition from Milford Haven in which Roger Barlow was to take part. (See Hak. Soc. vol. XLIX. p. lii.)

hours, and that your own sea-captains, of whom there are not a few, might link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results. What will shortly be the outcome of this excellent and most prudent departure of yours, even those whose judgement is no more than moderate will undoubtedly be able to divine with ease. This one thing I know, and that is that you are entering upon the one and only method by which first the Portuguese and then the Spaniards at last carried out to their own satisfaction what they had previously attempted so often at no slight sacrifice. Continue then to adorn the Sparta that you have won, proceed to add to your fleet which you maintain so splendidly that ship, that more than Argo, apt for a thousand hopes, constructed on a more than regal scale, which you have now happily completed. Reveal to us the courts of China and the unknown straits<sup>1</sup> which still lie hid: throw back the portals which have been closed since the world's beginning at the dawn of time. There yet remain for you new lands, ample realms, unknown peoples; they wait yet, I say, to be discovered and subdued, quickly and easily, under the happy auspices of your arms and enterprise, and the sceptre of our most serene Elizabeth, Empress—as even the Spaniard himself admits—of the Ocean. But to what end do I apply the spur to the racer, or panting behind, urge on the headlong leader? To what end do I exhort you or admonish you to persist in your project, when only recently you sent me letters from Court in which you freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia, that fairest of nymphs—though to many insufficiently well known,—whom our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you persevere only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness. For who has the just title to attach such a stigma to your Elizabeth's Virginia, when no one has yet probed the depths of her hidden resources and wealth, or her beauty hitherto concealed from our

<sup>1</sup> Strait of Anian.

sight? Let them go where they deserve, foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who fresh from that place, like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously published ill reports about it.<sup>1</sup> Time which is the judge of all things, and the diligent inquiry of your servants will reveal, God willing, many things undreamt of, which have ere this lain hid. That God will be with you, you have no reason to doubt, for his glory, the salvation of countless souls, and the increase of the Kingdom of Christ is at stake. Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame, such as age will never obliterate. For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly. And this is the truer in our present wretched and more than disastrous age, when, to the increase and advantage of the followers of Mahomet, the greater part of the Christian princes fiercely intent on their own domestic dissensions heap up civil tumults and Thyestean tragedies day by day, and without any end. But if, in the space of the three years which have just elapsed,<sup>2</sup> from beginnings not evilly inspired like those, your fame has won so large an increase, that not only at home but also abroad many notable persons—and among them my most cultivated and learned friend Basanier—vie with each other in singing your praises: what, I ask, do you think will be the case after this, when by carrying out the tasks you have set yourself, you will furnish such ample material, increasing daily, for writers of outstanding genius? Let Zoilus forth burst,<sup>3</sup> but do not let the envenomed shafts of your enemies and rivals trouble you, who like Aesop's dog will neither themselves enjoy the present opportunity, nor allow others to do so, who are desirous thereof. Go on, I say, follow the path on which you have already set foot, seize Fortune's lucky jowl, spurn not the immortal fame which is here offered you, but let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortes, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New

<sup>1</sup> The disappointed colonists of 1585/6.

<sup>2</sup> Since the spring of 1584.

<sup>3</sup> Personifying the carping critic.

Spain, here beautifully described, resound ever in your ears and let them make your nights not less sleepless than did those of Themistocles the glorious triumphs of Miltiades. Do this, and you will find at length, if not a Homer, yet some Martyr—by whom I mean some happy genius—to rescue your heroic enterprises from the vasty maw of oblivion. Meanwhile do you be the heir—and you will be henceforth—of this our present toil, if there be anything achieved by us in this manner of writing which is worthy of praise. We shall endeavour moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise,<sup>1</sup> to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part. If we succeed in this, we shall have achieved a long-cherished desire and a wish that we have often prayed for; if we fall short of this, we shall at any rate show that the desire to please was not lacking. Farewell, noble Sir, and continue in your affection for us.

Paris, 22 February, 1587.

Your worship's most obedient servant

*Richard Hakluyt,*  
of Oxford, Englishman<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first announcement of the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Decades* were licensed on Feb. 4, but publication was delayed for the sake of the map, specially drawn by an unknown F. G., which was not ready until May. The Dedicatory Inscription runs as follows: "Doctiss. et ornatiss. Rich. Hakluyte, F.G.S. Cui potius quam tibi Orbem hanc novum dicasssem? Cum tu assiduis eruditisque libris tuis ipsum eundem in dies illustriorem reddes. Eum igitur uti tua humanitate dignum est accipe, teque nos vicissim amabimus. Paris. cal. Maij. MDLXXXVII". A copy of this map was sent to St Malo by John Growte, a friend of Hakluyt's, to a kinsman there, with a request for documents relating to Jacques Cartier. It was shown to Cartier's grand-nephew, who compared it with his transcript of Cartier's chart which his two sons were about to take with them to Canada. This man, Jean Noel, then wrote to Growte for a copy of the map for himself, together with a copy of Espeio's *Viaje*.

## Document 57

### WILL OF RICHARD HACKLUYT, OF EYTON, Lawyer, 1587

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I Richard Hackluyt of Eyton in the Countie of Hereford, being hole of bodie and sounde of mynde, yet consideringe the mortall state of man and the pestilent fevers soe commonly raigneinge, make this my last will and testament in maner [following]

First I bequeathe my sowle redeemed by the mearitts and passions & death of Jesus Christ [the Saviour of the] Worlde, to the same Christe that is deyd, buried, risen and ascended, and that shall be the Judge of all Nations under heaven. My body I bequeath to the earthe till the general resurrection [when] bodie and sowle shall joyne to everlastinge salvacion.

My funeralls without pompe discharged, and my debtes duely paid, my Plate, corne [cattle, howsehold] stuff with all my goods and chattels whatsoever, I bequeath according to a schedule of [bequests] hereafter to this my last will to be annexed.

My lands that bee in my disposicion to bequeathe, late leased to Edmund Burrop, and to Thomas Goold [son] of Thomas Gold, commonly called Burrops fearme, lying in Eyton, and in the fyelds of the same [parish] of Luston in the County of Hereford, I bequeathe & give to Olyver Hackluyt of Christ Church Oxford, my uncles sonne, and to the heyres males of his bodie lawfully begotten, and for lacke of suche yssue I give and bequeath the same to Edmond Hackeluytt his brother and to the heires males of his body lawfully begotten, and for lacke of suche yssue male to Richard Hackeluyt their elder brother and the heyres males of his body lawfully begotten, and for the lacke of such yssue to Wynifride mysister, wife to Roger Bruton of Hal—in the County of Saloppe, esquire, and to her heirs, to dispose at her will and pleasure to any of my name that shall possesse the rest of my lands in Eyton, if any shalbe founde thriftie, or otherwise to bestow them at her good will & pleasure. The rest

of my landes unbequeathed lyinge in quilletts<sup>1</sup> and [any] heer-  
after that shall be purchased, I bequeathe to Olyver Hackluyt,  
Edmond Hackluyt and to Richard Hackeluyt and to Wynifreid  
Bruton and to the heyres males of their bodies in manner and  
forme as is lymytted in the guyfte of Burropps fearme.

In witnes whereof I have sette my hande and seale this xiiijth  
of September 1587 and ordeigne [and] make sole executor of  
this my laste will and testament Olyver Hackeluyt of Christ  
Church Oxeford aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

The schedule that I appointe to bee annexed to my last will  
and testament.

First I bequeathe to Barbera Evissham my youngeste sister  
the somme of v li in money.

Then, to my eldest and beste beloved Sister, Wyniefried  
Bruton, if she chaunce to overlyve her husband, my goblet of  
sylver remayneing at my sister Elnor Conisbies.

Item, to Elnor Conesbie my sister one dozen of silver spones

Item, to Thomas Conesbie, her sonne, one other dozen of  
silver spones

Item, I also gyve and bequeathe to Barbara my said syster my  
smaler saltesellar of silver

Item, to Olyver Hackluyt of Christ Church in Oxford my  
greater saltsellar of sylver

Item, I bequeath to Richard Fenmor such waiges as I owe him  
with fortie shillinges in money over and besides

Item, I give to Ellnor Burrope my servante also other fortie  
shillinges with all her waiges due at my death, with a course paier  
of sheetes, a corse peyer of blancketts, a canvas and one of the  
coverlets made by Benettes wief of Leompster.

[Proved, March 4th, 1591]

<sup>1</sup> Strips scattered in the open fields. The three great fields in the Manor of Eyton had areas of 249, 148 and 124 acres respectively, and there were nearly 59 acres of meadow by the River Lugg. Three lesser fields of 70-90 acres, and some small outlying fields made up a total of 837 acres of which 556 were in Hakluyt's possession. This represented 29 acres less than he had inherited from his father, Thomas Hakluyt. Burrop's Farm was 120 acres. A terrier of the Manor or Township in Hakluyt's own handwriting, made between 1572 and 1583, is preserved among the Harleian MSS. (7369). References to Mr Depden indicate that his stepmother's husband was then still a Magistrate. See Plate III.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hakluyt was abroad when this will was made. Oliver was still unmarried, and at Oxford. Thomas was dead, and buried at Oxford.

## Document 58

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1587<sup>1</sup>

To the Right Worthie and Honorable Gentleman, SIR WALTER RALEGH knight, seneschal of the Duchies of Cornewall and Exeter, and L. Warden of the stannaries in Devon and Cornewall. R.H. wisheth true felicitie.

Sir, after that this historie, which had bene conceled many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your name by my learned friende M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easilie enduced to turne it into English, understanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to manie great & worthie persons there. And no marvell though it were verie welcome unto you, & that you liked of the translation thereof, since no historie hetherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginea, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeares in France then I, and understande the french better then my selfe, I foorthwith perceived that you approved mine endeavour, not for any private ease or commoditie that thereby might redounde unto you, but that it argued a singuler and especiall care you had of those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in providing sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like, as also might bee put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities & great fertilitie of the places herein at large described & so nere neighbors unto our colonies, that

*Other mens  
misfortune  
ought to be  
our warning.*

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed to the English translation of Laudonnière and erroneously dated May 1 in the reprint in the *Principal Navigations*; see *infra*, p. 373 n. The reprint has been edited in minor particulars.



they might generally be awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of everie thing that might turne to the advancement of the action, whereinto they are so cheerefully entred. Manie speciall pointes concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidentes of the French-mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of their abandoning one of their fortes, and the surprise of the other by the enimies are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shalbe needlesse to reckon up againe. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawen in coulours at your no smale charges by the skilfull painter James Morgues, yet living in the Blacke-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillon then admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnes & fertilitie of those regions, & hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which he meaneth to publish together with the purtraitures before it be long, if it may stand with your good pleasure & liking. These foure voiaiges I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, & that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have said before, they were dedicated unto you in french: secondly because now foure times also you have attempted the like upon the selfe same cost neere adioyning: thirdly in that you have persed as farre up into the maine & discovered no lesse secretes in the parts of your aboad, then the french did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also readie (upon the late returne of Captayne Stafforde<sup>1</sup> and good newes which hee brought you of the safe arrivall of your last colonie in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more thoroughly then ever. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proove farre more beneficiall in divers respects unto this our

*The chiefe things  
worthie  
observation in  
Florida are  
drawne in  
colours by  
James  
Morgues  
painter yet  
living in the  
Blacke Friers  
in London.*

<sup>1</sup> Stafford returned in October 1587, his voyage constituting the fourth "attempt" upon Virginia mentioned above. This puts the date of the Preface not earlier than October.

*A collection  
of the com-  
modities of  
Virginea.*

*Meanes to  
raise benefit  
in newe dis-  
coveries used  
by the  
Spaniards  
and  
Portugals.*

relme, then the worlde, yea manie of the wiser sort, have hither-  
to imagined: The particuler commodities whereof are well  
knownen unto your selfe and some fewe others, and are faithfully  
and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not  
ignorant, by one of your followers, which remayned there a full  
twelvemonth with your worshipfull lieutenant M. Raph Lane in  
the diligent serch of the secretes of those countries.<sup>1</sup> Touching  
the speedie and effectuall pursuing of your action, though I  
wote well it woulde demaunde a princes purse to have it throughly  
followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall  
drawe the same before it bee long to be profitable and gainefull  
aswell to those of our nation there remaining, as to the marchants  
of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine  
secrete comodities already discovered by your servants, &  
partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large &  
ample regions, & planting of such things in that warme climat  
as will best prosper there, & our realme standeth most in need of.  
And this I find to have bene the course that both the Spaniards  
and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries and  
conquestes. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into  
Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there,  
nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture  
they sent kine & buls & sundry sorts of other profitable bestes  
thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, & set the roots  
of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger & ginger are now  
the chiefe marchandise of that Iland. The Portugals also at their  
first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade,  
found nothing there but mightie woodes for timber, whereupon  
they called the Ilande by that name. Howbeit the climate being  
favourable, they inriched it by their own industrie with the best  
wines and sugers of the world. The like maner of proceeding  
they used in the Isles of the Assores by sowing therein great  
quantitie of Woad. So delt they in S. Thomas under the  
Equinoctial, & in Brasil & sondry other places. And if our men  
will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in  
due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit.  
Moreover there is none other likelihoode but that her Maiestie,

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Hariot's *True Report*.

which hath Christned and given the name to your Virginea, if neede require, will deale after the maner of honorable god-mothers, which, seeing their gossops<sup>1</sup> not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they finde any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnes in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Arragon, after her husband Ferdinando & shee had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subdueing the kingdome of Granada & rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne, was neverthesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the Sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the historie of the deeds of his Father) she layde part of her owne Jewels, which she had in great accompt, to gage, to furnish his Father forth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of al the West Indies was discovered, what may we expect of our most magnificent & gracious prince Elizabeth of Englande, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may we, I say, hope of her forwardnes & bountie in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spaniards. For as you may read in the verie last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant now in english,<sup>2</sup> the maine lande, where your last colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath beene found by those that have had some triall of them: whereby it may be gathered that they will easilie embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped & intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an oxe be put into a medow he will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a storke be cast in she will seeke for snakes, if yee turne in a hound he will seeke to start an hare: So sondrie men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall ends. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine,

*The great  
zeale of  
Elizabeth  
queene of  
Castile and  
Arragon in  
advancing of  
newe dis-  
coveries tend-  
ing to Gods  
glorie.*

*The aptnes of  
the people in  
the mayne of  
Virginea to  
embrace  
Christianitie.*

& that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore & blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your busines, and that I knowe you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely saie with the Apostle to the  
 2. Cor. 12. 14. Savages, We seeke not yours but you: I conceive great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakenes, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde saide unto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the lande of promise, and remember that private men have happily wilded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our common-wealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you finde in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Irelande newlie dedicated unto your selfe.<sup>1</sup> Read you not that Richard Strangbowe the decayed earle of Chepstowe in Monmuthshire, being in no great favour of his Sovereigne, passed over into that Iland in the yeere 1171. and accōpanied only with certaine of his private friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that hee opened the way for king Henrie the second to the speedie subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of Englande: which so continueth to this present day? The like conqueste of Brasilia and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugal was first begunne by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, & by his office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this citie within these sixe yeeres.<sup>2</sup> Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginea, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficultie then the conquest of Irelande, first I answere, that, as the fresh experience<sup>3</sup> of that

*The good  
 successe in  
 Ireland of  
 Richard  
 Strangbowe  
 earle of  
 Chepstowe.*

<sup>1</sup> By Sir John Perrot?

<sup>2</sup> I.e. in March 1581/2.

<sup>3</sup> Davis returned from his third voyage in September 1587.

happie and singuler skilfull pilotte and Capitaine M. John Davis to the northwest, (towarde which his discoverie your selfe have thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to bee maine Sea, where before was thought to bee mayne lande, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfes of California that the land on the backe part of Virginea extendeth nothing so farre westward as is put downe in the mappes or those partes, and that before two yeeres come to an endue, God blessing the foresaide Capitaine Davis endeavours, he will put us out of that doubt and manie others. Moreover it is not to bee denied, but that one hundred men will doe more nowe among the naked and unarmed people in Virginea, then one thousande were able then to doe in Irelande against that armed and warrelike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeares last experience hath plainly shewed that wee may spare tenne thousand able men without any misse. And these are as manie as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Assores, Madera, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Mallacca, the Moluccoes, Amacan, and Macao upon the cost of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their owne natiō (whose names I suppress for certaine causes) which have beene personally in the East Indies, and have assured mee that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories.<sup>1</sup> Which also this present yeere I sawe confirmed in a secrete extract of the particuler estate of that kingdome and of everie government and office subiect to the same, with the severall pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring dayly home out of the Lowe Countries they go idle up & downe in swarmes for lacke of honest intertainmēt, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trayned up thus long in service, thē in the inward parts of the firme of Virginea against such stubborne Savages as shall refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will be glade & faine to accept this condition, when as by the

*The happie late discoverie to the northwest of capitaine Davies.*

*The kings of Portugal had never above ten thousand of their natural subiectes in all their new conquered dominions.*

<sup>1</sup> The followers of Don Antonio with whom Hakluyt conferred in Paris.

reading of this present treatie<sup>1</sup> they shall understand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere upon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof I trust you will suffer to come shortly to light.<sup>2</sup> In the meane season I humbly comende my selfe and this my translation unto you, and your selfe, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace & good blessing of the Almightye, which is able to build further, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begunne by your most Christian and charitable endeavour.<sup>3</sup>

Your L. humble at commandement

R. H.

## Document 59

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1587

While the Queene and her Councill gently soothe the King [of Spain] with these and such like reasons to the end to prevent the warre which they foresaw threatened from the Spaniard, Drake was sent forth with four of the Queenes ships and some other ships to the coasts of Spaine, to surprise his ships in the havens and interrupt his provision

At the same time in another quarter of the world, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolke, which had two yeeres before set saile from England with 3 ships, passing the Straits of Magellane, fired many petty townes of the Spaniards upon the coasts of Chily, Peru, and Nova Spagnia. The particulars of this voyage, if any man desire, let him repaire to the English voyages most exactly described in three volumes of Richard Hackluit.

<sup>1</sup> Treatise.

<sup>2</sup> By publishing Harriot's *Report*.

<sup>3</sup> "From London the 1. of May 1587" is interpolated in the reprint in the *Principal Navigations*.

