

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS* (1598-1600) AND THE  
TEXTUALITY OF TUDOR ENGLISH NATIONALISM

MATTHEW DAY

Ph.D.

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND RELATED LITERATURE

JUNE 2003

## CONTENTS

	Page
List of Illustrations	iv
Acknowledgements	vi
Declaration	vii
Abstract	viii
Abbreviations	ix
Note on Texts	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	19
Humanist Nationalism and <i>The Principal Navigations</i>	
CHAPTER 2	77
Framing the Text	
CHAPTER 3	136
Texts and Contexts	
3.1 Textual Sources	138
3.2 Textual Editing	147
3.3 Method	179
3.4 Machiavellianism	184
3.5 Conclusion	189
CHAPTER 4	191
Empire and Nationalism	
CHAPTER 5	220
Others	

	5.1	Foreignness	227
	5.2	Religion	242
	5.3	Conclusion	251
CHAPTER 6		Nationalist Appropriations	257
	6.1	State Readings	266
	6.2	The State's Agents and Independent Nationalists	275
	6.3	Private Interests	297
	6.4	Conclusion	304
CHAPTER 7		The Limits of Nationalism	307
	7.1	Genre	309
	7.2	Factual Accuracy	316
	7.3	Religion	325
	7.4	Recreational Reading	332
	7.5	Conclusion	335
CHAPTER 8		Conclusion	337
BIBLIOGRAPHY			342

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. Page from the log-book of John Davis as reproduced in the second edition of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> , iii.115. This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.	55
Figure 2. John Dee's 'Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis', British Library MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39. Reproduced from Sherman, <i>John Dee</i> , 112, by kind permission of the author.	58
Figure 3. The world map from the 1589 edition of <i>The Principall Navigations</i> . Reproduced from Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i> , by permission of the author and the Hakluyt Society.	99
Figure 4. The world map from the 1598-1600 edition of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> . Reproduced from Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i> , by permission of the author and the Hakluyt Society.	101
Figure 5. Close-up of the world map from the 1598-1600 edition of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> showing the claim to first discovery of America by Cabot. Reproduced from Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i> , by permission of the author and the Hakluyt Society.	102
Figure 6. The first issue of the title-page of volume one of the 1598-1600 edition of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> . Reproduced from Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i> , by permission of the author and the Hakluyt Society.	108
Figure 7. The second issue of the title-page of volume one and two of the 1598-1600 edition of <i>The Principal Navigations</i> . Reproduced from Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i> , by permission of the author and the Hakluyt Society.	110



- Figure 8. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth I. National Portrait Gallery. Reproduced by permission of the National Portrait Gallery. 193
- Figure 9. Crispin van de Passe, portrait of Elizabeth I. British Museum. Reproduced by permission of the British Museum. 195
- Figure 10. Frontispiece from John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624). British Library, shelfmark G.7037. Reproduced by permission of the British Library. 294

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Notwithstanding the claims of the Declaration, there are a number of acknowledgements to be made, for no project of this nature could be the work of an individual. When first considering a thesis on Hakluyt, I was fortunate to receive a generous and warm response from Anthony Payne, whose continued interest and support have been a great encouragement. His interest notwithstanding, I would not have embarked on the thesis without an initial scholarship from the English Department, and subsequent support from the Arts and Humanities Research Board. I hope that both organisations feel their investment has been worthwhile.

Throughout the three and a half years that this thesis has taken to research and write I have been fortunate to receive advice and help from a number of quarters. Andrew Hadfield and Bill Sherman have read sections of the text. Pat Palmer read Chapter 4 and made a number of helpful suggestions. Mark Jenner has supplied useful references, and I am grateful to Helen Smith and Louise Wilson for discussions about paratexts and humanism respectively. My understanding of travel literature has also benefited from discussions with Carl Thompson and Mary Fuller. Thanks are also due to Gabriella Corona for assistance with the translation of Latin texts. Inevitably, my greatest intellectual debt is to my supervisors, Mike Corder and Jason Scott-Warren. They have been exemplary, providing timely and pertinent advice, and a constant probing of my thought processes and writing. In particular, Jason's broad knowledge and incisive commentaries have been both inspiring and not a little daunting. Above all, both Mike and Jason have helped to ensure that this process has been an enjoyable one.

Theses can be all-consuming. Those doing them sometimes make unreasonable demands on those closest to them. The patience, forbearance, and support of those not directly involved are essential for the successful completion of the project, and Sue has provided these qualities in abundance. Without her this thesis would not have been written and my debt of gratitude to her is profound.

Finally, it has been said that 'good teachers make a difference'. I was first introduced to the pleasures of Renaissance Literature by a school teacher of remarkable enthusiasm and energy. Barry Stafford's untimely death deprived a generation of school-children of his inspiration, encouragement, and the host of opportunities that he created on a seemingly day-to-day basis. Any merit that is found in this thesis is dedicated to his memory and example; the faults and errors remain my own.

## DECLARATION

The thesis which follows is my own work, and does not exceed 80,000 words. Chapter 4 is shortly to be published, with minor changes, in the journal *Journeys* under the title 'Imagining Empire: Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600) and the idea of a British Empire'.

.



## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the nationalism of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1598-1600). The need for such a study derives from the failure of previous readings to come to terms with the collection's diversity and complexity. By contextualising the work within the discourse of late Tudor nationalism, this thesis offers a reading which both accounts for the work's inconsistencies and acknowledges its overall design.

Chapter 1 argues that the key to Hakluyt's nationalism is humanism. It demonstrates the influence of this movement in four areas: education, scholarship, methods of reading and discourses of the ideal state. Drawing on a document of John Dee's, this chapter suggests the nationalism of *The Principal Navigations* is inspired by the civic ideal of virtue – prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance – combined with ideas of strength and wealth.

Chapter 2 demonstrates that through choice of genre, arrangement of texts, and use of paratextual devices, Hakluyt sought to shape nationalist readings of the work. Chapter 3 examines the textual aspect of Hakluyt's editing. It extends the intellectual framework to include a Machiavellian influence and shows that the desire to promote the national interest created inconsistencies in editorial practice.

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss ideas which have proved problematic both for nationalism and *The Principal Navigations* – empire and 'otherness'. Chapter 4 argues that Hakluyt's concept was not of a global empire but of one limited to the lands of the North Atlantic region. Chapter 5 demonstrates that to perceive the work only as anti-Spanish and as staunchly Protestant is to underestimate its complexity.

The final chapters examine seventeenth- and early eighteenth- century appropriations of the work. The analysis is based on a wide reading of manuscript and printed material, and the inspection of 150 copies. Chapter 6 shows that nationalist readings were diverse, were largely conducted in the public sphere, and usually cited *The Principal Navigations* as authoritative. Chapter 7 investigates the ways that Hakluyt's nationalist intentions and readers' nationalist appropriations of the work were contested.

In demonstrating that to understand *The Principal Navigations* we need to appreciate the cultural differences across 400 years, this thesis paradoxically shows that, in its inconsistencies, partisanship, and selectivity, Hakluyt's nationalism was surprisingly modern. The thesis concludes by suggesting that, despite its nationalism, the diversity and richness of *The Principal Navigations* continue to make it an object worthy of study.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Hakluyt, <i>Principal Navigations</i>	Richard Hakluyt, <i>The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Ouer-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeeres</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1598-1600)
Hakluyt, <i>Principall Navigations</i>	Richard Hakluyt, <i>The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or ouer Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres</i> (London, 1589).
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>Principal(l) Navigations</i>	I use this term to refer to the 1589 and 1598-1600 editions together.
PRO	Public Record Office
Quinn, <i>Hakluyt Handbook</i>	D. B. Quinn (ed.), <i>The Hakluyt Handbook</i> , 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, 144-45, 1974).
Quinn and Quinn, <i>Discourse</i>	David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds.), <i>A Particular Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities that are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries, Lately</i>

*Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584 by Richard Hackluyt of Oxforde, Known as Discourse of Western Planting,* (London: Hakluyt Society, extra series, 45, 1993).

Taylor, *Writings*

E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 76-77, 1935).



## NOTE ON TEXTS

In all direct quotations I have endeavoured to reproduce texts exactly as they appear in the original, including the use of italics, capital letters, and the use of superscript. However, both editions of *The Principal(l) Navigations* and some other texts are printed predominantly in gothic script. An equivalent font is not available and, consequently, I have reproduced such quotations in roman font. I have also modernised the old-style long ‘s’ and double ‘s’ as ‘s’ and ‘ss’ respectively. I have endeavoured not to modernise ‘u/v’ and ‘i/j’. Interpolations are included in square brackets.

This thesis follows the *Oxford Manual of Style*. In titles, I have not modernised spelling, but have modernised capitalisation to meet the requirements of the style sheet. In citing bibliographical information I have included the publisher for all books published after 1900. In books published prior to this date I provide the name of the publisher if it appears on the title-page of the book in question. If the name of the publisher is identified from another source I place it in square brackets. The name of the printer is omitted.

Although this thesis is an examination of the second edition of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* I refer to the first edition where it sheds light on the second. This is particularly the case in chapters 6 and 7 where responses to the texts are concerned. However, I have always been careful to note to which edition of the text references refer.



## INTRODUCTION

While few would doubt the truth of Benedict Anderson's observation that 'the "end of the era of nationalism", so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight', debate about the origins and nature of nationalism continues to be intense.<sup>1</sup> While nationalism is increasingly recognised as a world-wide phenomenon, the recent establishment of the Scottish Parliament and the Irish and Welsh Assemblies bears witness to the strong feelings of national identity which persist in the United Kingdom. Arguably, the move towards independence has also led to an increase in English nationalism. While these events have been taking place in the political arena, there has been a simultaneous growth in the number of scholarly publications which examine the phenomenon of nationalism.<sup>2</sup> Although some of these are concerned with the Tudor-Stuart period, this era remains one for which our understanding of nationalism needs further development, and the lens provided by political theorists helps to focus our discussions.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Verso, 1991), 3.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Anthony D. Smith's work of the 1980s and especially *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991); John Hutchinson, *Modern Nationalisms* (London: Fontana, 1994); Paul James, *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community* (London: Thousand Oaks, 1996); Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997); David McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998). The republication of Elie Kedourie's *Nationalism* is perhaps most symptomatic of the revived interest in the topic. It was first published in 1960, with revised editions in 1961 and 1966. The fourth edition was not published until 1993 but was reprinted in 1994 (twice), 1996 and 1998. See the publication information in Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1998). Anderson's *Imagined Communities* has proved similarly popular, going through nine impressions of the second edition between 1991 and 1999, while the establishment of a journal entitled *Nations and Nationalism* in 1995 is further evidence of the interest in the topic.

<sup>3</sup> I remain ambivalent about the terms 'early-modern' and 'renaissance' as descriptors for the Tudor and Stuart periods, particularly in relation to ideas of nationalism. The former seems to indicate an

If, lately, there has been a surge of interest in nationalism, there has also been, still more recently, an increase in scholarship which attends to the literature of travel.<sup>4</sup> This derives partly from the extension of the literary canon promoted by new historicist approaches, but also from the increasing realisation that such writing both provides invaluable contextual material for our understanding of the Tudor-Stuart epoch, and, more importantly, merits study in its own right. Yet such interest has often concentrated on short excerpts, or particular narratives, most notably Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*.<sup>5</sup> It has failed to examine the larger collections, and even where interest has been shown in these, it has often focussed on parts of collections, rather than considering them in their entirety.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, there has never been a book length study of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, despite its rich complexity. The most accurate scholarly edition was published a century ago, with no notes, no textual analysis, and only a short essay

---

unjustified teleology and the latter to signify a break which was far from complete. We require a terminology which looks neither forward nor back, but which is self-contained. Consequently, I adopt the approach of naming periods by the name of the house of the ruling monarch, adopting Tudor-Stuart as a catch all phrase for the period from 1485-1714, although, this too, of course, is not without its difficulties.

<sup>4</sup> See, *inter alia*, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Andrew Hadfield (ed.), *Amazons, Savages and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English 1550-1630, an Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Kenneth Parker (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> See Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997). This is the second work in a series of edited travel narratives to be forthcoming from Manchester University Press.