## Document 60

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO LORD BURGHELEY, 1588

To the right honorable and my very good lord the lord high Treasurer of England give these. At the Courte or elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

May it please yo<sup>r</sup> good lordshippe to understande that wthin eight or ten days after my late retorne out of Englande to Paris, the Erle of Westmorland,<sup>2</sup> havinge hearde I knowe not howe of myne arrival, sent a french servant of his twise secretly to seeke mee, and to requeste mee instantly to come to speake a word or two w<sup>th</sup> hym. After the seconde tyme, makinge my lord Ambassador acquaynted withall, I went to knowe his wil, whom I found very desirous to understand yo<sup>r</sup> lordships answeere concerning his humble sute unto her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. I told hym howe willing and forward I found yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe to move her to become his gracious mistresse, and that if I had not bin soe suddenly dispatched, and when y<sup>r</sup> lordship was altogether so leasurelesse that you could not write to S<sup>r</sup> Edward hymselfe,<sup>3</sup> yt was very likely yo<sup>w</sup> wold have returned hym some answeere. Whereuppon he earnestly requested mee to write out of hand unto yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe to beseech yo<sup>w</sup> to have hym in remembrance, and to vouchsafe by one or other meanes to let hym heere somewhat from yo<sup>w</sup> assone as opportunitie and yo<sup>r</sup> good leasure may permitte. This request ended, he shewed mee what unfayned desire he had to do some special piece of service, and told me that Morgan that archtraytour was newly come agayne to Paris aboute some base practise, addinge with diverse deepe othes, that if he might have any good hope from you of her mat<sup>ties</sup> favour (whom he most humblie besought to consider his youth and ignorance of the subtil traynes of the world when he was drawn into his heynous offence) hee would hazard his owne

<sup>1</sup> Endorsed 'April 1588'.

<sup>2</sup> Exiled for his complicity in the Rebellion of the North, 1569.

<sup>3</sup> Stafford.

person and that w<sup>th</sup>out delay to make some notable prooffe to the Queene of his sincere affection to her ma<sup>tie</sup> and his country. Hee told me further that the lord Marshal of Scotland w<sup>ch</sup> had bin in Spayne a greate part of the last yere was newly and secretly gone downe from hence to the Duke of Parma, accompanied only w<sup>th</sup> the Scot that betrayed Lijre in Brabant. Hee added that he had very good meenes to understand the practises of Spayne by one Higgington an English prieste, w<sup>ch</sup> is at his devotion abydyng in this towne, to whom S<sup>r</sup> Francis Englefield doth use to write often matters of importance, w<sup>ch</sup> hee wold from tyme to tyme reveale to me, or such as yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe shold appoynt hym. Besides al these, he signified unto mee that the Spanish Ambassadour Mendoza, being not able to reade the letters that are sent hym from his M<sup>r</sup> hymselfe, by reason of the greate decay of his sighte, is constrayned to use a yonge man to reade them unto hym, w<sup>th</sup> whom he hath acquayntaince, and hopeth to close with hym and drawe matter of weyght from hym.

As for the fleete at Lisbone, he assured me it wold not stirre until the beginnyng of May, yf it did set forth at al. Also it was hee that gave first notice of the late coming from Rome to Rems<sup>2</sup> of Holt and Creswel two English Jesuits.

Thus beseeching the Almighty to blesse yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe, and al yo<sup>r</sup> good and godly endeavours, in most humble manner I surcease to trouble yo<sup>w</sup> any farther. Paris, the vi<sup>th</sup> of April 1588.

I shal hold myselfe pleased if yo<sup>r</sup> lordship bestowe y<sup>t</sup> wardship of yong Clinton of Herefordshire on my cosen Wigmore.<sup>3</sup>

Yo<sup>r</sup> lordships most humble

*Richard Hakluyt*

<sup>1</sup> The Armada. From Camden's *Annals*: "The Armado, which had been full three yeres in rigging and preparing, with infinite expense, was within one month many times assailed and at length defeated."

<sup>2</sup> Rheims, where was the English Jesuit College.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 3.



## Document 61

### EXTRACT FROM DESPATCH FORWARDED BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1588

[6] July 1588.

That my lord had advertisement from a very special friend of his, a man of qualitie continuallie aboute the kinge since his last departure from Paris, That al the cunnying in the world hath bin used to bring the king to yeld to three poynts. Videlicet, the abandoninge of the league with the P. of England, the forsaking of the protection of Geneva, and that of Sedan. The strangers that chiefe urged the same were the popes nuncio, the Spanish ambassadour fomentinge the same as much as was possible. The rather to persuade the king hereunto the nuncio assured hym that his holines wold bring the princes of the ligue to any reasonable conditions he wold desire if he wold agree to the former three poyntes: addinge that nothing cold be more for his reputation, and to cut of al the cunning cavillations of the ligue agaynst hym, whereby they charged hym that he favored the kinge of Navarre and shewed hymselfe not hotte agaynst hereticks as he made showe for etc.

[Signed]

*Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 62

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, TO LORD BURGHELEY, 1589

Right Honourable, I exhibited a petition upon — laste at the Councill table to al yo<sup>r</sup> honors; [and doubting] the same not red by present manifolde bisnesses of gretter weight, and fearing leaste my supplication may be leyed aside and passed over in silence, I thowght (urged with the extremitie of wrong) to be soe bold as to aquenyt yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> theeffect of my griffe, and also with my humble request. and there in to crave yo<sup>r</sup> honorable favor in the same.

The matter is this that ensueth.

Now ii yeres and a half past I bowght certeyn oxen of grete bone to feede. The same oxen, full fed in the county of Hereforde, were taken up there for hir majesties howsehold by one Richard Owen servant to — of the Caterie, being then purveyor by Commission. The oxen soe taken up were prised there in the countie by men of [good repute] that were sworne [for the purpose, and the aforesaid oxen] hereupon were taken up to [London] and there new prised by the commawndment of the officers of hir majesties howseholde.

By the rate of the first prising in Herefordshire, I was to receive 52li. 10s. after the rate of viili. xs. the oxe, for vii. The Cofferers booke now sene, it appeareth that the some of liili. xs. divided into iij just partes, that I am (vs.xd. only excepted) to lose the third part if I have not the helpe of your honor herein.

I have a testimonial under the seale of the corporate towne where my oxen were first prised, that they were fully as moch worth as they were first prised at, or rather more worth.

If these oxen driven up become of never so smawle valewe, yet owght they not to be prised ageyne by any officer in court, in that it is merely ageynst the lawes of the lande. If there were not any soche lawe, yet for as moche as (if these oxen after the first prising grewe to be of lesse value) it groweth by reason of the long

jorneye, and by the overdriving, and by the underfeeding and misdieting of the cattel by the wey, there is no reason nor culler of reason, nor any conscience that the late owner of the cattle shoulde be soe used and charged with soche losse.

The taker that might take upp his appoynted number of oxen of many, and so make the burden more portable to the poor subject, doth let passe thiese and those stawles, and taketh up soe many of some fewe, that they, thus deprived of there stockes ar not abel to bye and renewe theyr stawles the yere folowinge, to theyr grete losses, specially if they have taken growndes at hie rentes for that trade of feeding, the smart whereof I have felt.

The subject noting the mischief of the second prising and the losse that groweth by the want of his stock, the grete troble that riseth by long journeyes to the court for his money, and the fees that arriseth if he wolde be dispatched, doth bribe the purveyor depely to [spare] soe grete mischieves.

The cofferer and his clerkes answer that they have noe money. If they have money, and pay not the same without delays, but turne the same to private profet, then they add affliction to the afflicted subject. Howsoever it is, I am unpaid for vii oxen nowe in the end of this marche or ij whole yeares. And also almost so long for one other stawle fed one, the price of w<sup>ch</sup> oxen answereth to *lviii*li.xs.

I am also to informe yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> that there was taken up in lent past iij oxen more out of my stawles for w<sup>ch</sup> iij by the cofferers brothers helpe I have received money howbeit not according to the first rate.

To conclude, my humble sute unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> of hir Majesties counsel is, that it may please the same that I may be payd for my viij oxen according to the first priseing without regard of the second price, since the same is injurious, and since so gracious a prince as hir majestie is, meaneth not to offer wrong to the worst subject she hath. And that also I may be answered the overplus for the iij oxen taken up the lent last past.

20 March 1588

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors to commande

*Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 63

### MEMORANDA RELATIVE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, LAWYER'S COMPLAINT, 1589

Mensis Martii A<sup>o</sup> regni regine Elizabethæ xxx. M<sup>d</sup>. that I JOHN DUDLEY purveyor had provided of M. RICHARD HAKLUYT gentleman of the hundreth of Wolsey iij oxen price the piece *vili. xiijs. iiijd.* Soe prised by Robert Parke, Nicholas Parker, John S . and John Parker.

28 March, 1589.

This gent had xiii<sup>ten</sup> oxen in his stawle to sell, whereof were [taken up] viij, but upon entreaty the Purveyor offered to release 3 of them, but he would not accept thereof unless he might have taken out three of the best, whereby it seemeth he liketh better of the price then of his cattle

It was justified by the Purveyor before us and himself that they were well driven, dieted and fed upon the way as any other mans cattle were, and not driven above viij miles a day, whereby they might be anything the worse, besides it hath been accustomed time out of mind that all cattle provided and overpriced to be repriced, otherwise her Majestie will be a great loser. . . . It is generally said by many that those which may best spare them are by the Purveyors forborne, yet none of the countrey will give him information where he may best take them, or can charge him with taking of bribes for forbearing their cattle.

## Document 64

### CONTRIBUTIONS BY RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS* 1589

The voyage of Sir THOMAS PERT, and SEBASTIAN CABOT, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Juan de Puerto rico.

That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discoverie undertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the overthrow thereof unto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath bene seene & proved in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soveraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes under the governance of Sebastian Cabot yet living and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee have spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily have come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is now in Spaine in the citie of Sivill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since have beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme.<sup>1</sup> Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527.<sup>2</sup> by

<sup>1</sup> This voyage, planned by John Rastall, is discussed by J. A. Williamson, *Voyages of the Cabots*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Address* was of later date. See E. G. R. Taylor, *Hak. Soc.* vol. LXIX, p. xliii.

doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discovered the North parts, the which it seemeth unto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you have taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace have made thereof a prooffe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would have the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainly be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twice or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonsalvo de Oviedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth unto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. That in the yeere 1517.<sup>1</sup> an English Rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great shippe unto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed over unto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived neere unto the mouth of the haven of this

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was misled by this faulty date, which should be 1527. Oviedo refers to the ship, believed to be that of John Rut. Cf. *infra*, p. 389.

citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leave to enter into this haven, saying that hee came with merchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the governour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the haven. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselves with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an oversight: for if the shippe had entred into the haven the men thereof could not have come on lande without leave both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were received, sayled toward the Iland of S. John, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gave and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arrived not: for wee never heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsalvo de Oviedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rover, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. John de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee prejudiciall to other mens chargeable<sup>1</sup> and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie.

A briefe note concerning a voyage of one THOMAS TISON an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which under hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder,<sup>1</sup> a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

It appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, unto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his servant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: unto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can conjecture) may seeme to have bene some secret factour for M. Thorne<sup>2</sup> and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre us from it at this present.

The voiage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the *Dominus vobiscum*, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of king Henry the eight, and in the yeere of our Lord God 1527. for the discoverie of the North partes.

Master Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his countrey, as well for his learning, as great charitie to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8, and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassador to Charles the emperor, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the second part of this my worke) exhorted the foresaid king with

Rich.  
Hakluyt.

<sup>1</sup> So called to distinguish him from his son Nicholas, who was no doubt known to Hakluyt at Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> Tyson is several times mentioned (e.g. in their wills) as 'a servant' (factor) of the Thornes. The English merchants in Andalusia traded freely with the Atlantic Islands.



very waightie and substantial reasons, to set forth a discoverie even to the North pole. And that it may bee knownen that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships well manned & victualled, having in them divers cunning men to seeke strange regions, & so they set foorth out of the Thames the 20. day of May in the 19. yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord 1527.

And whereas master Hall, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were divers cunning men, I have made great inquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in navigation, might give me any light to know who those cunning men should be which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde mee by sir Martin Frobisher, and Master Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of S. Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much advaunce the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was, I cannot learne of any. And further they told mee that one of the ships was called the *Dominus vobiscum*, which is a name likely to bee given by a religious man of those daies: and that sayling very farre North-westward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulfpe, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of New found land, and the countrey lately called by her Majestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Britton, and the coastes of Norumbega,<sup>1</sup> and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknownen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yeere aforesaid. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving of the memories of the worthie actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Arambec' in the edition of 1599.

<sup>2</sup> The voyage of John Rut took place independently of Thorne's recommendations. The documents concerning it which were used by Purchas came too late into Hakluyt's hands. The two ships were the *Samson* and the *Mary Guldford*. One of them reached the West Indies in November 1527.

The voyage of M. HORE and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

One master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie upon the Northwest parts of America:<sup>1</sup> wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes by the yeere living. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolk, which was lately living, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serjeant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and divers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the *Trititie*, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarked. In the other ship whose name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwardes Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the privie Counsell, M. Oliver Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with divers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the *Trititie* and the *Minion*,<sup>2</sup> were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike maner at Gravesend, and after the receiving of the Sacrament, they embarked themselves in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was an ordinary fishing voyage to the Grand Banks, extended for the purpose. See E. G. R. Taylor, G.J. vol. 77, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> The second ship was the *William of London*.

From the time of their setting out from Gravesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, above two moneths, and never touched any land untill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, untill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They drave a great number of the foules into their boates upon their sayles, and tooke up many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Oliver Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the *Minion*, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following:<sup>1</sup> to wit, That after their arrivall in Newfoundland, and having bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not having yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Savages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were under the hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up, and tooke vewe of the Savages rowing toward them and their ship, and upon the vewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay up in the Bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Savages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Savages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine brave

<sup>1</sup> The younger Hakluyt had this story only at second hand, Dawbeney being now dead.

trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourelly to her yong great plentie of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieve themselves of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murdered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them.<sup>1</sup>

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortuneth that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroad for reliefe found out in the fieldes the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterve, enjoying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither devoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Savages: And hereupon hee stood up and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to have holpen them in that distresse, that

<sup>1</sup> The story of cannibalism was pure invention.

it had bene better to have perished in body, and to have lived everlastingly, then to have relieved for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned everlastingly both body and soule to the unquenchable fire of hell. And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arrived a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaille, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

In their journey they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselves being weary of flying over farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bills and red legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed unto a certaine castle belonging to sir John Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, untill they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles<sup>1</sup> onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably into Norfolk in the year 1539 during the preparation of the *Principal Navigations*. Buts (whose father was physician to Henry VIII) died before the narrative was printed.

matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooved with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence unto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westerner dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candlots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer

Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don John the third, king of Portugale.

RICHARDI HAKLUYTI brevis admonitio ad Lectorem.

Joannem Mandevillum nostratem, eruditum et insignem Authorem (Balaeo, Mercatore, Ortelio, et aliis, testibus) ab innumeris Scribarum et Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum, eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid praestiterim, virorum doctorum, et eorum praecipue, qui Geographiae, et Antiquitatis periti sunt, esto iudicium. Quae autem habet de monstriferis hominum formis itinerarii sui praecedentis capitibus trigessimis, trigessimis primo, trigessimis tertio, et sparsim in sequentibus, quamquam non negem ab illo fortasse quaedam eorum alicubi visa fuisse, majori tamen ex parte, ex Caio Plinio secundo hausta videntur, ut facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo a me appositis, collaturo, quae idem Plinius, singulis suis authoribus singula refert, in eorum plerisque fidem suam minimè obstringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his utere mecum.

*Translation*

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S brief admonition to the Reader.

If in purging from the countless errors of copyists and printers the work of our countryman John Mandeville, the erudite and distinguished author—let Bale, Mercator, Ortelius and others be my witness—by the collation of many, and those the best copies, I have achieved any success, let them be the judges who are learned men, and who in particular are skilled in geography and antiquities. As for the accounts he gives about men of monstrous shapes in chapters 30, 31, 33 and here and there in the following chapters of his travels, though I do not deny that certain of them were possibly observed by him somewhere, yet they are, for the most part, clearly drawn from Caius Plinius Secundus—as will soon appear to anyone who will compare

them with the chapters of Pliny which I have appended for this purpose—and all of these Pliny himself refers to their various authors, loth to put his trust in the majority of them. Farewell, and use this work with me—or produce a better!

## Document 65

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589

To the Right Honorable SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privie Councill.

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well known unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord<sup>1</sup> certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe:<sup>2</sup> he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance,<sup>3</sup> by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the known Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied.<sup>4</sup> From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to

<sup>1</sup> Table.

<sup>2</sup> World map.

<sup>3</sup> Cosmography formed no part of the ordinary school curriculum.

<sup>4</sup> The elder Hakluyt was particularly interested in economic geography, but if the date of this incident is 1568, he may have been considering the new proposals for a North-East Passage search, or the circumstances of Hawkins' voyage.



the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures<sup>1</sup> was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chieftest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Majesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my five yeeres abroad with him<sup>2</sup> in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes service, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and

<sup>1</sup> Presumably begun after Hakluyt had taken his Master's Degree in 1577.

<sup>2</sup> 1583-8.

vehement, they would farre otherwise have used. And that the trueth and evidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called *L'Admiral de France*, and printed at Paris.<sup>1</sup> Fol. 73. pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasses in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doivent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de navires: comme j'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter<sup>2</sup> returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield,<sup>3</sup> for her passing good behavior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals: so that I have just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of divers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata iis abscondere atque suppressere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

*Plinius, lib.*  
25, cap. 1.  
*Naturalis*  
*Historia.*

To harpe no longer upon this string, & to speake a word of

<sup>1</sup> In 1584.

<sup>2</sup> 1588-9.

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Sir Edward Stafford.

that just commendation which our nation doe indeed deserve: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had theyr banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obtained for her merchants large & loving privileges? who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? passe and repasse the unpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Nova Hispania, further then any Christian ever passed, travers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land upon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arrive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects<sup>1</sup> of this now flourishing monarchy have done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie *de gestis Romanorum*<sup>2</sup> recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent Ambassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moved with the fame of the majesty of the Romane Empire. And have not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Java major, have desired the favour of her majestie, and the commerce & traffike

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Cavendish's voyage.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1567.

of her people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Japan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their Easterne habitations?<sup>1</sup> For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to have read in the excellent history intituled *Origines* of Joannes Goropius,<sup>2</sup> a testimonie of king Henrie the viii. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not prevented him, to have done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Knevetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua convenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, ut non solum tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed ut commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi aviditas, ut nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter necessariis se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Majestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Knevettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reversus ab hac peregrinatione fuisset, &c. But as the purpose of David the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowmed prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gracious Majesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

*Joannis  
Goropii  
Becani  
originū lib.  
5. pag. 494.*

<sup>1</sup> The young men brought home by Cavendish.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1569.