<sup>6</sup> Where, for example, editions of works originally published by Hakluyt have been re-published by the Hakluyt Society, they have often included a consideration of Hakluyt's editorship, but only in relation to the particular text studied. Otherwise considerations of Hakluyt's editorship have been brief. See, for example, James P. Helfers, "The Explorer or the Pilgrim?" Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology*, 94 (1997), 160-86.



for commentary.<sup>7</sup> The most recent biography of Hakluyt remains that published in 1928.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, despite occasional forays into the study of Hakluyt's editing there has been no detailed analysis of his work in *The Principal Navigations* which constitutes one of the most significant examples of editorial practice in the late Tudor period. No doubt in part this derives from the conclusion that Hakluyt's editorial practice is a series of idiosyncratic interventions in which no consistent policy is discernable.<sup>9</sup> This thesis shows that the flexibility of Hakluyt's editorial practice actually derives from the malleable nature of his nationalism. Editorial practice, however, constitutes only one aspect of the complex nexus of ideas which constitute Hakluyt's nationalism.

To speak of Hakluyt's nationalism is, of course, to assume that it existed. That assumption might appear incautious given that most political theorists date the rise of nationalism to the period following the French Revolution.<sup>10</sup> Fundamental to their reasoning is the need for mass participation in nationalism to which, as Anderson points out, print culture was integral.<sup>11</sup> Yet, although we might concur that nationalist movements date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, nationalism would seem to date from an earlier period. Indeed, with regard to England, Adrian Hastings goes so far as to suggest its roots may be found in the

---

<sup>7</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-5).

<sup>8</sup> George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (American Geographical Society, Special Publication, 10; New York: American Geographical Society, 1928).

<sup>9</sup> Helfers, 'Explorer or the Pilgrim?'

<sup>10</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Kedourie, *Nationalism*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>12</sup> More convincingly, he observes that ‘the greatest intensity of [England’s] nationalist experience together with its overseas impact must undoubtedly be located in and after the late sixteenth century’.<sup>13</sup>

Hastings, in fact, is not the first to suggest that the sixteenth century in England marked a period of intense nationalism. Liah Greenfeld asserts that it is in the period after 1530, when ‘the massive creation of peers among deserving royal servants’ created a new aristocracy of ‘modest birth but remarkable abilities and education’, that ‘the idea of the nation – of the people as an elite’ took hold, for it ‘appealed to the new aristocracy’.<sup>14</sup> Her work echoes that of Smith and Kohn, who also see sixteenth-century England as a key period in the emergence of nationalist sentiment.<sup>15</sup> In doing so they reflect the views of historians of the period who have seen the Tudor period, in particular, as one in which the English state was formed.<sup>16</sup> Of course, the relationship between nationalism and the state is far from straightforward, and despite Breuilly’s claim that nationalism is dependent on the state, we, in fact, find it expressed in a variety of non-political arenas.<sup>17</sup> Indeed,

---

<sup>12</sup> Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4.

<sup>13</sup> Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 47.

<sup>15</sup> Indeed, Kohn identifies Richard Hakluyt as a key player in laying the foundations of English nationhood. See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), 160. See also Smith, *National Identity*.

<sup>16</sup> To take only the most obvious see Alan G. R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England, 1529-1660* (London: Longman, 1984); David M. Loades, *Politics and the Nation 1540-1660* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London: Fontana, 1985), and John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), especially chapter 13. See, too, Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> John Breuilly, ‘Approaches to Nationalism’, in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso in association with *New Left Review*, 1996), 146-74; *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982).



nationalism has often emerged in opposition to the state, and the reigns of James I and Charles I were a period in which the link between the monarchy and nationalist sentiment came under intense pressure.<sup>18</sup> One factor which unquestionably complicated the issue of national identity was the Scottish origin of the Stuart dynasty, and James I's desire to combine the nations of England and Scotland into the Empire of Great Britain.

'The British Question', as the consideration of commentaries upon the union, or otherwise, of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland has come to be known, has often led to the investigation of issues of national identity.<sup>19</sup> Bradshaw and Roberts's *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, Levack's *The Formation of the British State: England and Scotland and the Union 1603-1707*, Ellis and Barber's *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725*, Bradshaw and Morrill's *The British Problem c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, and Grant and Stringer's *Uniting the Kingdom?: The Making of British History*, all reflect on the questions of national identity, while other studies discuss the nationalism of individual countries.<sup>20</sup> Only some of these works,

---

<sup>18</sup> This is especially true of post-colonial nationalism. For a taxonomy of nationalism see Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1971). For a history see Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*. Also helpful is Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, while Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, traces different notions of European nationalism. In relation to literary studies, an introduction to ideas of nationalism in relation to colonialism can be found in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994), Part V ('Nationalism'), and Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Post-colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), chapter 3.

<sup>19</sup> However, the call for renewed interest in British history was first made in the 1970s, well before the recent resurgence of curiosity about nationalism which began in the 1980s. See J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 8 (1974), (page numbers not given), repr. in *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), 601-27.

<sup>20</sup> Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Brian P. Levack, *The Formation*

however, notably Hadfield's on Ireland and the collection of essays edited by Bradshaw and Roberts, engage in detail with the cultural aspects of nationalism. Yet as most theorists have recognized, this is an essential part of its form and spread.<sup>21</sup>

It has fallen, instead, mainly to literary critics to examine the cultural and especially the literary aspects of national sentiment in the Tudor-Stuart period.<sup>22</sup> Talking of nationalism in general, David McCrone has commented: 'there simply is no agreement about what nationalism is, what nations are, [or] how we are to define nationality'.<sup>23</sup> His observation might also be applied to the more limited field of studies investigating sixteenth-century English nationalism, for there is a small but

---

*of the British State: England and Scotland and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London: Longman, 1995); Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (eds.), *The British Problem c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); and A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom?: The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995). For works related to specific countries see, e.g. Andrew Hadfield, 'English Colonialism and National Identity in Early Modern Ireland', *Eire-Ireland*, 28 (1993), 69-86; Gwyn A. Williams, *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982); and Arthur H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979). Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603-1715* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999), is one of the latest additions to the field and contains a useful bibliography. I am grateful to Mark Jenner for this reference. Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) supplies a valuable summary of different approaches to nationalism in its opening pages. Rebecca Langlands, 'Britishness or Englishness?: The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain', *Nations and Nationalism*, 1 (1999), 53-69, provides a useful review over an extended period. David Cressy's 'National Memory in Early Modern England' shows the importance of memory in constructions of nationhood. It is to be found in J. R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 61-73.