Now wheras I have alwayes noted your wisdome to have had a speciall care of the honor of her Majesty, the good reputation of our country, & the advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have bene animated in this and other my travels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne encouragements, & the manifestation both of my unfained service to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor James,<sup>1</sup> a man many wayes very notably qualified.

*Plutarch in  
the life of  
Themistocles.*

And thus beseeching God, the giver of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leave. London the 17 of November.<sup>2</sup>

Your honors most humble alwayes to be  
commanded *Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 66

### PREFACE TO THE READER BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589

Richard Hakluyt to the favourable Reader.

I have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand

<sup>1</sup> One of the Queen's Physicians.

<sup>2</sup> 1589. Walsingham died less than five months after this *Dedication* was written.

by whose friendly aide in this my travell I have bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speech to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, *Non agnoscere per quos profeceris*, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indevours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answere for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that *Peregrinationis historia*, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, I meddle in this worke with the Navigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the travels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I have received more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, as this opening shows, was both a sound scholar and a good teacher. The compilations to which he refers are probably those of André Thevet and François de Belleforest, both published in 1575.

could afford me in this case, Bale,<sup>1</sup> Foxe,<sup>2</sup> and Eden<sup>3</sup> onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not upon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not upon that victorious exploit not long since atchieved in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army under the valiant and provident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England:<sup>4</sup> Not upon the good services of our two worthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not upon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales upon a great part of the enimies chiefest shippes, the other neere the Islands upon the great Carrack of the East India,<sup>5</sup> the first (though peradventure not the last) of that imployment, that ever discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowned countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discoverie of strange coasts, the chiefe subject of this my labour.

Thus much in brevitie shall serve thee for the generall order. Particularlie I have disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I have martialled all our voyages of any moment that have bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards us: For I find that the oldest travels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Judea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy

<sup>1</sup> John Bale, *Actes of the Englysh Votaryes*, 1546.

<sup>2</sup> John Fox, *Ecclesiasticall History*, etc. 1570.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, 1555. Hakluyt also made free use of Richard Willes' *History of Travayle*, 1577, based on Eden's work.

<sup>4</sup> The defeat of the Armada.

<sup>5</sup> Naval and military adventures were included in the second edition of the *Principal Navigations*. The carrack referred to was the *St Philip*, the first ship of her class to fall into English hands. The taking of this rich prize in 1587 taught the English public what trade with the East Indies really meant. James Lancaster's voyage was begun in 1591, the first English voyage by the Portuguese Cape route.

land, principally for devotions sake according to the time, although I read in Joseph Bengorion a very authentick Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Jerusalem under the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men have pierced further into the East, have passed downe the mightie river Euphrates, have sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselves are herein to be read.<sup>1</sup> To these I have added the Navigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within, to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the River of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as far as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I have produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our travailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that have bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Under this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Navigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna under the north pole:<sup>2</sup> next to them in consequence, the discoveries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieve, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Nova Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towards the river of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange journey of Master Jenkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleven hundred verstes up against the

<sup>1</sup> In the letters from John Newbery and Ralph Fitch. The latter's full narrative was written on his return to England in 1591.

<sup>2</sup> This matter Hakluyt had from John Dee.



streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslave standing upon the mighty river of Volga: there hence above two thousand and five hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship over the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels unto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscovie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, have performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I have concluded this second part.<sup>1</sup>

Touching the western Navigations, and travailes of ours, they succede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since:<sup>2</sup> the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince given to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discover & conquer in his name, and under his Banners unknown Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant

*Robert  
Fabian.*

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, Mercator, and Joannes Metellus Sequanus.

<sup>2</sup> This story was printed in David Powell's edition of *The Historie of Cambria*, 1584.

raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discoverie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Majesties selfe, do approove and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Nova Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. John Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfes of Mexico: upon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal advantage. The next leaves thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake upon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is joyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed over the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe over Master Frobisher and his actions, which I have also newly though briefly printed, and as it were revived, whatsoever Master John Davis hath performed in continuing that discovery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I have faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry have risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action.<sup>1</sup> Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Navigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the prooffe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter

<sup>1</sup> Davis' third voyage took place in 1587.

Raleigh, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriously followed, as it was cheerefully undertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in divers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Frauncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Japan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therefore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse:<sup>1</sup> wherein I must confesse to have taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to have inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have yeilded unto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedings, to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must crave thy further patience frendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their private affection to my selfe, but chiefly for their devotion to the furtherance of this my travaile, have yeilded me their severall good assistances: for I accompt him unworthy of future favours, that is not thankfull for former benefites. In respect of a generall encouragement in this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in mee to

<sup>1</sup> The author's intention at the time of writing was to omit Drake's voyage. The alternative plans for its publication must have fallen through just as Hakluyt's work left the press, when an abridgement of his own compilation was inserted into unsold copies.

forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is Master Edward Diër, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes have bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars have much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrough, Clarke of her Majesties navie, and Master Anthonie Jenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and observations in the north Regions, have much pleased me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme travaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singular delight have bene as it were ravished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserved with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe,<sup>1</sup> one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope<sup>2</sup> Gentleman Ussier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counsellor (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasurer of England.

Nowe, because peradventure it would bee expected as neces-

<sup>1</sup> Gerard the herbalist refers several times to 'Master Garth' as a collector and grower of rare plants, and a friend of Charles de l'Escluse, from whom he had received specimens. Rumold Mercator described him as a lover and patron of geography and all noble arts, and dedicated to him his world map of 1587 in memory of an intimate friendship of long standing (see Plate VI).

<sup>2</sup> This was *Walter Cope*, son of Sir Anthony Cope. A catalogue of his collection is given by Thomas Platters, who viewed it in company with Dr Lobel in 1599. Platters understood that Cope had personally collected many of the objects during his travels in the Indies with 'Vliess' (? Ulysses, Francis Drake), and mentions articles 'from a Spanish ship which he helped to rob', but there is no other record of this.

sarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I have contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession,<sup>1</sup> being therein for divers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

*The excellent  
newe Globe  
of M.  
Mullineux.*

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour have bene in bringing these rawe fruits unto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

## Document 67

### LETTER FROM HENRY LANE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589-90

A letter of M. HENRIE LANE to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.<sup>2</sup>

Worshipfull sir, because I finde you have the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Majesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not

<sup>1</sup> Molyneux was well known as a nautical instrument maker. His globe and accompanying map were finished in 1592.

<sup>2</sup> Most probably written after a perusal of the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*.

finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Sovereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arrived at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Majesty, at that time being at Otelands, where divers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Majestie gave them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Majesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great joy and pleasure that he conceived to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they delivered their letters and presents. The presents sent unto her Majesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars,<sup>1</sup> to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns<sup>2</sup> and other rich furies. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furies was yet in use. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserved, then these new silks, shaggies,<sup>3</sup> and ragges,<sup>4</sup> wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

*The use of  
furies  
wholesome,  
delicate,  
grave and  
comely.*

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and enterteinment by the Moscovie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leave at Greenwich, where they understood and had the Queenes Majesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensive to divers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, used these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched

*The trade in  
S. Nicholas  
offensive to  
divers  
princes and  
states  
Eastwards.*

<sup>1</sup> A package containing forty skins.

<sup>3</sup> Worsted cloth with velvet nap.

<sup>2</sup> Lynx.

<sup>4</sup> Irony.

by detractours, with flying tales and untrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of love and unitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his judgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Majesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were delivered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Majesties letter I send inclosed herewith unto your worship.<sup>1</sup> I also have sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Majestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narve:<sup>2</sup> in which yere of 1566, having generall procuracion and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia,<sup>3</sup> I could the better reply and prove, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I have seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscovites. Before our trafficke they overranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captives to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Livonia, but lost all, except Rie<sup>4</sup> and Revel, and the Russe made the Narve his port to trafficke, not onely to us, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscovites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had

*Smolensco  
won by the  
Russe.*

*Polotzko  
taken.*

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Ambassador.

<sup>2</sup> In the East Baltic.

<sup>4</sup> Riga.

few or none by us. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loved their ease at home with their wives, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Russe in better order, and recovered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leave of your worship.

*Polotzko  
recovered by  
Stephanus  
Batore.*

Your assured friend *Henrie Lane*.<sup>1</sup>

*Enclosure*

A Letter of the most excellent Majestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by STEPHEN TWERDICO and PHEODATA POGORELLA, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, unto their Master the ninth of May 1568.

Imperatori Moscovitarum, &c.

Elizabetha &c. Literas vestræ Majestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidère. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curavimus, ut non solum vestræ Majestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarumque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Majestatis favore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, ubivis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra utrobique, & mutuæ inter nos amicitia, & gratæ inter nostros benevolentia officia, ut crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi

<sup>1</sup> Henry Lane first went to Russia as an agent of the Muscovy Company in 1555. Hakluyt also printed a letter, written in 1586, in which Lane set out the history of the Muscovy trade at the request of Wm. Sanderson.



vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Majestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenovici nono die Maii 1567.

## Document 68

### WILL OF EDMOND HAKLUYT, 1592

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, Edmond Hackluyte of Eaton in the Countie of Hereford gentleman being in perfect healtie of bodye and good understandinge of mynde do make my laste will and testamente in forme folowinge. First I bequeath my soule into the handes of the blessed trinitie by whose infinite and unspeakeable goodnes and mercey I was created redeemed sanctified and preserved so many yeres in this huge sea of daungers and vale of teares: whose gracious goodnes in stead of punishinge my grevous sinnes hath bountifully powred many benefitts uppon me. Yea when my father and mother forsooke me and were taken from me by deathe even in myne infancy the Lord tooke me up the Lord cared for me. Tibi laus tibi honor tibi gratiarum actio in secula seculorum. Amen.

My free land in Eaton and elsewhere I give to my welbeloved brother Mr. Richard Hackluyte and to his heyers males lawfullie begotten for ever. For defaulte of such issue male unto the issue male of Oliver Hackluyte my brother. For want of such issue male to the female issue of my eldest brother:<sup>1</sup> for the lacke of such issue to the female issue of Oliver: for defaulte of such to the children of Katherine Moore my sister. For lacke of such issue to my sister Andrewes children: for want of such issue to the Queene and her heyers and successors for ever. My lease of fyve yeres to come of eight poundes yerelie bought of Richard Cooper of Dorkinge I give unto my brother Richard and Katherine Moore my sister. My stocke in Ireland betweene fortie poundes and fiftie I woulde have gathered up into myne Exec: handes whereof fyve poundes I give unto my sister

<sup>1</sup> Thomas.

Katherine, tenne shillinges a yeaere to all her children, the like tenne shillinges a piece to my other sisters children: twentie shillinges to my cosen Dorotheie Davyes as a token for my thankefull mynde. Allso to my gentle cosen Vernon at her house fower Ryalls to be put in a Ringe and given her from me. To the sweete courteous and honorable younge gentleman Mr William Howard sonne and heire to the Lord Admiral (unto whom I was Tutor fower yerres togeather) I bequeathe as a shadowe of lovinge and dutifull mynde fortie shillinges to be put into a Ringe with his Armes to be engraven thereon: desyring hym to accept of my name and to knowe them the rather for my sake. My three trunckes and apparell as well sattyn as whatsoever els not pertinently specified togeather with twoe cloakes of silke geograram the one blacke the other peachcoulloure lyned with rytche taffata I leave to the disposicion of myne Executor praying hym to burye me neare my cosen R. Hackluyte<sup>1</sup> or by my brother Thomas in Oxford and that he will bestowe uppon some small remembrance of me fortie shillinges, asmuche for some monument of my deare cosen Richard Hackluyte Esquier. And whereas my cosen Norwood lent me certeyne bookes of the Civill Lawe which remayne in the handes of William Tomkyns vicar of Twicknem uppon Thames together with many bookes of myne owne I praye myne Executor to see the same saffely with many thanks redelivered with full satisfaction to be made unto hym for those that be wantinge. Thus I ende my paynefull sorrowfull and wearisome pilgrimage in this vale of tears making my lovinge brother Richard Hackluyte myne executor. O Christe my soule thirsteth longeth and gaspeth after thee. Recyve me with those blessed armes stretched on the tree, and readye to embrace every one that seeketh salvation in thine Agonyes and merites. Into thine handes Lord I commend me body and soule, preserve me nowe and in the hower of my deathe. Veni domine Jesu, veni cito et noli tardare. Amen. Alleluia. Junii 20. 1592.

By me Edmond Hackluyte. By me Roger Moer.

[Probate granted at London before Dr. Lewis and Richard Hackluyt, Feb. 1, 1592/3.]

<sup>1</sup> The lawyer, who died in 1591.

## Document 69

### LETTER FROM JOHN WHITE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1593

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master RICHARD HAKLUYT, much happinesse in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England,<sup>1</sup> I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage<sup>2</sup> into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590.<sup>3</sup> And what events happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainly perceive by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. John Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and reliefes of the planters in Virginia:<sup>4</sup> so likewise, that by his endeavour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Majestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assignes, in

<sup>1</sup> White wrote from Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> An enclosure, which Hakluyt printed.

<sup>3</sup> 1591, new-style.

<sup>4</sup> Raleigh did his best for the abandoned colonists.

3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their releasement should take in, & transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessities to be landed in Virginia. Nevertheless that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarsity of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would have bene departed before I could have made my returne. Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countrey men in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia.<sup>1</sup> And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chieftest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which evils & unfortunate events (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Raleigh had bene observed, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceiue the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia,<sup>2</sup> which was no lesse unfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it

<sup>1</sup> It was mid-August.

<sup>2</sup> White's voyages were in 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1591. In the fourth, he failed to reach Virginia.

had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as joyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting<sup>1</sup> my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy wil & their good desire, I take my leave: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.<sup>2</sup>

Your most welwishing friend,

*John White*

## Document 70

### LETTER FROM EMANUEL VAN METEREN TO JACOB VALCKE, 1594

The 15/25 Decemb. 1594 at London.

Dear and worshipful Sir, I have received your worship's letter of November 25, and in accordance with your desire I have written concerning the north-west sea passage to R. Haclet, who has answered me, as you will see from his reply forwarded with this, translated by me word for word from the English. Your worship will please to instruct me what I shall answer him, and the sooner the better. He demands at least 20 marks sterling, which is about 140 gulden. Your worship will consider whether it is worth so much. I believe that there is no man living more eager in searching out the manner of voyages or who can say more about it. He is also a scholar and has been Chaplain to Stafford when he was the Queen's Ambassador at Paris in France. He is the most skilled man in research that I have ever known, and I have known him full twenty years.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Failing to obtain.

<sup>2</sup> 1594, new style.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* since 1574.

I believe that he will perform what he promises, so will your worship please let me know your answer as early as possible.

I know not what your worship has in mind concerning a disputation by Jenkinson;<sup>1</sup> but in Hacquet's book<sup>2</sup> on folio 597 there is a discourse about the north-west passage written by Sr. Humfry Gilpert Knight; I suppose your worship means that; it is certainly worth reading.

*Emanuel van Meteren*

## Document 71

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO EMANUEL VAN METEREN, 1594

Copy of RICHARD HACQUET'S letter to me EMANUEL VAN METEREN written at Wetherset near Ipswich 6 Decemb. 1594, translated from the English.

Good Mr. Emanuel, In answer to the crier subject of your friendly letter of 27 Nov. touching a summary of such writers or of the sound opinions of experienced men who have observed and noted down anything concerning the north-east passage, you must know that to make such a summary or brief statement in the proper way is a matter which requires good observation and judgment, much reading, much patience, and many consultations with the persons who have sailed in that part, by the usage of which I find and can demonstrate by good proof that your cousin Ortelius, and other cosmographers, have erred greatly in their descriptions both of the north-east and of the north-west parts of the world and also the same is true of others who have presumed to make maps but are in truth mere pretenders, such as only counterfeit or imitate the work of others, and are not good geographers.

<sup>1</sup> This was the disputation before the Privy Council, held in 1565/6.

<sup>2</sup> The *Principal Navigations*.

You know for one thing the great labour and long time that I have given and employed in these studies and how I have spared myself neither in expense nor in toil during a space of at least 26 years,<sup>1</sup> to gain knowledge of these secrets. I am ready now to impart to you in writing all the fruits of these my labours, as [your friends] desire with notes and quotations from the passages in my authors in the margin, and also indeed to help them to buy such books dealing with that argument and matter as are to be found in print, and regarding what is not yet in print, I shall send them in brief the substance thereof in writing. But all this can only be done in the needful time, and I should have to come up to London on account of it and remain there 3 or 4 weeks at least, which you know will cost somewhat. Therefore as regards the reward for my trouble, I think that I shall well deserve twenty pounds sterling. But it may so fall out that my directions shall give your friends such light and such courage that it will profit them many thousand pounds. And to speak freely and shortly, I will not communicate all my secrets in this very important matter under the sum of twenty marks at least. And I ask you at the earliest possible moment and in all haste to let me have your friends' final answer and full decision as to what my modest reward shall be; for if both the time and the thought I have given to the subject and also my labour are taken into account as I honestly believe they deserve to be, I shall at once, on the assurances in your next letter, come to London bringing with me all my principal notes, and shall not depart from there until I have with all speed and diligence fulfilled your friends' desire nor shall I conceal anything that will serve for the furtherance of such most Christian, profitable and noble enterprises.<sup>2</sup> But herein I ask you to be secret, for that imports me much, and as the Italian says, "il savio è secreto."

You may let your good friend know in my name that he is very mistaken about many parts of the course followed by Johannes de Plano Carpini, for (if his copy does not differ much from mine, which is printed in Italian) he will find that he did not travel along the Mediterranean Sea but on the north side of

<sup>1</sup> Since 1568, when his cousin's discourse attracted him to Cosmography.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch search for a north-east passage.

the Pontus Euxinus and over the river Volga, not to Astracan but further northwards and did not reach Boghar but travelled for many days having the northern Ocean on his left hand, going eastward, and he made frequent mention of the Scythian or northern Ocean. But of these matters I shall be able to write better and more particularly later, and can refer to the author's own words. I should like to know in what language they have the [copy] of de Plano Carpini, whether in Latin as I have seen him and if he is in print, when where and by whom printed.

Regarding Abilfedda Ismael, if that work is not to be had from the Library in Heidelberg of my friend Mr. Paulus Melissus, I can refer him to some of my friends at Venice who have copies translated into Latin.

Herewith awaiting your full and speedy answer, I recommend you to God's grace.

*R. H.*

## Document 72

### NOTES ASCRIBED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

The true Limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by ye Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies.

All that parte of the West Indies, w<sup>ch</sup> at this day is inhabited by ye Spaniards and Portugals is almost included wthin ye two Tropiques, excepting ye two small townes of St. Augustin and St. Helena in Florida, and ye province of Nueva Bisciaia north west, and 5 townes in ye River of Plate, namely Buenos Aires, Santo Spirito, Santa Anna, the city of Ascension, and Santa Fee beyond ye southerne tropique, as also in ye Kingdome of Chili upon ye South sea, ye townes of Coquimbo, Ponce, Angol, Sant Jago, La Imperial, Villa Rica, and Villa del Lago.

I doe not deny, but that northward and southward they have discovered much farther: but y<sup>t</sup> they have no further actual possession than before is specified, their owne later histories,



ruttiers and journals w<sup>ch</sup> we have to show, and our Englishmens manifold experience, doe assure us.

The most northerly Provinces of Nueva Espana, w<sup>th</sup>in and near ye tropique, are Nueva Espana upon ye South Sea and Guestocan upon ye Bay of Mexico. The most northerly Spanish towne in Culiacan, a province of Nova Galicia, is St<sup>t</sup> Michael, situate in 24 degrees of north latitude, and ye northermost Spanish townes in Guastecan are Tampico, Panuco, and Sant Jago de los Valles, as evidently appeareth by ye 8th and 9th mappes to be seen in ye last edition of Ortelius his *Theatrum Orbis*, w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> sworne cosmographer of y<sup>e</sup> King of Spaine.<sup>1</sup>

Southwards of these lyeth y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of Mexico, comprehending in it y<sup>e</sup> provinces of Yucatan, y<sup>e</sup> Honduras, Guatemala, and Veragua on y<sup>e</sup> East parte, as likewise Mochuacan, Colima, and Sacatula on y<sup>e</sup> West, and down more southerly y<sup>e</sup> provinces of Soconusco, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and Costa Ricas, besides thir inferior provinces. And it stretcheth to y<sup>e</sup> townes of Panama and Nombre de Dios, standing both upon the Isthmus or Neckland of Darien.

The second general part of y<sup>e</sup> West Indies, called by the Spaniards Tierra Firma, beginneth upon ye North sea at ye Gulf of Uraba, and is as far as the Isle Trinidad. Their principal Inland townes are Mompox, Santa Fee, Caly, Ancerma, Popaian, Pasto, Victoria, Carthago, Trimana, Merida, Pamplon, Tunxa, Santa Fee, Tocayma, St. Jago de Leon etc. Their chief Townes and Havens on ye sea coast are Carthagena, Santa Marta, Rio de Hacha, Coro, Burburate, Caracas, and Cumana, whereunto may be added the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad.

From ye isle of Trinidad standing in 10 and 9 degrees of north latitude, all along ye coast to ye equinoctiall line, and thence forward to Paraiba, Petigueras and Fernambuck, situate in 7 and 8 degrees of southerly latitude, for ye space of 500 leagues, their are no Christians at all inhabiting, as we are taught by our own late and yerely experience.<sup>2</sup>

From Paraiba in 7 degrees of latitude southward, ye Portugals do inhabite, upon ye cost of Brasill, ye townes Fernambuck,

<sup>1</sup> Ortelius died in June 1598.

<sup>2</sup> The voyages of Raleigh and his captains, 1595, 1596, 1597.

Baya de todos santos, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> seate of y<sup>e</sup> Vizroy and Bishop of Brasill, the town of Baya des Islas, Porto Seguro, Baya del Spirito Santo, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> townes of Santos and San Vincente, w<sup>ch</sup> towne of San Vincente standeth in 24 degrees of south latitude.

From Saint Vincente to ye straights of Magellan, all along the sea coast, for y<sup>e</sup> space of 700 leages, ther are no Christian inhabitants, only y<sup>e</sup> Spanish have planted 5 inland townes before mentioned upon y<sup>e</sup> river of Plate.

Within y<sup>e</sup> straights of Magellan they have not anie towne, either upon y<sup>e</sup> North or South shore. And as far as y<sup>e</sup> townes of Nombre de Jesus and Ciudad del Rey Philippo,<sup>1</sup> they have been found long since by Mr Candish in both his voyages and by diverse others of our nation<sup>2</sup> to be utterly ruined and dispeopled.

Also from y<sup>e</sup> Straighes of Magellan to y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Santa Maria, standing w<sup>th</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> South Sea in 37 degrees, to witt for y<sup>e</sup> space of 300 leages, they have no habitation at all.

From this Ile to y<sup>e</sup> tropique of Capricorn stretcheth the land of Chili contayning the towns before mentioned. At this tropique beginneth y<sup>e</sup> Province of Peru, w<sup>ch</sup> extendeth between y<sup>e</sup> sea coast and y<sup>e</sup> mountaines called Andes, somewhat to y<sup>e</sup> northward of y<sup>e</sup> equinoctial. And here y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards have many townes and cities, both upon y<sup>e</sup> coast and also within y<sup>e</sup> country. On y<sup>e</sup> coast they have Arica, Arequipa, Pisca, Lima y<sup>e</sup> seat of y<sup>e</sup> Vizroy containing 2000 households, and y<sup>e</sup> townes of Santos, Truxillo, Chorope and Payta, and y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Puna. The chief places of y<sup>e</sup> inland are Potosi, Charcas, Cusco and Quito. From Quito to Panama y<sup>e</sup> coast lieth in a maner desolate. These before mentioned are y<sup>e</sup> principal provinces, cities and townes actually possessed by y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards upon y<sup>e</sup> maine of America.

The chief islands they possesse as part of this new world are St. Juan de Porto Rico, Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica. As for y<sup>e</sup> great multitude of those other small Isles called Las Antillas adjoining to those 4, they are either utterly desolate, or inhabit by a few Salvages.

So that besides all those huge coasts and mighty inlands lying southward of y<sup>e</sup> tropique of Cancer w<sup>ch</sup> hitherto are quite free

<sup>1</sup> Founded by Pedro Sarmiento after Drake's exploit.

<sup>2</sup> In 1587, 1589 and 1592.

from any Spanish government, all those large and spacious countries on y<sup>e</sup> easte parte of America from 32 to 72 degrees of northerly latitude have not, nor never had, any one Spanish colonie planted in them, but are both by right of first discovery performed by Sebastian Cabota at y<sup>e</sup> cost of King Henry ye 7th, and also of later actual possession taken on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe and under y<sup>e</sup> sovereign authoritie of hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> by ye severall deputies of S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh, and by the two English colonies thither deducted (whereof the later is yet their remaining)<sup>1</sup> as likewise of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Sir Martin Frobisher, Mr. John Davies and others, most justly and inseparably belonging to the crown of England.

Which countries being greater than all Europe, and in goodness of soile nothing inferior thereunto, are by no meanes by us to be given over unto them who have already a great deal more than they can well weild.

Lastly on the backside or west of America, beyond Cape California from 24 degrees of northerly latitude to 43 degrees (all w<sup>ch</sup> coast Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world discovered and took possession thereof for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> in 38 degrees, calling the country Nova Albion) they have not any foot of actual possession, much lesse more northerly. And therefore in time to come they shall have no pretense of cavillation against a north west passage, if it should please god to lay open the same.

Whether an Englishman may trade with the West Indies, with certain answers to the Popes Bull.<sup>2</sup>

First it is to be understood that the King of Spaines title to the Indies dependeth upon a guift or Bull of Pope Alexander the 6th dated 1493.

Against w<sup>ch</sup> it may be said, that the pope had no authority to subject temporally the infidels, or to take away their landes without a cause.

Secondly, the consent of the pope, if it were ratified, was only

<sup>1</sup> According to John White's view, in his letter of February 1594.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Discourse of Western Planting*, *supra*, p. 297.

conditional and is to be understood that things already safe should be kept. And the very words of the Bull be not to grant a conquest or such an absolute power, but a meanes to convert and reduce them to Christianity: although the usage of the Spaniard hath bin otherwise, and so the graunte voide.

Thirdly, the Bull or graunte is to be understood in cases lawfull, and not tending to the prejudice of a third person.

All princes and estates had and have by the law of nature<sup>1</sup> the righte of navigation in the sea and the right of traffique, w<sup>ch</sup> the Pope by the fulnes of his authority cannot take from them: and the words of the said Bull express that the Pope did not intende to take from any Christian prince such rights as he had obtained.

Fourthly, in case any such guift or inhibition of the Pope wear lawfull, and the right were solely in the King of Spaine as he pretendeth, yet whereas after the date of the same, both his auncestors accorded and covenanted wth the king and crown of England, that the subjects on both sides might freely traffique in the kingdomes and dominions of both the parties contracting, ther is no doubt but that Englishmen may lawfully repaire into the west Indies, being parcel of the dominions, for trade and traffique of merchandize.

For the wordes of the treaties with King Ferdinand and his wife Queen Isabell of Castile, and like wise wth the Emperor Charles, are general, and generally to be understood.

And as it would be hardly taken that the king of England, contracting of free traffique and commerce in his dominions, should (for examples sake) inhibite the Spaniard to come into Irland, so the like reason is, that the king of Spaine, certainly in like sorte, should permitte only a traffique in Spaine and in no other places.

Seeing therefore that the sea and trade are common by the law of nature and of nations, it was not lawfull for the Pope, nor is it lawfull for the Spaniard, to prohibit other nations from the communication and participation of this lawe.

And if they do prohibit them from those things w<sup>ch</sup> are allowed by the lawe of nations, that is from merchandize, w<sup>ch</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For 'natural rights' cf. *supra*, p. 11.

also are due by special consideration, every man may defende himself, and resist violence by violence.

And therefore the Spanish lawiers themselves have concluded that the Venetians cannot inhibit that none but themselves shall navigate and trade w<sup>th</sup> ther Gulfe in the Adriatic Sea: neither can the Spaniards and Portugals make any such prohibition of ther Indies, to prohibite lawfull and orderly traffique, w<sup>ch</sup> right appertaineth unto all nations, by the lawe of nations, as well as unto them.

Such were the first navigations of Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and others. And considering that the hostility and injuries offered unto them traffiquing peacably and lawfully (w<sup>ch</sup> are to be sett downe) were both against the laws of nations, and also special treaties between both nations, they might defend themselves and lawfully continue traffique w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, both subject and not subject to the King of Spain.

And so much may be alleged for the excuse of Sir Francis Drakes first voyages into the West Indies.<sup>1</sup>

For the maintenance of the justice of his last voyages thither w<sup>th</sup> some of her mat<sup>tes</sup> ships, the first to St. Domingo and Cartagena, and the second (in w<sup>ch</sup> he died) to Nomb<sup>r</sup>e de Dios, being no private but publique actions, another course must be holden, viz: of injuries and hostilities declared<sup>2</sup> by the open action of the King of Spain from time to time against her mat<sup>te</sup> and her realme, and this to be deducted particularly and at large.

Besides the cruell usage of her majesties subjects lawfully and peacably traffiqueing with Spaine, without offence, by inquisition,<sup>3</sup> against the lawe of nations and the treaties. And this point is to be amplified by examples, and the evil usage of hir subjects traffiqueing into the Indies.

The preparation of an intended conquest, as appeared afterwards by the fleet sent under the charge of the Duke of Medina Sidonia<sup>4</sup> and such like.

FINIS

<sup>1</sup> I.e. between 1570 and 1580.

<sup>2</sup> After 1585.

<sup>3</sup> As in the case of Henry Hawks and some of Hawkins' men.

<sup>4</sup> The Armada.

## Document 73

### EPISTLE DEDICATORIE TO LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the LORD CHARLES HOWARD, Erle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Navigations and Discoveries of Strangers in divers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris,<sup>1</sup> during my five yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her Majesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceive, that with diligent observation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activitie in the Search and Discoverie of the most unknown quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to folow his private affaires: the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three severall Volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys.<sup>2</sup> Which worke of mine I have not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing

<sup>1</sup> In 1582 and 1587.

<sup>2</sup> The first, single-volume, edition of the *Principal Navigations* is ignored, as courtesy required, since it was dedicated to Walsingham.

woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, have brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have bene buried in perpetuall oblivion. The first Volume of this worke I have thus for the present brought to light, reserving the other two untill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse.<sup>1</sup> In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone,<sup>2</sup> I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subject and matter, might justly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted unto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscovie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first favours and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia,<sup>3</sup> the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheritors of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Chronicles have notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time have shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquitie hath afforded

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was a year before vol. ii appeared.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect Lord Howard proved disappointing.

<sup>3</sup> The name of William, Lord Howard appears in the Company's Charter of 1555, printed by Hakluyt.

greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Majesties Navie Roiall, environed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England,<sup>1</sup> and made them perfectly to understand that olde speach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi sævúmque tridentem,  
sed tibi sorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Majesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie service, began to cast an extraordinarie eie upon your lordship, and deeply to conceive that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull service, your L hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieved against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander under her sacred and roiall Majestie, your noble government and worthy behavior, your high wisdom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heavenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most evidently to have bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall never cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renowned expedition and honorable voyage unto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many brave and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon upon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that

<sup>1</sup> A similar story is told of old Admiral Howard, when Philip of Spain arrived in the Channel to marry Queen Mary.



enterprise, because they be hereafter so judicially set downe, by a very grave and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Upon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very convenient to commend with all humilitie and reverence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoveries unto your Honors favourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly craving pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall favourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding up of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred up to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education, then hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships have bene lost, how many worthy persons have bene drowned in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoverished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knownen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor devise of mine, it may please your Lordship to understand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in

passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Major, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Sivil. The readers of which Lecture have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and encouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chavez, of Hieronymo de Chavez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands,<sup>1</sup> together with the straight and severe examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies.<sup>2</sup> Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowned and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the 'Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motives which induced his princely wisdom hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Ut magistri, marinarii, gubernatores, & alii officarii navium, juventutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis navium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solum illi reficiantur, verumetiam alii juvenes moveantur & instigantur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cujus, doctiores & aptiores fiant navibus & aliis vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quam

<sup>1</sup> The two former were eminent writers and cartographers of the middle of the century. Zamorano's *Arte de Navegar* appeared in 1582 and Edward Wright published a friend's English version in 1610. See also *supra*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> When Hakluyt examined the captive Pedro Diaz in 1586 he no doubt came into possession of the Spanish pilot's sea manuals.

belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c.<sup>1</sup> To descend a litle lower, king Edward the sixt that prince of peerelesse hope, with the advise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the North-easterne discovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vi.s. viii.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Major (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other private uses)<sup>2</sup> so his princely Majestie would have shewed him selfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Navigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the advancement of Marine causes;<sup>3</sup> I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected.<sup>4</sup> As therefore

<sup>1</sup> The Trinity Houses of Hull and Deptford were incorporations of existing religious foundations for the welfare of seamen. The Deptford Charter is dated 1514, that for Hull 1457. Henry VIII merely confirmed it. The Newcastle House was founded in 1536 (see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* vol. xi) and, as Hakluyt's quotation indicates, to the older benevolent objects was added that of advancing the practice of navigation.

<sup>2</sup> Cabot's pension of £166. 6s. 8d. (presumably by Queen Mary's orders) passed on his death, with his papers and maps, to William Worthington, who was still alive in 1582. The draft appointment of Stephen Borough as Chief Pilot is dated January 1563/4 (Lansdowne 116), but it was never implemented.

<sup>3</sup> The Gresham Lectures were first read in 1597. The subjects included Astronomy and Geometry, but their applications to navigation lay outside the scope of the endowment.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Wright, on Aug. 23, 1599, addressed Lord Howard as follows, in his Dedication of *The Haven-finding Art*: "Right honourable, being informed by my learned friend, and most effectual furtherer of Navigation for the common good of his country M. Richard Hakluyt, upon his dedication of his first volume of his Discoveries unto your Lor. about a yeare since, of the singular affection your Lor. beareth towards the advancement of knowledge and skill among our seamen in marine causes, so farre forth that to the end they might be the more stirred up and holpen this way, your Lor. would not only be a meane unto her Majestie for the establishing an ordinary Lecture to

our skill in Navigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased under the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with severe and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discoverie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknowne, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beseech you speake unto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quò sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time under her most gracious and excellent Majestie. have shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conserver, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enjoy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such divine and heroical vertues. And even here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely upon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare jewels, your generous off-springs, but also upon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renowned family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes  
to be commanded:

*Richard Hakluyt* Preacher

be read for their instruction, but also rather then so good a purpose should fall to the ground, would be at some charges yourselfe for the bringing of it to effect. " In the end it was left to the East India Company (no doubt influenced by Hakluyt) to establish such a lecture (see *infra*, p. 510).

## Document 74

### PREFACE TO THE READER BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

A preface to the Reader as touching the principall  
Voyages and discourses in this first part.

Having for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traveile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time<sup>1</sup> (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my three-fold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entred; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment, and ease I have neglected; albeit thy selfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the previous edition.

finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.

For (to containe my selfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme unto our English nation, to have bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (never certainly knowen before) and of a convenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the river of Duina; as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to have discovered unknown landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillars of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasques de Gama traversed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried unknown landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman accost Nova Zembla, Colgoieve, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions<sup>1</sup> of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie, who writ above 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called *Melpomene*, signified unto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides environed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make

<sup>1</sup> Planting.

mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide upon their sterboud (that is to say, having crossed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Navigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres environed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriving in Ægypt? And doth not Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole journall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be over-tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arrived at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not divine Plato (who lived so many ages ago, and plainly described their West Indies under the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer unto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle *lib. de admirabil. auscult.* their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them up, and pricke them forward unto their Western discoveries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the loadstarre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to undertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting forth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inking at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to give them encouragement.

*Lib. 2, nat.  
hist. cap. 67.*

*In Timæo.*

But besides the foresaid uncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves unto the rigour of the sterne and uncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waves and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the seven-fold mouth of Duina. Moreover, in their Northeasterly Navigations, upon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieve, Petzora, Joughoria, Samoedia, Nova Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigatz, unto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce even in June, July, and August, unto what hideous overfals, uncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and divers other fearefull inconveniences they were subject and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this proviso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch.<sup>1</sup> But nowe it is high time for us to weigh our ancre, to hoise up our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugales have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations have indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-

<sup>1</sup> An account of Barents' three voyages (1594-7) was published by Gerrit de Veer in 1598, and Hakluyt tried to arrange for its immediate translation.



thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable unto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it never barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Navigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreover they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, silver, gold, and other precious wares, which served as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giving over their attempts? But nowe let us leave them and returne home unto our selves.