<sup>21</sup> Hobsbawm's comment that 'No serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist because nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently not so' draws indirect attention to the role that discourse plays in the shaping of national identity (*Nations and Nationalism*, 12). Benedict Anderson's notion of nationalism as an 'imagined community' also admits a role for discourse (*Imagined Communities*). Likewise, Craig Calhoun has observed that nationalism 'is not only a matter of politics, but of culture and personal identity'. He notes that 'nationalism is among other things what Michael Foucault called a "discursive formation", a way of speaking that shapes our consciousness, but also is problematic enough that it keeps raising more issues and questions' (*Nationalism*, 8).

<sup>22</sup> However, see Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986; repr. Pimlico, 2000); and *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977; repr. Pimlico, 1999).

<sup>23</sup> McCrone, *Sociology of Nationalism*, 3.



richly diverse range of publications on this topic. Most prominent has been Richard Helgerson's broad-ranging and influential *Forms of Nationhood*.<sup>24</sup> His examination shows how nationalistic ideas shaped a number of major works from Camden's *Britannia* to Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. His work, however, constitutes only one strand of interest in the topic of nationalism. Philip Edwards observes that Shakespeare's presentation of nationhood is typically complex because Shakespeare presents

plays which are about the need to maintain the unity and honour of the beloved country against invasion from without, against fragmentation from within, or destruction by tyranny from above.

These contrast with the

cheap and unsavoury patriotism in many history plays, with crude and obscene attacks on everything to do with Catholicism; derision of the martial ability of foreigners, and strutting complacency about the justice of the English cause and the invincibility of her soldiers.<sup>25</sup>

More recently, Newey and Thompson have gathered a collection of essays which considered the role of literature in nationalism. It included work by Berry on Sidney's writing and social class and by Kinney on nationalism in *Macbeth*.<sup>26</sup> Claire McEachern has examined the works of Shakespeare, Spenser and Drayton, with particular regard to the literary device of prosopopoeia. She concurs with Greenfeld

---

<sup>24</sup> Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: Elizabethan Writing in England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> Philip Edwards, *Threshold of a Nation: A Study of English and Irish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 71.

<sup>26</sup> E. Berry, 'Sidney's "Poor" Painter: Nationalism and Social Class' and A. F. Kinney 'Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and the Question of Nationalism', in Vincent Newey and Ann Thompson (eds.), *Literature and Nationalism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991), 1-10, 56-75.



that 'English nationhood is a sixteenth century phenomenon, and not, contrary to the claims of many political theorists and historians, a nineteenth century one'. She argues that nationalism 'is a performative ideal of social unity founded in the ideological application of crown, church and land, imagined not in opposition to state powers, but rather as a projection of the state's own identity'.<sup>27</sup>

McEachern's editorial collaboration with Debora Shuger in *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* brings out another important element of nationalism in the Tudor-Stuart period, that of religion.<sup>28</sup> As is to be expected, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* features largely in this collection of essays. The promotion of that work by the state, its size and its organized distribution contrast with the pamphlets and tracts by which, according to a recent collection of essays by German scholars, 'English identity was constructed and disseminated.'<sup>29</sup> Grabes's chapter in that collection - 'England or the Queen?: Public Conflict of Opinion and National Identity under Mary Tudor' - demonstrates that national identity could not only exclude, but indeed be in direct opposition to, the state. In its discussion of nationalism under the early Tudors, Grabes's book is thematically linked to Hadfield's *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* which examines the writings of Skelton, Bale, Sidney, Tottel and Spenser.<sup>30</sup> Hadfield investigates the literary styles, forms and techniques of these writers, and

---

<sup>27</sup> Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5.

<sup>28</sup> Claire McEachern and Deborah Shuger (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> Herbert Grabes (ed.), *Writing the Early Modern English Nation: The Transformation of National Identity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2001), xi.

<sup>30</sup> Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

highlights both their different perspectives on nationhood, and the differing degrees of success that they achieved in disseminating their message. Catherine Shrank's analysis of Tudor nationalism has shown its dependence on and development from humanist ideals.<sup>31</sup> In particular she 'charts the significant changes undergone by humanism during the period, as it moved from internationalism to nationalism, and from a neo-classical to an increasingly vernacular standpoint'.<sup>32</sup> Her study (like all the others I have mentioned) focuses only on male writers, but in *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nation in Early Modern England*, Jodi Mikalachki has attended to 'early modern anxieties about native origins [which] predictably reflect English concerns about contemporary social and political issues, particularly those related to familial and gender relations'.<sup>33</sup>

Each of these studies has offered a valuable insight into the nationalism of Tudor-Stuart England, and each serves as useful background to an understanding of the nationalism of Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, (1598-1600). Yet this thesis differs from each of them in significant ways. Thus although, like Shrank, I see humanism as essential to the formation of Hakluyt's nationalism, I both consider it in a later period than she does, and I argue that the Ciceronian basis on which it in part depended, was inadequate on its own to explain Hakluyt's nationalist intent. Although, like Hadfield and McEachern, I am interested in the literary aspects of the discourse of

---

<sup>31</sup> Catherine Lucy Shrank, 'English Humanism and National Identity 1530-1570', Ph. D. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1999).

<sup>32</sup> Shrank, 'English Humanism', 20.