In this Volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoveries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narve, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke five strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the advauncing of traffique by river and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arrivall at Newnox, his passing up the river of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslave, Rostove, Peraslave, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts travell in all. Moreover, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding unto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable

my lord Lumley)<sup>1</sup> wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the majestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not having so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams<sup>2</sup> his relation next following, to M. Jenkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turbervile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe in the pages of this work. Unto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Johnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 352. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult journey of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, up the great river of Onega, and so by other rivers and lakes to the citie of Novogrod velica upon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of observation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 395. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rivers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foure-teene times over the unknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Jenkinson being their first ring-leader:<sup>3</sup> who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriving at the port of Mangusla, travelled thence by Urgence

<sup>1</sup> See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, for a catalogue of the geographical items in this library.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolmaster to the royal pages. E. G. R. Taylor, *loc. cit.* pp. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Here used in a good sense.

and Shelisur, and by the rivers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes journey over desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then have you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arrivall at Shabran, his proceeding unto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his journey after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yavate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with divers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you have set downe in five severall voiages the successe of M. Jenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, under the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, under Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreover, as in M. Jenkinsons travel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of living, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most lively represented unto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Journals you may here and there observe the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subjects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of government, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this Volume, all the Ambassages and Negotiations from her Majestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him unto her Majestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the employment of M. Jenkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Jerome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arrivall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismission into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata

Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Savin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I have not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Privileges, Instructions, Observations, or any other Particulars which might serve both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally, that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection unto this discourse of Russia; I have prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I have signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich unto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise have bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise have not bene of any long continuance; let us now withdraw our selves from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let us take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the Reader may have recourse unto the 103 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the judicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fiteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted unto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake,

so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou observe (friendly Reader) what privileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope John, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Adventurers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend unto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted unto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchants to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king John his favourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to have the same privileges here in England, which our English merchants enjoied abroad in their severall countreys? Or what should I signifie unto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subjects: or tell you what favours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceive of the letters & negotiations which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained upon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely settled Mart-towne for the uttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being thoroughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king

Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subjects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Jungingen, and Ulricus de Jungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subjects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous<sup>1</sup> dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most usuall kinds of wares uttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well upon the coast of Norway, as every where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inveterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise have bene utterly darke and unknown to the greater part of Readers, I have set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, containyng the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of revenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieved upon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Lieffland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall overthrow, partly by the revolt of divers Townes and Castles under their jurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with divers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise *de politica conservativa maris*: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chancellor pag. 255. of this volume: where-

<sup>1</sup> Crafty.

of albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his majesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an invaluable and huge masse of gold and silver plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and unaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to have bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to have proceeded from the mother of Evander: but take you off his utmost weed,<sup>1</sup> and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many lively descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discovery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be unpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of use; yet, so neere as the written copies would give me leave,<sup>2</sup> I have most religiously without alteration observed the same: thinking it farre more convenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise under K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet provisoos, just ordinations, & gracious privileges contained in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North

<sup>1</sup> Outer clothing.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt evidently compared various manuscripts of the *Libel of English Policy*. Modern historians agree with his estimate of its importance.

and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I have not bene unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieved of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his *Αρχαιονομία*)<sup>1</sup> I have published unto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octer making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, unto his soveraigne Lord K. Ecfrid.<sup>2</sup> After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter unto the Russian duke Jeruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traveile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare there company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were never yet thoroughly traveled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen unto us; I have here annexed unto the said Englishmans traveile, the rare & memorable journals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that travailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadors unto the savage Tartars (who had as then wasted and overrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel unto them. The former, namely Johannes de Plano Carpini (whose journey, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, unto the river of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1568.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred.



and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered over more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could have done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus employed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) unto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith unto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted over many large territories unto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them have so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and unmanerly welcomming they had at their first arrivall, what cold intertainment they felt in traveling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adjacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and overspreading Empire, in registering their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and mooveable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their unmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall lives, their vicious maners, their slavish subjection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie unto strangers, they deserve most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall object that they have certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not avouch them under their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther, imagine that they did avouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; every one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between them both? Nay,

there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleieve ech word and syllable. Moreover sithens these two journals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters unto me do testifie)<sup>1</sup> were many yeeres very inquisitive, and could not for all that attaine unto them; and sithens they have bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they have described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those unknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that ever I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerve in ought from the originals (both for the preservation of the originals themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned.<sup>2</sup> And for these two rare jewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deeply bounden unto the right reverend, grave, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner unto her Majestie;<sup>3</sup> by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse unto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two journals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.<sup>4</sup>

Then succeedeth the long journey of Henry Earle of Derby, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew divers of his captains, advanced his English colours upon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his

<sup>1</sup> No letter from Ortelius to Hakluyt has been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's extreme care for exact documentation is referred to on p. 65, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Watson.

<sup>4</sup> Hakluyt had read Dee's manuscript, *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, written in 1576.

travel into Pruis,<sup>1</sup> and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, under the person of his knight, doeth full judicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither have we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also have scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would give us leave) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great navie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Hoveden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, *Flores historiarum*, & in the *libel of English policie*, pag. 195. and 196. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to have consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze upon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage unto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoever it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soveraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought under his yoke of subjection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adjacent. And for that most of our Navigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either utterly ignorant, or but meanelly skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I have for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a brieft treatise called, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Man*. Whercin they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most

<sup>1</sup> Prussia.

ordinarie and accustomed navigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that even then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now have) first Godredus Crovan with a whole Fleet of ships, throughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arrived upon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and having subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) even through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing over from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olavus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second journey into Norway; of Sumerled his second arrival with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin upon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely upon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks unto the judiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the Reader shall give me leave to borrow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leave thereof: and that is in few words, that K. John passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces even in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king John, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the rest, there were divers men of warre. which did valiant service at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 83. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his *Perambulation of Kent*;<sup>1</sup> namely, the antiquitie of

<sup>1</sup> Published 1576.

the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious privileges and high prerogatives were by divers kings vouchsafed upon them, and what services they were tied unto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings use; and lastly, what great exploits they performed under the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, upon 200. French ships, and under the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then have you, pag. 93. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, upon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seven hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him unto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me give you a double observation. First, that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to have bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an haven towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twice as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and evident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreover, the Reader may behold, pag. 172. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recover Harflew had hired certaine Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had united their owne strength unto them) sent his brother John duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also overcome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naves (saith mine Author) that is, for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leave our ancient shipping, and descend unto later times; I thinke that never was any nation blessed of JEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory upon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped us, and were onely by Gods outstretched arme overwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his judgements unto all Christendome? An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition under two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. unto the strong citie of Cadiz, I have set downe as a double epiphonema<sup>1</sup> to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to have bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to deprive the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I have made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded unto my selfe.<sup>2</sup>

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Ise-land,<sup>3</sup> and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus,<sup>4</sup> Krantzzius, Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>4</sup> Olaus Magnus,<sup>4</sup> Peucerus<sup>4</sup> and others, are by evident arguments convinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the

<sup>1</sup> A striking exclamation or illustration to conclude a discourse.

<sup>2</sup> Since the Dedication was to Lord Charles Howard, it was only politic to include these two pieces.

<sup>3</sup> By Arngnim Jonas, 1593.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobus Zieglerus, *Historia Schondiae*, included in Albertus Kranzius' *Chronicon Regnorum Aquilonarum*, 1561. Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, 1576. Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555. Gaspar Peucer, *De dimensione terrae*, 1554. All these works were very widely known and read.

length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discoverie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors have fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not afford any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the brieft summe and scope of all my labours for the commonwealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed upon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankfully accept, as I have willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Western parts of the World.

## Document 75

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS*, 1598

A brieft note of the Morse and the use thereof.

In the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words "About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which had two great teeth in their mouths like unto elephants' teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee saw one of them sleeping upon the banks of the water, & thinking to take it, we went to it with

our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himself into the sea". Touching these beasts which Jaques Carthier saith be as big as oxen and to have teeth in their mouths like elephants' teeth: True it is that they are called in Latin *boves marini*, or *vaccae marinae*, and in the Russian tongue Morsses, the hides whereof I have seen as big as an oxen hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one<sup>1</sup> thicker than any two oxen or buls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets<sup>2</sup> against the arrows of the savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrows and lances, whereof I have seen divers in her Majesties stately armorie in the Towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seen a dryfat full at once, are a foot and some times more in length: and have been sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best ivory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow than the ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll, my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beast's teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize,<sup>3</sup> which was half a yard long or very little lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicorne's horne.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt had his own cabinet of curios.

<sup>2</sup> Shields.

<sup>3</sup> In 1597.



## Document 76

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1599

To the Right Honorable SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.<sup>1</sup>

Right honorable, having newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Levant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence overland to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein having begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme under the government of the Romans; next under the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest under the Normans, I have continued the histories unto these our dayes.<sup>2</sup> The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren invasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after received the Christian faith, they did not onely travell to Rome, but passed further unto Jerusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcetshire caried the almes of king Alfred even to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich jewels into England: which jewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene even in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a grave and woorthy Author

<sup>1</sup> Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, had now been dead just over a year.

<sup>2</sup> The plan of volume ii is explained in the *Dedication*, and there is no *Preface to the Reader*.

which lived before him, and by many others since, and even by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit divers other of the Saxon nation, the travels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of above 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but even Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible devotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselves into this glorious expedition. A sufficient prooffe hereof are the voiaiges of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great benevolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to have gone in person to the succour of Jerusalem, the personall going into Palæstina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chivalrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king John, and the travels of Oliver Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanville Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derby, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the travel of John of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with invincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, lives, and livings, leaving their ease, their countries, wives and children, induced with a Zelous devotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the

Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part unlooked after, I have brought together in the best Method and brevitie that I could devise. Whereunto I have annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French,<sup>1</sup> yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that served in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solyman the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chivalry, I have in the first place exposed and set forth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Jugurtha, writeth in this maner: *Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquaverit.* I have often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed unto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could never be quenched, untill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an universall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the emploiment of the courageous in-

<sup>1</sup> An English translation was first published by Robert Copland in 1524.

creasing youth of this realme, he is much deceived. For there are other most convenient employments for all the superfluitie of every profession in this realme.<sup>1</sup> For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is under our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris,<sup>2</sup> and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before<sup>3</sup> for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot)<sup>4</sup> as also in their intercepted letters come unto my hand, bearing date 1595.<sup>5</sup> they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueva Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with divers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Majestie under the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the countrey. Which action, if upon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre up her Majesties heart to continue with her favourable countenance (as upon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred up the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to advaunce the enterprise of

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt here begins a very vigorous plea for the renewal of the Virginia enterprize, and recapitulates the major arguments that he has repeatedly advanced.

<sup>2</sup> Espejo's *Viaje*.

<sup>3</sup> 1585; cf. *supra*, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Collected together upon Raleigh's behalf.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably brought back by the fleet that attacked the West Indies in 1595.

Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people,<sup>1</sup> and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Adventurers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and unlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our adversaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay unto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two convenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but every step we tread would yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentry of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to have lesse employment then nowe they have, unlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose give me leave (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and provident consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris,<sup>2</sup> which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene above twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reverend and prudent Counseller Monsieur Harlac<sup>3</sup> the lord chiefe Justice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Judges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to have concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had thoroughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long civill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large

<sup>1</sup> In Hakluyt's view the only hope of success lay in planting a considerable body of colonists, the major charge during the initial years being borne by the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 54, p. 350.

Probably the celebrated magistrate Achille de Harlay.

and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence unto our selves I here omit, hastening unto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke.<sup>1</sup> It may please your Honour therefore to understand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio,<sup>2</sup> which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to have bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to have continued untill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather given over (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discreet letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke)<sup>3</sup> first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or governours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing over mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell invasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I have here againe revived, that the posteritie may never forget what trust may bee given to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath advauntage and is in his choler.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Majestie and the Grand Signior, with the great privileges, immunities, and favours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadors in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Majestie by her extraordinary favour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian

<sup>1</sup> One of the objects of Colonial promotion was to provide an outlet for men of Catholic sympathies (see *supra*, p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> Chio.

<sup>3</sup> Written in 1569-70. Campion had lived in Chio since 1540.

<sup>4</sup> William Malim's version of the *Italian Report* was published in 1572.

Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Havens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, even to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages over land and by river through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfes to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe overland to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixia, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and even to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diverse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. John Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Majesties letters written effectually in their favour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus<sup>1</sup> returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull travailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.<sup>2</sup>

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleevers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league upon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and have beene these many yeeres, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath travailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, have ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and use them in their service and warres? Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usuall and

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Burghley.

common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which have found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke proverbe was most truely verified, That evill counsaile proveth worst to the author and deviser of the same.

Having thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remaineth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to understand, that herein I have likewise preserved, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Navigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, have painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, upon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere unto particulars, I have here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie rivers of Senega and Gambia, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelve sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and under the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching unto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swarving backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before,<sup>1</sup> the two wayes, the one

<sup>1</sup> Father Stevens' account of how the Portuguese found their longitude during the Cape voyage was of real importance in view of the plans for an English East Indian trade.



within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of privie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and undoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here delivered by one Thomas Stevens a learned Englishman,<sup>1</sup> who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I have added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things above mentioned, but also doth acquaint us with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinaon, with the maine land of Junçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I have likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall revealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cæsar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now living here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adjoyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is *Assi fria como Flandes*, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the rivers be strongly overfrozen) and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, one of which I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called *Madre de Dios* two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell.<sup>2</sup>

But leaving abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not imperti-

<sup>1</sup> He was of New College, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> The treatise by Duarte Sande; see *supra*, p. 59. The great carrack was captured in 1592.

ment, before I make an end, to deliver some of the reasons, that moved me to present this part of my travailes unto your Honour. The reverend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choise of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisdom and understanding were able to censure and approve them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life.

Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Majesties inward counsailes and publike services, added to your well discharging your forren employment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) have not onely drawen mens eyes upon you, but also forcibly have moved many, and my selfe among the rest to have our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English.<sup>1</sup> I then (to my no small joy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be overtaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you have an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to have these my travailes censured by your Honours so well approved judgement.<sup>2</sup> Touching the third and last motive I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your favourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes.<sup>3</sup> Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe unto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall ex-

<sup>1</sup> The summer of 1597; see *supra*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition was censored by Dr James.

<sup>3</sup> In respect of his clerical promotion; see *supra*, p. 57.

perience, as in many others so in marine causes,<sup>1</sup> to oversee and peruse the same, but also upon his good report with your most favourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approve and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your favour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them unto your right Honorable and favourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble  
to be commanded,  
*Richard Hakluyt* preacher

## Document 77

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS*, 1600

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. GEORGE DRAKE of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesaid year 1593.

In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher, servant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe, is, as you reade, a brief report of ther loosing of their consort, the ship of Master George Drake of Apsham, which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two months as she ought to have been, she was not only the hinderance of her consort the *Marigolde*, and lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the morses or sea oxen, which are to be taken in April, May and June: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Sir William Monson, who began writing his *Naval Tracts* in 1597, or Sir Julius Caesar, a Judge of the Admiralty Court.

Isle, which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint John de Luz, by coming a day after the fayre, as we say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Author himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme, I am constrained to leave it out. The want whereof, for the better understanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplied by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly prevented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischief, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Nevertheless, albeit hitherto the successe hath not assured our expectations through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I am very willing to set downe in brief & homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulfe of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes: while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given, who should continue or prosecute the same.

## Document 78

### NOTES ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1600

Certaine Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdomes and dominions as are not subject to the kinge of Spayne & Portugal: together with the true limits of the Portugals conquest & Jurisdiction in those orientall parts.

Whereas, Right Honourable,<sup>1</sup> upon a treatie of peace between the crownes of England & Spayne like to ensue, y<sup>t</sup> is not to be doubted but that grete exception wil bee taken agaynst the intended voyage of Her Majesties subjects into the East Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança: therefore the Adventurers in the sayd intended voyage most humbly crave at yo<sup>r</sup> Honors hands, to take perfect knowledge of these few considerations underwritten.

First, they desire that it wold please yo<sup>r</sup> Honors to urge the Commissioners of the Spanish peace, to put downe, under their hands, the names of al such islands, cities, townes, places, castels and fortresses as they are actually at this present possessed of, from the sayde Cape of Buena Sperança along the Cost of Africa, on the Cost of Arabia, in the East Indies, the Malucos, and other orientall parts of the world; which, if they may bee drawne truly and faythfully to put downe, so that wee cannot be able manifestly to prove the contrarie, then wil wee be content, in noe sort to disturb nor molest them, wheresoever they are alreadie commanders and in actual authoritie.

Secondly, if they wil not by any meanes bee drawne to this themselves, then wee, for yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippes perfect instruction in this behalfe, wil take paynes to doe it for them. Y<sup>t</sup> may please yo<sup>r</sup> honors, therefore, to understand, that these bee al the islands, cities, townes, places, castles & fortresses, whereof they be, at this present, actual commanders, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança eastward.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cecil and the Privy Council.

*On the Coste of Africa:*

Sofala or Zefala, Masambique, Sena.

*In the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe:*

Ormuz.

*From the Persian Gulfe along the Coste of India, Southward:*

Diu, Damaon, Baçaim, Chaul, Goa, the seat of the Viceroy, Onor, Barçelor, Mengalor, Cananor, Cranganor, Cochín, Coulaom, St. Thomé or Malipur, Negapatam, Manar, Columbo in Ceilon, Malaca, Maluco or Tidore, Amboyna, Macao, Manilla, in the island of Luçon, one of the Philippinas, and certayne other forts upon that island.

Thirdly, al the places which are under their government and command, being thus exactly and truly put downe, and wee being able to avouch it to be so, by many evident & invincible proofes, and some eye-witnesses, if need require; y<sup>t</sup> then remayneth, that al the rest rich kingdoms and islands of the East, which are in number very many, are out of their power and jurisdiction, and free for any other princes or people of the world to repayre unto, whome the sovereigne lords and governors of those territories wil bee willing to admitte into their dominions:— a chiefe parte whereof are these here ensueinge:

*The names of the chiefe townes Islands and Kingdomes, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, wholly out of the dominion of the Portugalls & Spaniards, in the East, Southeast and Northeast Parts of the World.*

The Isle of Madagascar or San Lorenzo, upon the backside of Africa.

The kingdome of Orixa, Bengala, or Amcan, in the Gulfe of Bengala.

The rich & mighty kingdome of Pegu.

The kingdome of Junçalon.

The kingdome of Siam.

The kingdome of Camboia.