<sup>33</sup> Jodi Mikalachki, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nationhood in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1998).

nationalism, I attend not to linguistic and rhetorical devices, but focus my attention on Hakluyt's editorial strategies and interventions. Like Grabes and McEachern I consider the relationship of the state and nationalism, and investigate the extent to which *The Principal Navigations* aligned itself with the state; and, along with McEachern and Shuger, I consider the extent to which religion was an important part of the nationalist discourse. Helgerson's study, with its chapter length investigation of the nationalism of *The Principal Navigations* is, of course, the work to which my own thesis is nearest. By drawing attention to the mercantile elements of Hakluyt's work, he offers a valuable corrective to those who would suggest that it is predominantly interested in colonisation. There is much in Helgerson's work which is valuable, but, his depiction of Hakluyt's nationalism seems to me flawed in three aspects. Firstly, his view on the work's mercantilism is over-stated; secondly, his claim that the work has democratic tendencies is unfounded and based on misreading; and thirdly his consideration of the ideas of 'otherness' which shape the nationalism of *The Principal Navigations*, is unduly limited. My thesis, then, considers similar themes to those examined in the works I have mentioned, but, with the exception of Helgerson's study, it extends the literature to which they might be applied. With regard to *Forms of Nationhood*, this study offers a much more detailed and comprehensive analysis of Hakluyt's nationalism and in doing so offers a corrective to Helgerson's reading.

Yet this thesis also differs from all the studies above in another important way for it gives due consideration to the reception of Hakluyt's work. In *The Kiss of*



*Lamourette* Robert Darnton calls for ‘a dual strategy which would combine textual analysis with empirical research’.<sup>34</sup> In studies which investigate nationalism this seems particularly pertinent. McEachern, for example, seems to me to go too far when she claims that the sixteenth century is the period of English nationhood. It is difficult to see, for example, how, through the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, and Drayton, ideas of nationalism could be sufficiently widespread to create a fully-fledged nationalism. The complexities of dramatic agency and the limited circulation of the poetical texts must have impinged on the ability of any nationalist message to be disseminated. Noticeably, McEachern herself makes no attempt to assess the impact of the works she studies, and she too easily elides production of nationalism with its reception. By contrast, from the inspection of 150 copies of *The Principal(l) Navigations* and from wide reading among manuscript and printed sources, this thesis attempts to evaluate the extent to which the nationalism that Hakluyt proposed was understood and adopted by readers. In effect, I attempt to close the gap between a theory derived from textual analysis and the evidence of empirical research. Inevitably, such work positions my thesis within the study of the history of the book, and methodologically it attempts to answer the call made by Jason Scott-Warren for the consideration of both ‘qualitative and quantitative evidence’ in writing that history.<sup>35</sup> This combination is important because it offers a paradigm which shies away both from individual case studies, which all too often are studies of the

---

<sup>34</sup> Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), 181.

<sup>35</sup> Jason Scott-Warren, ‘News, Sociability and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis’, *The Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> series, 1 (2000), 386.

interesting but idiosyncratic, and from grand narratives which lack detail.<sup>36</sup> Uniting qualitative and quantitative data is also important because it enables us to ask different questions about the reception of works: not ‘What was the appropriation of this work?’ but ‘How does this appropriation fit with others?’ Such an approach enables us to avoid monolithic interpretations of texts and to allow a work its rich ambiguities. In addition, as Chartier observes, ‘differentiated uses and plural appropriations of the same goods, ideas, [and] actions can help make new links’.<sup>37</sup> This helps us to see the rich complexity of the interactions between readers and their books and thereby enhances our cultural history. To establish how this study of *The Principal Navigations* achieves these aims, it will be helpful to outline its structure.

In chapter one, I explore the humanist influence on Hakluyt’s thinking. I show that it is evident in his textual scholarship and especially in his use of the historical genre for *The Principal Navigations*. In addition, I locate Hakluyt within a coterie of nationalists interested in discourses about the ideal state. This coterie included John Dee, Philip Sidney, Roger Daniels, Edward Dyer, Francis Walsingham, Christopher Carleill, the two Richard Hakluyts and Gabriel Harvey. In particular, I draw attention to the connection between the discourse of the ideal state, a discourse which may also be thought of as one promoting state-improvement, and the activities of colonisation, trade, warfare, and discovery which are at the heart of

---

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Anthony Grafton, ‘Is the History of Books a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and His Books’, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91 (1997), 139-57. The works of Sharpe (on Cotton) and Sherman (on Dee), equally focus on exceptional individuals. See Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) and William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

<sup>37</sup> Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 6.



Hakluyt's collection. The discourse is framed in terms of honour – attained through the 'civic virtues' of wisdom, temperance, fortitude and justice – combined with the factors of 'strength' and 'wealth'. Pertinent to Hakluyt's work are a number of other elements also found in the literature of civic life. They include the importance of both history and religion; discussion of the acquisition and management of colonies; the fear of faction; the role of foreign examples; and the hierarchical nature of society.

In chapters two and three I examine the diverse facets of Hakluyt's nationalism as they are manifested in his editorial practice. In chapter two, I explore Hakluyt's deployment of paratextual features. These include the use of prefatory material, tables of contents, titles, sub-titles, running-titles and printed marginalia. In doing so, I highlight the content of many of the texts included in Hakluyt's collection. I consider, too, the significance of material aspects of the book, including its format, serial publication, and methodological organisation, and I engage with the question of its genre. In chapter three, I pay close attention to the texts themselves. My study concentrates on explaining how some of the less obviously nationalistic texts were shaped by Hakluyt to offer nationalist readings. For example, I investigate his reasons for including material which criticises the English; I explore his omission of overtly patriotic and seemingly pertinent materials; and I examine both the cuts and interpolations that he made to the texts that he did publish. A recently published article by Matthew Steggle which has difficulty in accounting for the inclusion in *The Principal Navigations* of material which contains criticism of the English

demonstrates how important it is to understand the humanist inspiration for Hakluyt's nationalism.<sup>38</sup>

Chapter four considers *The Principal Navigations* in terms of its colonial policy. In particular it examines the relationship between nationalism and imperialism, and touches on the debate about 'The British Question'. In direct opposition to David Armitage I argue that Hakluyt did indeed have a clear notion of a British Empire, and that this was limited in scope to what might be called the 'Atlantic Archipelago' (but including Iceland and islands in the seas surrounding England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland).<sup>39</sup> I demonstrate that unlike James I, who wanted to subsume the English nation into a British Empire, Hakluyt saw the (re-)creation of such an empire as part of a nationalist programme and viewed attempts at colonisation as an extension of England. The British Empire, possibly for diplomatic reasons, was not for Hakluyt a union of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, but rather England, Wales and Ireland, with additional colonies in America. I note, in particular, Hakluyt's suppression of his earlier observations, made in another context, that overseas colonies were likely in due course to desire their independence.