The kingdome of Cauchin China.

The most mightie & welthy Empire of China.

The rich & Goulden island of Sumatra.

The whole islands of Java Major, Java Minor & Baly.

The large & rich islands of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo & Os Papuas.

The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon.

The rich & innumerable islands of Malucos and the Spicerie, excepte the two smal isles of Tidore & Amboyno, where the Portugals have only two smal forts.

The large islands of Mindanao & Calamines.

The goulden islands of the greate & smal Lequeos.

The manifold & populous sylver islands of the Japonos.

The countrey of Coray, newly discovered in the north east.

In all these & infinite places more, abounding with greate welthe & riches, the Portugals & Spaniards have not any castle, forte, blockhouse or commaundment, as wee are able to prove by these authors or witnesses following:

*Portugalle Authors, printed & written:*

Fernando Lopes de Castanneda, his larg volumes of ye East Indies.

John Barros, his 3 decads of Asia.

Antonio Galvano, of the Discoverers of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

Hieronymus Osorius, de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis.

Duarte Sande, printed at Macheo, in China, 1590.<sup>2</sup>

The noble intercepted Register, or Matricula, of the whole government of the East India, in the Madre de Deos, 1592.

*Spanish Authors printed in Spayne:*

Gonsalvo de Oviedo, chronicler for the West Indies to Charles the V.

John Gaetan.

Francis Lopez de Gomera.

*Italiens:*

The first volume of John Baptista Ramusius.

Caesar Frederic, which lived 18 yeres in ye East Indies and returned 1581.

Petrus Maffeus, printed within these 7 yeres.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not yet published by Hakluyt, but in his possession.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the spoils of the *Madre de Dios*, the *Description of China*.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri xvi*, 1593.

*Englishmen personally in the Malucos, Java and many other parts of the East Indies:*

Sir Francis Drake's men, yet living, and his own writings printed.

Mr. Thomas Candishes Companye, yet living, and his writings printed.

Mr. Ralph Fitches travayles through most of the Portugal Indies, in print.

Mr. James Lancasters and his companyes voyage, as farre as Malaca, printed.<sup>1</sup>

*Hollanders:*

John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived about 7 yeres in India.

The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java & Baly, in printe.

The second voyage to Java, in Dutch & English.

The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them in ye sayd voyage.

The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est Indies this yere.

Fourthly, let them shewe any juste or lawefull reasons, voyd of affection and partialitie, why they should barre her Majestie and al other Christian princes & states, of the use of the waste, wyde & infinitely open ocean sea, & of accesse to the territories & dominions of so many free princes, kings & potentates in the East in whose dominions they have noe more sovereign command or authoritie then wee, or any Christians whosoever.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All in the *English Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> Foulke Greville, treasurer of the Navy, replies to this note in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, with a summary "out of Osorius, Edens Decades & specially out of the voyages of John Huighen, having neyther meanes nor tyme to seake other helpes, . . . London, 10 March 1599 (1600)".



## Document 79

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1600

To the right honourable SIR ROBERT CECIL Knight, principall Secretary to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Councel.

Right honourable, your favourable acceptance of my second volume of *The English voyages* offred unto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your convenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my travailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects:<sup>1</sup> these considerations have throughly animated and encouraged me to present unto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subject and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chieftest authors *The new world*. New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, aliàs Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. A world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not thoroughly discovered, neither within the Inland nor on the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the hither side it be knowen unto us for the space of five thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendocino and Nova Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called *A newe worlde*. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and unperfect notice thereof.

<sup>1</sup> In the grant to Hakluyt of the reversion of the next vacant prebend in Westminster Abbey, 27 Aug. 1600.

Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias under the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa & Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long navigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would have inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe governours. Moreover, above 300. yeeres after these wee have the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discovered in the Westernne Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup> And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the uttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi serviat ultima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris ultima Thule.<sup>2</sup> Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned divines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth unto Plato his Westernne Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying, Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia. Of this New world and every speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoveries and serches of the same, giving unto every man his right, and leaving every one to mainteine his owne credit. The order observed in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine unto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in divers places to use the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced unto)

<sup>1</sup> For these stories see Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*.  
This famous prophecy of Seneca was quoted by Eden in his *Decades*.

being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing unto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successively in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as have bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one upon another, doe much more lighten the readers understanding, and confirme his judgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I observe from the highest North to the lowest South. Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occur-reth, if I finde one voyage well written by two severall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those journals, as finding divers things of good moment observed in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier observeth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, *Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus*. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discovery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty river of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, of The gulfes of California, & the Northwesterner sea-coast to Cabo Mendocino and Sierra Nevada: as also of the late & rich discovery of 15. provinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest wherof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, civil government, and populousnesse of the same. Moreover, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part unknowne unto us,) I have used the uttermost of my best endeavour, to get, and having gotten, to translate

out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way availe us or annoy them,<sup>1</sup> if they drive and urge us by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace upon indifferent and equal conditions.<sup>2</sup> What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may understand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues conteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Nova Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Japan lying over against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which until these foure yeeres was never reveiled unto us, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I have here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an haven on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Japan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>3</sup> In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three severall times, that there is a passage that way unto the North parts of Asia. Moreover, because I perceive by a letter directed by her Majestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea under the charge of Benjamin Wood, chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Duddleley, a gentleman of excellent parts)<sup>4</sup> that she useth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for

<sup>1</sup> Besides intercepted letters, Hakluyt published pilot's rutters taken from Spanish vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Negotiations for peace were being carried on (see *supra*, p. 59).

<sup>3</sup> Gualle's voyage of 1584 was translated into Dutch by Linschoten.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Lady Sheffield.

her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I have brought to light certaine new advertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Japan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and principedomes of Japan; as also of the Tartars called Jezi, adjoyning on the East & Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best utterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reveile unto us the passage thither by the Northwest.<sup>1</sup> The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in an history of Tamerlan, which I have in French, set out within these sixe yerres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which history I would not have failed to have translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done unto my hand.<sup>2</sup>

And for an appendix unto the ende of my worke, I have thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the grave and discreet judgements of those which have the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Sivil in Spaine, touching their government in sea-matters; together with The streight and severe examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Navigation, with the time that they be enjoyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere unto.<sup>3</sup> Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt believed in a north-west rather than a north-east passage at this date.

<sup>2</sup> The French version of Jean du Bec was translated and published by 'H. M.' in 1597.

<sup>3</sup> Information obtained in 1586.

will seeke to bring such as are of that calling unto better government and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation.<sup>1</sup> To leave this point, I was once minded to have added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I have lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to travelers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated unto her sacred Majestie.<sup>2</sup> But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chieftest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare jewel<sup>3</sup> lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth evidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defective and unperfect, and that if hee might have leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more advisedly himselfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preservation of her Majesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their judgements for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serve our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discovery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde divers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined.<sup>4</sup> Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endeavours, I have for these 3. yeeres last past<sup>5</sup> encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. JOHN PORY, one of speciaall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was quietly pertinacious in this important matter.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1598.

<sup>3</sup> The famous *De Magnete*, published in 1600.

<sup>4</sup> The search had been in abeyance since 1587.

<sup>5</sup> The years 1598-1600.

Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westernne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore service that I may; and in the meane season will not faile unfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre upon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his joyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.<sup>1</sup>

Your Honours most humble to  
be commanded,

*Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.*

## Document 80

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN JOHN PORY'S *HISTORIE OF AFRICA*, 1600

An approbation of the historie ensuing, by me Richard Hakluyt. Being moved to publish mine opinion as touching this present Historie of John Leo; I do hold & affirme it to be the verie best the most particular, and methodicall, that ever was written, or at least that hath come to light, concerning the countries, peoples & affairs of Africa. For which cause, and knowing well the sufficiencie of the translator, my selfe was the first and only man that persuaded him to take it in hand. Wherein how diligently and

<sup>1</sup> In this year, we read in Camden's *Annals*: "The Queene, nevertheless, for the increase of Navigation, the honour of the Kingdome & the amplification of Commerce instituted in those daies a Company or Society of East Indian Merchants with large privileges: who sent thither with three ships James Lancaster, whom wee have spoken of in the yeere 1594, that he valiently wonne Pernembuck in Brasil."

faithfully he hath done his part; and how he hath enlarged and graced this Geographick historie out of others, the best ancient and moderne writers, by adding a description of all those African maine lands and isles, and other matters verie notable, which John Leo himselfe hath omitted: I refer to the consideration of all judicall and indifferent Readers.

*Richard Hakluyt*<sup>1</sup>

## Document 81

NOTES DRAWN UP BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601<sup>2</sup>

*This noat  
was made in  
February  
1600.*<sup>3</sup>

The chief places where sundry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies, gathered out of sundry the best and latest authours by R. Hakluyt.

### *The places where Peper groweth*

The greatest parte of the peper brought by the Portugales out of the East Indies unto Lisbon groweth in the country of Malabar, and is imbarqued at the townes of Onor, Barzelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Crangenor, Cochin & Coulan. All which places are in the Portugales possession. It groweth also about Calicut, but the kinge of Calicut and they are seldome in amity.

<sup>1</sup> John Pory wrote in his Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil: "... vouchsafe therefore (right Honourable) according to your accustomed humanitie towards learning, to accept of this Geographick historie, in like manner as it pleased your Honour not long since most favourable to take in good part those commendable indeavours of my reverend friend M. Richard Hakluyt: who out of his mature judgement in these studies, knowing the excellencie of this storie above all others in the same kinde, was the only man that mooved me to translate it."

<sup>2</sup> These notes were made at the request of the East India Company, as appears by an entry for Jan. 29, 1601: "Mr. Hacklett, the historiographer of the viages of the East Indies, being here before the Committies, and having read unto them out of his notes & bookes divers instruccions for provisions of jewelless, was required to sett down in writing a note of the principall places in the East Indies wher trade is to be had, to thend the same may be used for the better instruction of o' factors in the said voyage." *Court Book*, i. 45-51.

<sup>3</sup> 1601, new style.



*Places yielding Peper out of the Portugales jurisdiction*

First, in the Isle of Zeilon—Caesar Frederick, Cap. De Zeilon, and John Huighen de Linschoten.

*Places where Peper groweth in the Isle of Sumatra*

- |           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1. Daia   | 6. Andragiri |
| 2. Achen  | 7. Jambe     |
| 3. Pedir  | 8. Speriamon |
| 4. Pacem  | 9. Baros     |
| 5. Camper | 10. Dampin   |

*Margin:* Out of the first voiage of the Holanders in Latin & French, cap. 15 & 20.<sup>1</sup>

*Places where Peper groweth in the Isle of Java Major*

Out of the first voyage of the Hol., cap. 15 & 20.

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1. Pariban    | 10. Anier  |
| 2. Cheruguin  | 11. Bantam   |
| 3. Buama      | 12. Punctan  |
| 4. Labuan     | 13. Panarucan, where longe<br>peper groweth as also in<br>Pegu & Bengala, Gons.<br>de Ovied. and Caes.<br>Fred., in the end of his<br>discourse. |
| 5. Cherola    |  |
| 6. Charita    |  |
| 7. Meleassari |  |
| 8. Cangabaia  |  |
| 9. Chuconin   |  |

Peper also groweth in Quaeda on the maine of Malaca over against Achen. *Linsch.* cap. 17, and the 1 *Voy. of the Hol.* cap. 17.

It groweth also in the kingdome of Patané on the east side of the sayde maine of Malaca. *Hist. of China.* cap. 22.

It groweth likewise in the kingdome of Siam. *Ibidem.*

Also it groweth in the territories neere Malaca. *Linsch.* cap. 62.

Item. There groweth excellent peper in the Isles of Nicubar somewhat to the north of Sumatra. *Hist. China.* cap. 25.

There groweth also longe peper in the Isle of Baratene, as appeareth by the testimony of Sir Frances Drake, in the 3rd *volume of my English Voiages*, pag. 741.

The price of the peper may be read in *Linsch.* pag. 161.

<sup>1</sup> Cornelis Houtman: *Den eerste schipvaerd der Hollandsche Natie naer Oost Indien.*

*The places where Sinamon groweth*

The best sinamon groweth in the Isle of Zeilon the kinge whereof is the Portugales mortall enemy, where nevertheless they have a small forte called Colombo.

*Caes. Fred. Cap. De Zeilon.*

Wild cinamon called by the Portugales Canella de Mato, groweth in the Malabar, on the back side of Cochin and is brought in greate quantity into Europe for the best. *Linsch. cap. 14.*

In the Isle of Nicubar lying to the north-west of Sumatra, between the latitude of 6 and 10 degrees, are many trees of sinamon which is the best in all the world and is sold at small price. *Hist. China. cap. 25.*

Likewise there groweth in the Islande of Java, and on the maine by Malaca. *Linsch. cap. 63.*

*The places where Cloves do growe*

Cloves do growe in the isles of Maluco, namely in Tarenate, Tidore, Motela, Machian, Bachian, Alatura, on the north west end of the Isle of Ceiran, & in the isles of Amboino.

In the isles of Tidore and Ambonio the Portugales have two small fortes, as appeareth by the greate Italian map taken in the *Madre de Dios* which I have translated and caused to be drawne for the Company.

Great store of cloves are to be sold in Bantam.

Cloves are also brought from Siam to Malaca. *Hist. China. cap. 22.*

*The places where Nutmegges & Mace do growe*

Nutmeggs and maces grow chiefly in the Isle of Banda and the seven small isles thereto adjoyninge.

They likewise grow in three other islands greater than Banda, lying to the north-west thereof, called Ama, Liazer, and Rucellas. As appeareth out of the foresayd greate Italian map.

Nutmegges also come from the greate Isle of Borneo. *Hist. China. cap. 22.*

Sir Francis Drake found nutmeggs, ginger & longe peper, growing in the Isle of Baratave. Vol. 3 of my *English Voi.* pag. 741.

Nutmeggs also grow in the isle of Java & Sunda. *Linsch. cap. 66.*

*Places where Camphora groweth*

The best camphora groweth in canes, in the Isle of Borneo.

It groweth also about Chinchén, in a city of China.

It groweth likewise in the isles of Sumatra & Java.

It is much used in medicines and is one of the richest wares of India. *Linsch.* cap. 80. & *the 1 Voy. of the Hol.* p. 14.

*Anil, or Indico*

It groweth in Cambaya, but it is sold good cheepe in Bantam, the chief city of Java. *The 1 Voy. of the Hol.* p. 20.

*Amber*

It is found on the coaste of Africa, about Sofala, Mozambique & Malinde. [Margin] Amber is of colour grey and black, but the black is the best.

It is also found neere the Isles of Maldivar, as likewise on the coast of China. *Linsch.* cap. 70.

Much is brought also from the West Indies, and from the coast of Florida, which is of two sortes, liquid amber and clare amber.

*Muske*

Muske cometh from Tartaria and from China.

It is often falsified by the Chinois & Jewes. *Caes. Fred.* pag. 38, and *Linsch.* cap. 70.

*Civet*

Civet, called by the Portugales, Algalia, is fownd in Bengala, which the people falsifie: but the best cometh from the Nina, on the coast of Guinie, and from the isles of Cabo verde. *Linsch.* cap. 70.

*Benjamin*

Benjamin groweth much in the kingdome of Siam, and also in the island of Sumatra, and in the isles of Java, and in the country neere unto Malaca. There are two sortes, white and black. The black is best, which groweth out of the youngest trees. *Linsch.* cap. 71. It is one of the costliest druggs of all the East, because it excelleth all other in sweetness.

*Frankincense*

Frankincense, called in Latin, *Thus*, groweth in Arabia Felix. The best is white, like drops, and is called male: the worst is black, both are the gum of a tree. *Linsch.* cap. 72.

*Myrrhe*

Myrrhe groweth like benjamin & frankincense, and cometh out of Arabia Felix, and out of the country of the Abassins. *Ibidem.*

*Manna*

Manna cometh out of Arabia & Persia, but most out of the province of Usbeke, lying behind Persia, in Tartarie. There be foure sortes thereof: 1, whitish, 2, reddish, 3, that which commeth in great peces, with the leaves among it; the 4th kind is brought in lether bags, and is melted like hony, and is of a white colour. *Linsch.* cap. 73.

*Rheubarbe*

Rheubarbe groweth about Campion, a province and citty lying north of China. It is most brought by land through the contry of Usbeke, lying to the east of Persia in Tartarie, and adjoyning to Persia on the back side of India, and so commeth to Ormus, and thence to Sumatra & Java. The best is brought for the most parte over land to Venice. Read *Ramusius* in the preface of his 2 volume.

Rheubarbe also groweth abundantly in the country of Malabar.

It also cometh from Cathaio or China to Malaca by water *Ramus.* vol. ii, cap. 323, and *Linsch.* cap. 37.

*Sandals or Sanders*

Sandals, or Sanders, are of three sorts, white, yellow, and red. The white and the yellow which is the best, come from the island next adjoyning on the west, whither the Captaine of Malaca sendeth yearly a shippe. *Caes. Fred.* fo. 19. The red sanders grow in Coromandel & Tenasseri, on the coast of Pegu. *Linsch.* cap. 74.

*Snakewood or Palo da cobra*

Snakewood, or palo da cobra, groweth most in the isle of Zeilon. One ounce thereof bruised and mixed with water is

good against all poison & sicknes, and the stinginge of snakes, whereof it hath the name. Wherefore it is now much brought and carryed into all countryes, especially into Portugale & thence hither. *Linsch.* cap. 75.

*Lignum aloes or Calamba*

The lignum aloes which in India is called Calamba and Palo d'aguilla, is most plentiful in Malaca, in the Isle of Sumatra, Camboya, Siam, and the countries borderinge on the same. The best and finest is called Calamba, and the other Palo d'aguilla. The Calamba, yf it be good, is sold by weight against silver & gold. *Linsch.* cap. 76.

*The Root of China*

The roote of China beinge a most sovereigne remedie against the French poxe, is very common, and so good cheape in the Indies, that it is not worth above halfe a pardao the pound, which is a teston and a halfe of Portugale money. The best rootes are the blackest, with few knotts, and white within. They grow in no place but in China. *Linsch.* cap. 77.

Of opium, tamarindi, mirabolons, spikenard, also zocotrina, anacardi, calamus aromaticus, costus, cubebes, galanga, etc. read *Linsch.* from the 78 to the 93 chapter, where you shall find their proper names in the Indies, the places where they growe, the severall kindes of them, their uses, prices, etc.

Of the severall prices of precious stones and spices, with their weights and measures, as they were accustomed to be sold by the Moores & Gentiles, as also of the places where they growe, I have 3 severall treatises: one of *Ramusius*, in Italian and English, the second, of *Caes. Fred.* in English, and the third, in my first volume of *English Voyages*.