Chapter five continues the policy of differentiating *The Principal Navigations* from other writings of Hakluyt's by considering his presentation of 'otherness'. The collection has typically been seen in the light of the earlier 'Discourse of Western

---

<sup>38</sup> Matthew Steggle, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 43 (2003), 65-81.

<sup>39</sup> David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).



Planting' as depending on the demonization of Spain, a reading given prominence both by William S. Maltby and Richard Helgerson.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, I suggest that Hakluyt's engagement with 'others' was far more complex. I begin by considering the influence of aliens on the methodology that Hakluyt used in *The Principal Navigations*. I examine his continental precursors, such as Ramusio; the influence of French thought on his historical method (chiefly the influence of Ramus and La Popolinière); and I examine his use of scholars of international standing such as Mercator and Ortelius. I show, too, that his attitude to Spain was far more complex in *The Principal Navigations* than Maltby and Helgerson would have us believe. This chapter also engages with the question of religion and it challenges the view that *The Principal Navigations* is a uniquely Protestant work. It identifies the Catholic element in the collection, and documents the inclusion of non-conformist Protestant as well as Jesuit material. I contextualise these in relation to other works that Hakluyt promoted and which likewise advocate a more ecumenical view than a narrow Protestantism.

The five chapters that deal with Hakluyt's editing show how a wide variety of texts could be deployed to promote a nationalist state in a plethora of different ways. Jane Moody has recently demonstrated that the eighteenth-century actor, mimic and caricaturist, Samuel Foote, was able to appropriate a diverse range of material to

---

<sup>40</sup> William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1971); Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*.

feed his satirical performances.<sup>41</sup> I want to suggest in a similar way that Hakluyt was able to find something which could be used to benefit the nation in all the material that he published in *The Principal Navigations*. The question is how successful was he, for, as Adrian Hastings has observed, although books have an important role in promoting nationalism ‘only extensive use can bring with it a nationalising effect, and that means use at a popular, and not merely academic level’.<sup>42</sup>

Attempting to assess reaction to the work occupies chapters six and seven, where I examine the reception of *The Principal(l) Navigations* in detail. Here I attempt to establish the extent to which the nationalist discourses promoted by Hakluyt were accepted by readers, and in what ways. In chapter six I look at those who did tap into the nationalist discourse, citing and using *The Principal Navigations* as a means to benefit the nation – and themselves. Their deployments were myriad, ranging from attempts to acquire territory and trading rights, through the defence of mercantilist policies, to the accessing of geographical information, and promotion of a sense of national pride. Their readings reflect individual elements of the paradigm of state-building which Hakluyt promulgated, and in this, although they do not seem to subscribe to his conceptual framework in its entirety, they share and adapt aspects of Hakluyt’s discourse. My study establishes the importance of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* among the educated, wealthy and already pro- and proto-nationalist elements of society.

---

<sup>41</sup> Jane Moody, ‘Hoaxes, Puffs, and the Invention of Samuel Foote’, a paper given at *Theatre and Celebrity 1660-2002*, Conference, University of York, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2002. See also *DNB*, s.v. ‘Foote, Samuel’.

<sup>42</sup> Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 22.

In chapter seven, however, as an antidote to the self-interest and myopia so frequently evident in nationalism, the detestation of which led Hobsbawm to declare that 'no serious historian of nations and nationalism can be a committed political nationalist because nationalism requires too much belief in what is patently not so', I reveal the ways that readers rejected or misunderstood the nationalist aspect of Hakluyt's collection. Indeed, I find myself in disagreement with G. M. Trevelyan's claim that 'Hakluyt was the most influential writer in the age of Shakespeare, if it was not Foxe'.<sup>43</sup> It is not that Hakluyt's work did not influence a broad range of material, much of it popular – such as the plays of Shakespeare and Jonson, and the prose tracts of Harvey and Nashe – but that these writers, like many scientific readers and writers, seem to overlook, to ignore, or even deliberately to undermine the nationalist element of Hakluyt's work. I show how the most frequently marked sections of the work related not to nationalist issues, but to the length of a man's beard; how strong interest in religious issues was not situated in the context of national identity; and how anecdotes and the exotic caught the attention of readers far more readily than any overtly nationalist principle.

Ultimately, it is the heteroglossia of Hakluyt's work which I suggest has made it worthy of continued study and it is this which makes it a seminal work of the Tudor-Stuart period.<sup>44</sup> In examining the nationalist element of Hakluyt's work, I find

---

<sup>43</sup> Cited, without reference, in Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood*, 59.

<sup>44</sup> M. M. Bakhtin, 'The Dialogic Imagination', trans. M. Holquist and C. Emerson, in Pam Morris (ed.), *The Bakhtin Reader: Selected Writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev and Volashinov* (London: Arnold, 1994), 74-80.

myself concurring with Hobsbawm's rejection of nationalism, not least because in Hakluyt's case the drive to nationalism seems designed to limit the possible readings of texts, denying them their polyvalence. However, I believe that uncovering the nature of the discourse which attempts to stimulate this ideological formation is worthwhile and important, not only for what it can tell us about modes of discourse in the nationalist causes of the past, but also because of the parallels it provides with some nationalist discourses of the present, towards which a healthy and questioning scepticism seems to be an intelligent response.



## CHAPTER ONE

### **Humanist Nationalism and *The Principal Navigations***

At first glance, the idea of humanist nationalism appears paradoxical. As John Breuilly has suggested, the idea of nationalism is closely linked with institutions, yet, as Andrew Fitzmaurice has observed, there was a ‘humanist assumption ... that the common good is best served not by the creation of institutions, but by the active participation of citizens in public life’.<sup>1</sup> Humanism, typically, emphasised the importance of the individual, yet nationalist theory repeatedly notes the importance of a sense of community.<sup>2</sup> The trans-national nature of humanist culture, which was often disseminated in the *lingua franca* of Latin, has made Jonathan Woolfson question whether nations offer ‘any kind of historically authentic, rather than historiographically convenient, unit for historical analysis.’<sup>3</sup> The contested, polyvalent, and multi-faceted nature of the terms ‘nationalism’ and ‘humanism’ is another obstacle to understanding the relationship between them. Despite these difficulties, this chapter explores Hakluyt’s nationalism and the influence of four key areas of humanism on it – those of educational practice; philology and textual recovery; style and imitation; and ‘civic’ humanism. The nationalism which

---

<sup>1</sup> Breuilly, ‘Approaches to Nationalism’; Andrew Fitzmaurice, ‘Classical Rhetoric and the Literature of Discovery 1570-1630’, D. Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1995), 73.

<sup>2</sup> Brendan Bradshaw, ‘Transalpine Humanism’, in J. H. Burns and Mark Goldie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95-131; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; James, *Nation Formation*.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Woolfson (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 10.

emanated from *The Principal Navigations* was inevitably multi-faceted; it had many sources and multiple aims; it applied to many walks of life and was remarkably metamorphic in nature. It resists reduction to a *bon mot*, is constantly flexible, and above all requires a diversity of inconsistent readings.<sup>4</sup> That last issue is the subject of later chapters. Here I examine Hakluyt's appropriation of humanist methodologies to nationalist ends.

As Albert Rabil's extensive collection of essays reveals, humanism had an enormous impact on all elements of society.<sup>5</sup> Not only did it revise the curricula and pedagogical methods of schools and universities across Europe, radically improve the standards of scholarly works and editions, and seek to inspire students to apply their learning in a practical environment, but its ideas permeated the fields of law, science, the arts, moral philosophy and religion. Woolfson has also drawn attention to the diversity of post-Reformation English humanism, in which

we find Catholic and Protestant humanists, conservative and radical ones, Platonic and Aristotelian and skeptical ones, scientific and magical ones. Republican humanists, 'civic' humanists, pessimistic and optimistic humanists, and we find rhetoricians, more adept at persuasion than conviction. Above all, we find scholars.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Thus, while I find Condren's argument about the importance of language in seventeenth-century politics persuasive, I am more interested in the way that editorship could be used to promote a nationalist vision. See Conal Condren, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Albert Rabil Jr. (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988). See Bradshaw, 'Transalpine Humanism' for another useful summary.

<sup>6</sup> Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, 2.

Yet this diversity can itself be confusing. Given the proliferation of different kinds of humanist, defining humanism has proved very difficult. As Warren Boutcher has observed, 'there is as yet no general consensus as to *what* we are talking about when we address English humanism in this late period.'<sup>7</sup>

It would clearly be presumptuous to offer a definition of humanism, but examination of humanist practices in relation to *The Principal Navigations* can, I think, shed light on the importance of this movement to nationalist thought. One important factor was educational practice. It might seem strange that this aspect of humanism should exert an influence on a text such as *The Principal Navigations*. However, as Boutcher notes, in sixteenth-century England 'the humanist pedagogies of Desiderius Erasmus and Petrus Ramus infiltrated the structure and practice of arts education in English grammar schools, universities and inns of court' so pervasively that they contributed to the cultural embedding of 'humanistic literary practices'.<sup>8</sup> We should also note

---

<sup>7</sup> Warren Boutcher, 'Humanism and Literature in Late Tudor England: Translation, the Continental Book, and the Case of Montaigne's *Essais*', in Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, 264. In particular, Boutcher notes that it can be incongruous to take ideas from Quattrocento Italy and apply them to late Tudor and early Stuart England.

<sup>8</sup> Warren Boutcher, 'Pilgrimage to Parnassus: Local Intellectual Traditions, Humanist Education and the Cultural Geography of Sixteenth-Century England', in Y. L. Too and N. Livingstone (eds.), *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 114. For in-depth discussion of the humanist influence on Tudor education see T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944). For a more recent evaluation see Rebecca W. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), and Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998). For general information about humanist education, not specific to England, see Benjamin G. Kohl, 'Humanism and Education' in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*, iii. 5-22; and Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986). Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965) argues that the opportunity for widespread humanist education in Tudor England was lost because the state sought to strengthen its position against religious innovation. Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), emphasises the importance of education as the key to advancement. According to Lawrence Stone, in



that many humanist scholars were engaged as private tutors. Hakluyt had been educated in the humanist system at Westminster School and Christ Church College, Oxford, as well as receiving instruction from his elder cousin. Inevitably, Hakluyt's works bear the hall-marks of this influence, which can be seen in two important ways in *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>9</sup> Firstly it affected the type of material that Hakluyt published, and secondly it influenced the purpose of such publication. In both instances, however, the collections reveal a modernized humanism which supported a nationalist agenda.

Although Hakluyt undoubtedly received a humanist training both at Westminster and at Oxford, in *The Principall Navigations* it was the education he received from his cousin to which he drew attention. This was also inspired by humanist principles. As Anthony Grafton has demonstrated, humanist scholars tried to accommodate new information with the knowledge they derived from the classics. Their attitude evolved into 'a pattern of partial challenge and partly conscious traditionalism'.<sup>10</sup> The well-known anecdote with which Hakluyt opened his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' in the 1589 edition of the work reveals just such a development. Hakluyt's cousin showed him

the diuision 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 knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of

---

1600 England was in the middle of an educational revolution. See Lawrence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80.

<sup>9</sup> See Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 58-62.

<sup>10</sup> Anthony Grafton, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1992), 116.

ech part, with declaration also of their special commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied.<sup>11</sup>

In the humanist tradition, old learning is superseded but not completely disregarded, as the turn from the 'olde account' to the 'latter & better distribution' makes clear. The old learning, in which the world was divided into the three parts of Europe, Africa and Asia, was based on classical knowledge, but here it is interrogated and brought up-to-date. The tri-partite structure remains, but a fourth part – the Americas – is added. Hakluyt himself later taught the same revisionist geography. In his own 'publike lectures' at Oxford he demonstrated 'both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments'.<sup>12</sup> Like his cousin, Hakluyt showed how classical learning was out of date, but yet still felt it important to teach it. Thus, he continued the humanist practice of combining classical knowledge with the discovery and publication of new information.