Of the prices of pearles and certaine pretious stones I delivered your worships a note in Portuguese and English, and more may be fownd thereof in *Linsch.* cap. 84 & 91.

Likewise I have delivered you a catalogue of the severall commodities good for the East Indies, whereof since I have found a greater number. I have also provided for you two copies of that

large Italian intercepted map of the Malucos,<sup>1</sup> the notes whereof, for the better understanding, are translated into English.

I have also large notes of 20 yeares observation<sup>2</sup> concerning the north-west passage, which your worships shall command yf you shall have occasion to use the same.

Certain notes gathered of such as have had much familiaritie with the Portugales that trade in the East Indies, by Richard Hakluyt.

1. Iron wyer
  2. Axes & hatchets heads
  3. Cutting hookes
  4. Ivory combes & boxe combes
  5. Spectacles
  6. Amber of Danske yelow in greate request
  7. Emraulds wrought
  8. Saphires
  9. Waxe candles used in there mesquitoses and pagodas
  10. False sylver lace and false sylver threed
  11. False gold lace and false gold threed in greate quantitie to decke there hangings and garments
  12. Cruses or potts of red & white earth, such as they melt gold & sylver in, packed up in bran in pipes & barels
- A jueller, a paynter, and certayne musisians are very necessarie for the voyage.

But above al others, a trustie interpretour in the Easterne Arabian tongue, for by using the Portugal tonge, you are in greate danger of being betrayed, as the Hollanders were 7 tymes in their first voyage.

*Margin:* If you goe without a smal barke or 2, I compte your voyage half overthrowne, before you goe foorth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Madre de Dios*, 1592.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1580, or earlier. Summarised in the *Discourse of Western Planting*, and since enlarged.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's services in providing notes and maps were paid for, as the following entries show: Feb. 16, 1601. Warrant for £10 to Mr Hakluyt: "for his travelles, taken in instruccions & advyses touching the preparing of the voyage, and for his former advyses in setting the voyage in hand the last yere", also "30s. for three mappes by him provided & delivered to the Company". *Court Book*, i. 51-64.

## Document 82

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601<sup>1</sup>

To the Right Honorable, SIR ROBERT CECILL Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, the woorthy Chancellour of the Universitie of Cambridge, and one of her Maiesties most honorable privie Counsell.

Right Honorable, while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoveries, I was advised by master Walter Cope,<sup>2</sup> a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course woulde proove most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although in that worke then under the presse I could not conveniently alter my course, yet holding his advise, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I heere present unto your Honour a briefe Treatie most agreeable to the same. The authour whereof was one Antonie Galvano, a Portugall gentleman: of whose pietie towards God, equitie towards men, fidelity to his Prince, love to his countrey, skill in sea causes, experience in Histories, liberalitie towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisdom and diligence in restoring & settling the decayed state of The Isles of Maluco, (where he remained sixe or seven yeeres governour,) if it please your Honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Ioannes Maffei in their Histories of The East Indies, you shall finde more written in his singular commendation, then a large Epistle can well comprehend.

The worke though small in bulke containeth so much rare and profitable matter, as I know not where to seeke the like, within so narrow and streite a compasse. For heerein is orderly declared, who were The first Discoverours of the world since the time of the flood: by what waies from age to age the spicerie, drugs, and

<sup>1</sup> Of his edition of Galvano.

<sup>2</sup> Whose cabinet of rareties he had examined.

riches of the East were conveyed into The West: what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely the changes of Empires and governments: The ceasing of all trafficke for many yeeres by The Gothes invasion of the Romane Empire: The rising up of The Mahumetane sect; with their overrunning of Afrike and Spaine: The renewing againe, after many yeeres disturbance, of the trafficke and entercourse of The East Indies; first by the Califas of the aforesaid sect: and eftsoones by The Venetians, Ienowais and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie by John the first king of Portugall of that name in the yeere of our Lord 1415. whose third sonne Don Henry (which he had by the vertuous Ladie Philippa, daughter of Iohn of Gante, and sister to Henry the fourth, king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugall discoveries, and continued the same for the space of fortie and three yeeres even to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugall found out with much patience and constancie the last way of the bringing the Spicerie into Europe by The Cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hundred yeeres past have become the chiefe Lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeavours, The Antiles and The west Indies began to be discovered by The kings of Spaine. The infancies of both which most important enterprises, The progresse of the same from time to time, the discoveries of Islands, rivers, baies and harbours, of many rich provinces, kingdomes, and countries; The erecting of castles in sundry convenient Islands and places, with the drawing of trafficke unto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose authority is heere succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your Honour at your convenient leisure to take a sea card or a mappe of the world, and carie your eie upon the coast of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the mayne in 29. degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the Cape of Buona Sperança till you come to the mouth of The Redde Sea, and passing thence along by the countrey of Arabia crosse over to India, and doubling Cape Comory compassse the gulfes of Bengala, & shooting by the citie of Malacca through The streite of Cincapura, coast al the south of Asia to the northeast part of China, and comprehend in this view all the



Islands from The Açores and Madera in the West, to The Malucoes, The Philippinas, and Iapan in the East: you shall heere finde by order, who were the first discoverours, conquerours and planters in every place: as also the natures and commodities of the soyles, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be understood of The Occident.

Now touching the translation, it may please you sir, to be advertised that it was first done into our language by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could attaine unto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me above these twelve yeeres. In all which space though I have made much inquirie, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could never obtaine the originall copie; whereby I might reforme the manifold errorrs of the translator. For whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defective in all three; especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedie, but to have recourse unto the originall histories, (which as it appeereth are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by) out of which the authour himselfe drew the greatest part of this discourse. And in very deede it cost me more travaile to search out the grounds thereof, and to annexe the marginall quotations unto the worke, then the translation of many such bookes would have put me unto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther use; to wit, that such as have leasure sufficient, and are desirous to reade these things more at large, (for brevitie oftentimes breedeth obscuritie) may fully satisfie their desires by having recourse by the helpe therof to the pure fountaines, out of which those waters which are drawne are for the most part most sweete and holsome. Now if any man shall marvel, that in these *Discoveries of The World* for the space almost of fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: Hee is to understand, that when this authour ended this discourse, (which was about the yeere of Grace 1555.) there was

little extant of our mens travailes. And for ought I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if my selfe had not undertaken that heavie burden, being never therein entertained to any purpose, untill I had recourse unto your selfe, by whose speciall favour and bountifull patronage I have been often much encouraged, and as it were revived. Which travailes of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and have been made for the most part to places first discovered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey. In the meane season nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance of this my labour, I humbly beseech the authour of all goodnes to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserve your Honour to the profitable service of her Maiestie, and to the common benefit and good of the Realme. From London this 29. of October 1661 [1601].

Your Honors Chaplein, in all dutie  
most readie to be commanded,  
*Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 83

### PREPARATION FOR A VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, 1603

Upon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chieftest merchants of Bristol by Master Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of St. Augustines<sup>1</sup> the Cathedral Church of the said citie, after divers meetings and due consultation, they resolved to set forth a voyage for the farther discoverie of the north part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt, accompanied with one Master John Angell and Master Robert Saltern (which had beene in the said discoverie the yeere

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was Holy Trinity Church, formerly the Church of St Augustine's Abbey.

before with Captain Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtain permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample patent for all those partes from Queen Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leave being obtained of him under his hand and seale, they speedily prepared a small ship...

## Document 84

### NOTES ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1603

The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences.

Ormus in the Persian Gulfe, an island fortified and possessed by the Portugalls.

Dyall, Damain et Banam, several fortes in the entrance of the Bay of Cambaiu, by w<sup>ch</sup> fortes the portugalls defend themselves from the force and assaults of the people of that country, and have not any commaund of the country at all, neither are they permitted to restraine any others that offer trade to those countrey men.

Goa, Callicut [deleted] et Cochin, several fortes by the said portugalls uppon the maine of Narsinga, kept for the like defence against the king and people of those partes, w<sup>ch</sup> country is not tied to the trade of the portingales, but open to all that doe offer them trade.

Mallacca, a fort, and a towne fortified and inhabited, uppon the sea coast of Mallacca, by the Portugals: yet not so possessed but they have been surprised by the people of the country.

Fedora, a castle among the islands of the Molluccas fortified by the Portugalls, and still inhabited by the people of the country and ilandes adjoining. In w<sup>ch</sup> several countries above mer the portugalls have not the sole trade, but the people of the country are as ready, and more desirous, to entertaine trade with any other than the portugalls.

<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth died on March 24 of this year.

The places in the Indies where the portugalls have neither ffortification or residence, viz:

The iland of Sumatra, a very spatious and large Iland, wherein are many great Citties.

The ilands of Java Maior and Minor, like great and spatious ilands, greatly inhabited with many townes and citties.

All the ilands of the Molluccas, except a fort in Fedora.

The iland of Zelon, w<sup>th</sup> many other greate ilands, very well peopled and inhabited, being fitt for trade.

The great kingdome of Bengalu, Pegu, Mogar et Narsinga.

The great kingdome of Syam.

The whole Empire of Chyna, and many other great kingdomes, in w<sup>ch</sup> last mentioned countries, the portugalls either dare not trade, or trading in them doe it by tolleration.

If a mutual peece shalbe concluded betweene his majestie and the king of Spayne,<sup>1</sup> and both their native countries reciprically open in trade to the subjects of either kingdomes, much more may it seme reasonable that the subjects of either princes may resort to the places and countries of trade where they have no absolute sovraigntye, and dominacion; being the countries of the kinges, who are willing to entertayne all merchants w<sup>ch</sup> resort to their dominions for trade.

Neither hath the king of Spayne any more interest in the said places by his subjectes frequented with trade than his mat<sup>ties</sup> hath in the country of Russia, and yet these partes visited yearly both by french & Dutch.

Wherefore the merchants humbly pray that not only it may be lawfull for them to seek trade in all partes of the Indies not yet by us frequented, butt also in all places there already discovered, and that the harbours, ffortes or havens now possessed by the king of Spaynes subjectes may be as open & fre to the subjects of this kingdome, though not for the trade, yet for succor and releife, as the harbors of his majesties kingdome may be fre and open to the merchants and people of the king of Spayne.

<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of London was concluded in 1604.

## Document 85

### A NOTE OF AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1605

Simon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbone, told me Richard Hakluyt, before other Portugals in London, the eighteenth of March 1604: that he having been in the Citie of Lima in Peru, did perfectly understand that four ships and <sup>1</sup>barkes departed from the said Citie of Lima about the yeere 1600, in the moneth of Februarie towards the Philippines. Their general was a Mestizo, that is to say, the Sonne of a Spaniard and an Indian woman. And that seeking to make way toward the Philippines, they were driven with strong northern winds to the south of the equinoctiall line, and fell with divers rich countries and islands, as it seemeth, not far from the Iles of Solomon. One chief place they called Monte de Plata, for the great abundance of silver that is like to be there. For they found two crownes worth of silver, as he reporteth, in two handfuls of dust.

And the people gave them for iron as much and more in quantity of silver. They report that this place is two moneths sailing from Lima, and as much back againe.

Concerning this voyage also: the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, a gentleman of quality in the Conde de villa Mediana, the Spanish ambassadors house, told me, Richard Hakluyt, that two yeeres past he saw at Madrid a Captain of quality<sup>1</sup> suing for license to conquer this place, and that he obtained the same. And that divers religious men and Fathers were to goe to convert them to Christianitie. They arrived at their returne from this voyage at Peru in the moneth of August.

<sup>1</sup> Quiros obtained the royal consent to his voyage in March 1603, but did not sail from Peru until December 1605. His discovery of the New Hebrides, and his naming the Southern Lands *Australia del Espiritu Santo*, occurred in 1606, and the news was published in 1607. Hakluyt therefore compiled this note in 1607 or later, but it is inserted here as indicating his work and inquiries in 1605.

## Document 86

### LETTER FROM LUDOVICUS TRIBALDUS TOLETUS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1605

When you shall see the English returned home out of our Spaine, and can finde no letters sent unto you from us, perhaps, & that worthily, you will accuse us of breach of our friendship & also as little mindful of our promise. Yet we as free from this fault salute you most willingly. For it is not long since we arrived here, that is to say in this Court, a little after the departure of your countriemen into England. Yet made our journie by sea & land indifferent pleasantly & according to our desire. After we had rested our selves a small while, we desired nothing more than to visit Andrew Garsia Cespedes, a man for many respects linked unto us in most straight bands of friendship. He greatly rejoiced of your goodwill towards him: And shewed me a certaine brief but very perspicuous relation of things atchieved by Don Juan de Onate<sup>1</sup> among the Indians of New Mexico. [*Relation follows.*]

Moreover, other newes is brought from New Spaine, to wit, that by commandment of the Vice-roy, the coasts of the South Sea towards Cape Mendocino are discovered,<sup>2</sup> & that exceeding faire & large havens are found neere the Californias, which hitherto no man knew, and that castles are there to be builded and fortified, fit to withstand the force of the enemy; which I saw painted with the precise longitudes & latitudes annexed unto them.

There is no newes come of the voyage to the Iland lately found out toward Nova Guinea, If any newes come I will carefully advertise you thereof.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Juan de Oñate revisited the frontiers from the Gulf of California on the west to Quivira in the north and east between 1598 and 1605" (Brebner, *Explorers of N. America*).

<sup>2</sup> Vizcaino's expedition of 1602-3 (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Quiros left Spain in 1604 to organise a new expedition in search of Solomon's Islands.

It remaineth that I speake somewhat of the instruction which I promised you, & now send unto you: to wit, that the same was sent to the West Indies, and that according to the precepts therein contained, all things are observed very exactly, and written to the Councell of the Indies: and that Cespedes our friend having diligently read over these writings, hath written an excellent volume; but he hath not obtained leave to publish the same: for they will not have all these things particularly to come to light.

And these be the things which I now thought good to write unto you, my Hakluyt, meaning to have written more if there had beene any further things to have written of. Neither have I yet sought out all those that might informe me of these new discoveries: for I could not yet doe it by reason of the shortness of the time. I hope hereafter I shall have leisure: and I know you will commend mee for my friendship towards you. Farewell from Valladolid the Nones of July 1605.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This letter, almost the only specimen preserved of Hakluyt's later correspondence, indicates how minutely he kept himself informed on matters of discovery. It was in October of this year that he is noted as one of a party of notable men (including Sir William Monson and Lord Mordaunt) at a dinner at the Mitre Tavern. After dinner he went away with one of the guests, Spero Pettinger, to study some papers concerning Sir Francis Drake's navigation. (Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.*)

## Document 87

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VIRGINIA COLONY OF 1606

Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Council for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.<sup>1</sup>

As we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land,<sup>2</sup> and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-West for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.<sup>3</sup>

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your caske, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, as a member of the Company, probably assisted the Council in drawing up these Instructions.

<sup>2</sup> The elder Hakluyt had repeatedly emphasised the importance of settling on a navigable river.

<sup>3</sup> A Colony was still thought of by many supporters as merely a half-way house to China and the Spice Islands.



But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tunns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out; and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in Florida by Melindus, and the Spaniard in the same place by the French,<sup>1</sup> you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts; whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold<sup>2</sup> may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie

<sup>1</sup> The story of French Florida and Captain Gourges had been made familiar by Hakluyt (see *supra*, p. 457).

<sup>2</sup> Captain Gosnold had led the preliminary reconnaissance of 1602 and was a friend of Hakluyt. He died in Virginia, Aug. 20, 1607.

any high lands or hills, Captain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the Thames; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tan[a]is and Dwina have three heads near joynd; and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.<sup>1</sup>

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you have any; and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that pass over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass;<sup>2</sup> for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they

<sup>1</sup> The analogy with the peculiar hydrography of Russia is faulty, but it suggests the cosmographer behind the notes.

<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps the first mention of the use of the simple compass traverse in exploration.

run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town; for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs; but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort: and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least some ill-dispositioned persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not mar your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after; and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever.

It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be

set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your street may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of anything that may discourage others.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Captain Newport was to return for further supplies directly the Colony was seated. When the Old Virginia Colony was planted much harm was done by the damaging reports of those who were dissatisfied with what they found, and Hariot's *True Report* was written to contradict them.

<sup>2</sup> The expedition sailed on Dec. 20, 1606. Hakluyt had the Royal Warrant (dated Nov. 21, 1606) permitting him to go in person to Virginia without resigning his two prebends, his chaplaincy or his Wetheringsett rectory. Drayton's *Ode to the Virginian Voyage*, written in the spring, concluded with the verse:

Thy Voyages attend,  
Industrious Hackluit,  
Whose reading shall inflame  
Men to seek fame,  
And much commend  
To after-times thy wit.

## Document 88

### EXTRACT FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT'S TRANSLATION OF GROTIUS' *MARE LIBERUM*, 1609<sup>1</sup>

#### The Free Sea

or

A disputation concerning the right w<sup>ch</sup> ye Hollanders ought to have, to the Indian Marchandize for trading.

The Chapters of the disputation.

That by the lawe of Nations any man may saile freely to whomsoever.

That the Portugalls have no right of dominion over those places, by title of Invention, unto whome the Hollanders do saile.

That the Portugalls have no right of dominion over the Indians by tittle of Warre.

That the Sea to the Indians, or the right of sayling thether, is not proper to the Portugalls by title of Possession.

That the Sea, or right of sayling, belongeth not properlye to the Portugalls by the Popes donation.

That the Sea, or right of sayling, is not proper to ye Portugalls by title of Prescription or Custome.

That by the lawe of Nations, traffique is free to all.

That traffique with the Indians is not proper to the Portugalls by title of the Popes guift.

That traffique with the Indians is not proper to the Portugalls by right of Prescription or Custome.

That the Portugalls inclyne not to equity in forbydding the Trade.

That the right of the Indian trade is to be retayned of ye Hollanders both by peece, truce and warre.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Bruner Parks, quoting Westminster Abbey records, states that Hakluyt acted as Steward from Michaelmas 1607 to Michaelmas 1608, and hence would have little leisure for geographical work.

## To the Princes &amp; free States of the Christian World.

It is no lesse ancyent, than a pestilent error, wherew<sup>th</sup> many men (but they cheiffly who abound in power and riches) persuade themselves, or (as I thinke more trulye) go about to persuade, that Right and Wrong are distinguished, not according to their owne nature, but by a certaine vaine opinion and custome of men. These men therefore thinke, that both lawes & shewe of equity were invented for this purpose, that ther discussions and tumults might be restrayned who are borne in the condition of obeying, but unto such as are placed in the height of fortune, they say that all right is to be measured by the wyll, and the wyll by profittes. And it is not so great a wonder that this absurd opinion, and altogether contrarye to Nature, hath procured unto itself some little auctoritye, seing to that common disease of mankind (whereby as vice, so we followe the defence thereof) the craft and subtilete of flatterers is added, whereunto all power is subject. But on the contrary part, in all ages there have been some wise & religious men (and of seemlie condition) who would plucke this persuasion out of the mindes of simple men, and convince the others (being defenders thereof) of impudence. For they declared God to be the Creator & Governor of the world, especially the father of the nature of man, w<sup>ch</sup> therefore not as other living creatures he severed into dyvers kinds and dyvers differences, but would have them of one kind, and to be conteyned under one name.

## Chap. I

... we will lay this certaine rule of the Lawe of Nations (w<sup>ch</sup> they call primarye) as the foundation, the reason whereof is clear & immutable. That it is lawful for any Nation to go to any other, and to trade w<sup>th</sup> it. God himself speaketh this in Nature, seeing he will not have all those thinges whereof the life of man standeth in nede to be sufficiently ministered by Nature in all places: and also vouchsafeth some Nations to excell others in Arts. To what end are these things, but that he would mayntayne humane friendshippe by the mutuall wants & plentye, lest enye one thinking themselves sufficient for themselves for this only thinge should be made insociable.

They therefore that take away this, take away that most laudable society of mankind, they take away the mutuall occasions of doing good, and to conclude, vyolate Nature herself. Ffor even that Ocean wherewith God hath compassed the earth, is navigable on everye side round about, and the setled or extraordinarye blasts of wynds, not always blowing from the same quarter, and sometymes from everye quarter, do they not sufficiently signifye, that Nature hath granted a passage for all Nations unto all? This Seneca thinketh the greatest benefitte of Nature, that even by ye wynd she hath mingled Nations, scattered in regard of place, & hath so divided all her goods into Countrys, that mortall men must nedes traffique amonge themselves. This right therefore equallye appertayneth to all Nature: w<sup>ch</sup> the most famous lawyers enlarge so farre, that they deny any Commonwealth or Prince to be able to forbyd others to come unto their subjects and trade with them. . . .

## Document 89

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA BY RICHARD HAKLUYT,<sup>1</sup> 1609

To the Right Honourable, the Right Worshipfull Counsellors, and others the cheerefull adventurors for the advancement of that Christian and noble plantation in Virginia.

This worke, right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first travelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next adioyning

<sup>1</sup> Preface to his translation of de Soto, under the title of *Virginia Richly Valued*.

- Chap. 35.* upon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest countrie of the world; and, that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and silver, and stones of great value: I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the province of Yupaha, and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in Cutifachiqui, standing upon the River of Santa Helena, which were said to have a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indiës, Antonio de Herrera, speaking of the foresaid River of Santa Helena, which standeth in 32. degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the province of Yupaha, in these words: Y el oro, y plata, que hallaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos Otapales y Olagatanos, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. That is to say, That the gold and silver which they found, was not of that countrie (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we understand that there are mines of gold, silver, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35. degrees and an halfe. I desire you likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden province of Chisca, stretching further to the North, whereof the Cacique of Coste gave notice to Ferdinando de Soto in the towne of Chiaha, affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they used it not so much, because it was softer. And the selvesame thing was before told the Governour in Cutifachiqui: who sent two Christians from Chiaha with certaine Indians which knew the countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should finde. We likewise reade not long after, that the Governour set forward to seeke a province called Pacaha, which hee was informed to be neere unto Chisca, where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another place hee saith; That from Pacaha hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the province of Caluça, to see if from thence he might travell to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is foure times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous goldē
- Decad. 3. lib. 8. cap. 8.*
- Chap. 15.*
- Chap. 23.*
- Chap. 24.*



mines of Chisca, and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, over which they were not able to travell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand upon forren testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified unto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians have lately revealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoë, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them, that were found in Cutifachiqui. The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would have searched divers graves in townes thereabout, they might have laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at Guasco to be forgotten, nor passed over in silence. *Chap. 14.*

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen,<sup>1</sup> which, from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine severall times made mention of, and that along from Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward us, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians lived upon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they use them for coverlets, because they are very soft and woollled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall have notice of their being neerer us, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselves within the countrie above foure hundred leagues. Moreover, Vasques de Coronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiages are at large in my third

volume) travelled many leagues among these heards of Oxen, and found them from 33. degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Nova Hispania.

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as black, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I have some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Cochonillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the severall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

*Chap. 31. &  
32.*

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, and in two places of the province of Aguacay: the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the observation.

*Chap. 31. &  
32.*

One of the chieftest of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading us to Japan and China, which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I have written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made over common.

For closing up this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diversities and goodnesse of the fruits, the severall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Seacoast, are judiciously set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by John Ortiz, which lived twelve yeeres among them, make sufficient prooffe. And the author, which was a gentleman of Elvas in Portugall, emploied in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that aswell

this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Governour on their behalfe, delivered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could utter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not overmuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contrived and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe evidently prove. They be also as unconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of advantages to doe mischief. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserved paiments. And many times they gave good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serve, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serve, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Governour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be revered and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieved, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Salvages preserved, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little utterly extinguished. And here reposing and resting my selfe upon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Adventurers and undertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.<sup>1</sup>

By one publikely and anciently devoted to Gods service,  
and all yours in this so good action,

*Richard Hakluyt*

<sup>1</sup> The 'third supply', a fleet of 9 ships and 500 persons, set sail for Virginia in May 1609.

## Document 90

### EXTRACTS TAKEN OUT OF TWO LETTERS FROM JOSIAS LOGAN TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1611

To Master Hakluyt, Prebend of Westminster.

I. There use to come hither in the Winter about two thousand Samoieds with their Commodities, which may be such as we dreamed not on yet. For by chance one came to us with a piece of an Elephants tooth, which he said he bought of a Samoied. And here are men called 'Tingussies,'<sup>1</sup> whose Country is beyond the Rivers of Obi, and Taes: and bordereth upon the great River Yenisse which is a good River and a deepe, and falleth into the Sea Naromzie. And it should seeme it is not farre from China. Therefore you may conceive what hope there is of this Enterprize, if it please God it may be followed as it ought to be.<sup>2</sup> Thus beseeching Almighty God to blesse you and us, I commit you to the protection of him who is the giver of all goodnesse. Jul. 24. 1611.

II. There come two or three thousand Samoieds hither to trade with their Sablēs, Beavers, Blacke Foxes, Squirrels, Wolfes, Rosomackes, Ermines. And here is caught in September good store of Salmon, Trainee of a certain fish called a Bealouga, and Morsses, and Seales Oyle in the Summer time, and White Foxes & Feathers. I had some conference with a Russe, who told me that the Samoieds told him, that there lye Minchins, which in their Language is strangers, buried in the sand in coffins, with their armes a crosse their brests: which they estimate to be aboute sixtie yeeres ago: and that they found writing tables in one of their pockets & other small trifles which they tooke away. The Vaygats is sometimes open & sometimes shut: and upon them groweth Christall of the Mount. The Russes & Permacks trade yeerely with them of the River Obi, and beyond. They goe by sea into the great Bay beyond Pechora, called Yowgorsky Shar: into which there fall four rivers: the Eastermost whereof they call Cara Reca, or the Blacke River:

<sup>1</sup> Tungus.

<sup>2</sup> Both the North-east and North-west Passages were still receiving Hakluyt's earnest attention.

beyond which they passe unto another called Moetnaia Reca: then they come to a Voloc or necke of land, which continueth but three Versts: over which they draw their boats & goods and so come to another river called Zelena Reca, or the Greene River, which bringeth them into Obi: into which on the Eastern side the River Taes falleth, making but one mouth with the River Obi, being shoald: and they report it to bee as broad toward the mouth as a man can discerne over, having many Ilands therein.

Moreover there is another great River, called Yenissey, beyond Taes: which they say is rather bigger & deeper than Obi; and it runneth up into the land no man knoweth how farre: although they have discovered some fourteene days rowing up therein: neither can they learne of the inhabitants how farre it stretcheth: whom they call Tingsussey: who are a proper people of themselves: And the Samoieds report that they have travelled so farre, that they came within sight of a White Citie or Towne: which should seem to be builded of stone, for they durst not goe to make triall: and they heard great ringing of bells. Also, they say that they saw beasts but they were not like their deere, for they had a great mane, a long tail, no hornes, and their footing was round, not cloven, as their deerers are: and they use to ride upon their backs and not to draw in sleds as their deere use to doe. These I assure myselfe are horses. And further they report that there came people unto them all made of iron, their heads, armes, hands & legges: so that neither arrows, swordes nor speares could enter: which as I conjecture were people in Armour. For they said that two hundred of them they thought were able to conquer their Realme. By this you may gather that they are not farre from Cataia & China.<sup>1</sup>

Thus have I shewed unto you the greatest secret & the nearest to the truth that I know. Requesting you, if you thinke it meet, that the Right Honourable the Earle of Salisburie<sup>2</sup> might have a copy thereof. Thus wishing you health & prosperitie in this World, and felicitie in the world to come, I cease

[From Pechora, August 16. 1611]

<sup>1</sup> The Cossacks had reached the Upper Yenesei by this date.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cecil.

## Document 91

### THE WILL OF RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1612

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The twente day of August in the yeare of Lord God one thousande six hundreth and twelve, I Richard Hackluit, person of Wetheringsett in the countie of Suffolke, being of good and perfect memorie thanked be God, revokinge and frustrating hereby all former wills or testaments whatsoever heretofore by me thought upon or made, doe make declare and ordaine this my last will or testament hereafter followinge. First I commend my soule into the hands of God from whence I received the same, trusting thorow the only merits of Jesus Christ and the sanctification of the blessed Spirit to be both in body and soule a member of His most holy and heavenly kingdome. And as concerninge my body I yeald it (by course of nature and God his ordinance) unto the earth to be nevertheless decentlie buried (in hope of a happie resurrection) by the discretion and charges of my executor.

Item, I give unto Edmond Hackluit my only sonne and to his heires for ever all that my manour called Bridg-place<sup>1</sup> with all royalties, perogatives, proffitts, and advantages, with all the landes meadows pastures woods underwoods or other the appurtenances to the said manour anyway belonginge or appertayninge in as full and ample manner as I lately purchased the same of Mr. John Scriven late of Barbican in the suburbs of the cittie of London. Also I give unto the said Edmond Hackluit and to his heirs for ever all that my tenement with the landes thereunto belonginge lyinge and beinge in Leominster Oare now demised by my brother Oliver Hackluit for sixtene nobles a yeare, further I give unto the said Edmond Hackluit and to his heires for ever all those my tenements lying in the north west end of Tuttell-streete in the cittie of Westminster w<sup>ch</sup> I lately purchased in fee of one Mr — Line, neere adjoyning to the inn called the White Harte upon condition neverthe-

<sup>1</sup> In Suffolk, newly purchased in 1612 (Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.*).

lesse hereafter followinge and not otherwise, that is to saye that the said Edmond or his assigns doe paye or cause to be payed unto Mr. Thomas Peters late of Fleete Streete in London to the use of Francis Hackluit the wife of me Richard Hackluit the full and whole somme of three hundreth pounds of lawfull English money, in full contentacion and satisfaction of a certain bond obligatorie heretofore by me sealed and delivered for the contentment reliefe and maintynance of the said Francis, in such manner & forme as in the said bond is specified. Howbeit my meeninge intent & will is that yf the said Francis or her assigns doe deliver unto the handes of my said sonne Edmond the said bond obligatorie whereby it may be lawfully cancelled and be freed and for ever lawfully discharged from the said dett of three hundreth pounds, and of all penalties or forfaytures there upon arising or to arise at any tyme hereafter within one moneth and immediately ensuinge after my decease, without fraud cooven<sup>1</sup> or delaye, that then I will that after the deliverye of the bond aforesaid that all the said tenements lyinge & beinge in the north-west end of Tuttell-streete aforesaid devised to my sonne Edmond, shal be and remain fully and wholye to my said wife Francis and to her heirs for ever as fully & whollye as I had before appointed them to my said sonne and his heires, any gifte or graunt whatsoever to the contrarye in any wise notwithstanding. Also, I will that the said Francis my wife shall have all plate jewelles and houshold stuffe of what nature soever which are in the possession of me in any place whereof the said Francis was possessed in the tyme of her widowhood by administration.

Item, I give & bequeath unto Oliver Hackluit my brother the somme of tenn pounds to be payd unto him or his assignes within one yeare next ensuing after my decease, to be bestowed amongste his sonnes at his own discretion. Item, I give and bequeath to Joane Hackluit, daughter of the said Oliver, other tenne pounds, to be payed unto her within two months nexte & immediately ensuing after the day of her marriage the same being lawfully demanded.

Item, I give unto my sister Katherine Morer,<sup>2</sup> dwellinge in

<sup>1</sup> Coozen or deceit.

<sup>2</sup> Moore according to the will of Edmond Hakluyt.

Holbourne, the somme of twentie pounds, tenn pounds whereof I will to be payed unto her within one month after my decease, and the other tenn pounds within six months after my decease.

Item, I give & bequeath to John Morer, her sonne, fiftie shillings to be payed unto him within one yeare after my decease and likewise other fiftie shillings to Barbary Moorher her daughter to be payed her also within one yeare after my decease.

Item, I give to Mistress Longe, dwellinge in the Tower, twentie shillings. Also to Mr. Thomas Peters and to his wife to either of them twentie shillings, which last three poundes I will shalbe payed within one yeare after my decease.

Item, I give unto Mr. Edward Riggs twentie shillings & my best cassock, desiringe him to preach a funerall sermon at my buriall.

Item, I give unto Mr. Colman my curate<sup>1</sup> tenn shillings and my old gown.

Item, I give to my sister Bacon tenn shillings, and to my servant Thomas Button tenn shillings, and to Lionell Pearson five shillings, and to Mary Upson three shillings & fourpence. Also I give to the townsmen of Wetheringset and Brockford,<sup>2</sup> to be distributed to the poore people by the discretion of my executor and the churchwardens for the tyme beinge, the somme of five markes to be payed within one year after my decease.

Item, I doe give to the worshipfull college of Westminster, the somme of five pounds to be payed into the hands of the treasurer within sixe months after my decease, towards the repaying of the north windowe of the said church. Also whereas I have a table a bedstead and certaine furniture of hangings, pictures and other implements in a chamber belonginge to me in the Savoye I doe give and bequeath them all unto the said house to the use of the Dorturye<sup>3</sup> their. Also, whereas I have at Bristow sundry implements hangings and furniture their in my lodgings & chambers, I do freely give all to the only use & benefitt of the said College, to be disposed at the discretion of the right worshipfull Mr. Deane.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably at Wetheringsett. There was a vicar (perhaps Edward Riggs) at Gedney, the living presented to Hakluyt by his brother Oliver.

<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring hamlet.

<sup>3</sup> Dormitory.



Item, I give to my cousen Thomas Hackluit two doublets, two paire of britches, one of my best shirts & twenty shillings in money. I give to Oliver Cogram my good friend, one of my old cassocks, an old doublett, and a paire of old britches, and a paire of coarse shetes. Further I give to my sister Katherine one of my gownes, which my sonne Edmond thinketh good, and to be delivered before winter. Lastly I give to my lovinge cousen Mistress Dorothe Patrickson the somme of fyve poundes to be payed unto her within six months after my decease. And likewise I give to the worshipfull Mr. John Davyes her sonne, the somme of other five pounds, to be likewise payed him within six months after my decease, whom I heartelye intreate & apoint to be the only supravisor of this my last will and testament, that accordingly in all payments it may be truleye & effectually performed, whose counsaile I have used heretofore in my two later purchases of Bridge place in Suffolke and my tenements in Tuttell streete as is afore remembered. Also I give to Mr. Richard Ireland and to Mr. Wilson now scholemaster of Westminster, to either of them tenn shillings as a token of my love and good will towards them, and to Michael Locke the younger<sup>1</sup> other tenn shillings. And I ordayne Edmond Hackluit my sonne my sole & only executor of this my last will & testament, unto whom I give hereby all my ready money, plate, jewells, billes, bondes, detts & dutyes, householdstufte goods cattell corne implements chattels or whatsoever else to me belongeth or appertayneth to the end he shall paye my debts and legacies with all funerall expenses and undertake the provinge of this my will and all other things which in right belongeth to an executor. In wittness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare first above written. By me Richard Hakluyt, person of Wetheringset. These being witnesses, Edward Riggs, John Colman, David Allshais.

[Probate was granted to Edmond Hakluyt on Novr. 23. 1616.]

<sup>1</sup> Son of his old friend the Secretary of the Muscovy Co.

## Document 92

### DEDICATION OF THE DIALOGUES IN THE MALAIAN TONGUE, 1614

To the truly Honorable and right worthy Knight, SIR THOMAS SMITH, Governor of the East-India, Moscovia, Northwest Passages, Sommer Ilands Companies, and Treasurer for the first Colonie in Virginia: Augustine Spalding wisheth all happinesse, and encrease of honour.

Honourable Sir, the world hath just occasion to take knowledge of your continual travels, cares and endeavours for the good of those sundry Companies, whereof by public assent you have been chosen Governour. Your erecting of the Lecture of Navigation at your owne Expenses, for the better instruction of our Mariners in that most needful art: your setting downe of better orders in dispatching forth of our East Indian flotes: your employment with extraordinarie entertainment of skilfull Mathematicians and Geographers in the South and North partes of the world: This your providence and liberalitie is like, in time to come, to worke many speciall good effects. Lastly, you have caused these Dialogues of the languages of the Isle of Madagascar and of the Malaian tongues, presented unto you by Master Richard Hakluyt,<sup>1</sup> a singular furtherer of all new discoveries and honest trades, to be put forth in our English tongue, because of the speciall use and benefit which your Factors and servants, residing in all the Southeast Islands of the world, may reape thereby. And that nothing might be omitted on your behalfe, it hath pleased you further to aske mine opinion, and to enjoyne me to take speciall care for the correction of such errors as were committed in the first edition,<sup>2</sup> because of my eleven or twelve yeeres employment in those Countries, as servant and factor of your Worship and the Companie: which your commandment I have performed in the best sort I can. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 482, for Hakluyt's insistence on the importance of learning the native languages. In this same year he persuaded Ralph Hansdon to publish his mariners' edition of Pitsicus' *Trigonometria*, dedicated to the founders of the Lecture on Navigation.

<sup>2</sup> This proves that Spalding merely revised Hakluyt's version, as indicated also in the Court Minutes for 22 Jan. 1614 (Cal. S.P., E. Indies).

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