The dissemination of modern geographical knowledge, then, reflected humanist ideas about the need to build new knowledge on the foundations laid in antiquity. Another area of humanist practice which influenced Hakluyt was the return to original sources. John King has recently argued that in his *Acts and Monuments*, John Foxe's 'drive to return *ad fontes* in the accurate transcription of documents, regardless of whether he approves of their content, is in the tradition of humanist

---

<sup>11</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

historiography'.<sup>13</sup> I will want to modify this rather loose account of the desire to return *ad fontes*, but it is clear that Hakluyt too was interested both in the accurate transcription of documents and in a return to original sources, as his comments about his edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe nouo* reveals:

opus insigne plusquam dimidia parte mutilum ... integrum ... nativo sple[n]dori, nisi fallor, restitutum, quanta potui maxima diligentia in lucem iam tandem edendum curavi.

(This work ... though almost half of it was missing ... I have at last, after conducting the most diligent researches, been able to publish in its entirety, restored, if I am not mistaken, to its original splendour.)<sup>14</sup>

As Payne observes, the edition was the 'greatest editorial achievement to stem from Hakluyt's years in Paris'.<sup>15</sup>

*The Principal Navigations* betrays a similar interest in the recovery of original documents. However, whereas humanist scholars were predominantly interested in the recovery and publication of classical texts, Hakluyt's search for material for *The Principal Navigations* pertained to his own national culture.<sup>16</sup> In this it continued a tradition begun in England by Bale and Leland, in their attempts to recover texts

---

<sup>13</sup> John N. King, 'John Foxe and Tudor Humanism', in Woolfson, *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, 174.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De orbe nouo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo*, ed. Richard Hakluyt (Paris, 1587). The quotations are taken from Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 358, 365. The translation is Taylor's.

<sup>15</sup> Anthony Payne, "'Strange, Remote, and Farre Distant Countreys": The Travel Books of Richard Hakluyt', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (Folkestone: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), 14.

<sup>16</sup> For the humanists' interest in the discovery and publication of original texts see, for example, Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961-65), i. 92-119, and David R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).



which might be lost on account of the Reformation.<sup>17</sup> Indeed there is a direct link between Hakluyt and Bale, whose *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant catalogus* (1557-9) Hakluyt drew on.<sup>18</sup> Hakluyt acknowledged this debt when he observed that non-English writers gave him more information ‘*then all our owne Historians could affoord ... Bale, Foxe and Eden onely excepted*’.<sup>19</sup> The emphasis on the recovery of ancient texts was also stressed in the ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ of the second edition, where Hakluyt claimed to have

brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion.<sup>20</sup>

The reference to ‘monuments’ echoes Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, but it also invokes an elegiac aspect. As Hardison has demonstrated, not only was elegy a central humanist concern, but it had associations with a desire to inspire imitative action, which, as we shall see, was also a major concern of Hakluyt’s.<sup>21</sup>

As well as suggesting the preservative nature of the work he published, Hakluyt also emphasised the difficulty of gathering these materials, which he said was only overcome by ‘the ardent loue of my countrey’. He reiterated this theme more

---

<sup>17</sup> For Leland see T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950), 45-64; for Bale see, Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity*, 51-80.

<sup>18</sup> See D. B. Quinn, ‘*Principall Navigations* (1589)’, in id., *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 341-3, 346.

<sup>19</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, i. sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> O. B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), 24-42.



forcefully in the ‘Preface to the Reader’ of the second edition, where he drew attention to the fact that these antiquities were English:

*HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traueile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring iawes of obliuion ... I do ... offer unto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse.*<sup>22</sup>

This emphasis on the hardships and costs of the scholarly enterprise seems designed only to point up Hakluyt’s love of the ‘Common weale’ which makes them worthwhile:

*Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment vnto me.*<sup>23</sup>

The labour of acquiring and publishing these works was inspired not by the love of antiquity but by the love of Hakluyt’s ‘*Common weale*’, for whose benefit the work was intended. Thus, the humanist-style search for classical antiquities became a more narrowly-focussed nationalist enterprise.<sup>24</sup> The uses Hakluyt proposed for the material he recovered also highlight his nationalist purpose.

---

<sup>22</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> I explain below why in Hakluyt’s case a correlation should be made between the ‘common-weale’ and the nation.

Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton have emphasised the pragmatic nature of humanist pedagogy.<sup>25</sup> In Tudor England, as Boutcher comments, ‘the humanistically trained [did] find employment as secretaries, diplomats and propagandists on an increasingly regularised basis’ – and, we might add, as school teachers, university lecturers, councillors, and public servants.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Joan Simon has observed that ‘wherever an opening was sought at court or in a household; in the Commons, the law, medicine, a respectable trade, or even, as the years wore on, the church, an education was now necessary.’<sup>27</sup> We can see this drive towards practical pedagogy in the anecdote about Hakluyt’s cousin. The younger cousin was informed about the constitutional nature of the countries that were brought to his attention, as well as their ‘speciall commodities, & particular wants’. Thus, Hakluyt did not receive geographical information for its own sake, but for its relevance to trade and politics. As Albert Meierus’s tract about the kind of information that a traveller should note down revealed, a country’s constitutional arrangement was of the utmost importance, especially for ‘Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers [and] Marriners’.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, Meierus’s tract was one of many humanistically-inspired attempts to ‘methodise’ travel literature in a way that would make it useful.<sup>29</sup> As Hankins has demonstrated, there was also a humanist tradition of using such description for imperialist ends, as evidenced by Bruni’s *Laudatio Florentinae*

---

<sup>25</sup> See Jardine and Grafton, *Humanism to the Humanities*, xiv: ‘consonance between the practical activities of the humanists and the practical needs of their patrons ... was the decisive reason for the victory of humanism’.

<sup>26</sup> Boutcher, ‘Humanism and Literature’, 244.

<sup>27</sup> Simon, *Education and Society*, 296.

<sup>28</sup> Albertus Meierus, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners &c. Employed in Seruices Abrode*, trans. Philip Jones (London, 1589). Section 8 is entitled ‘The Politicall State, wherein is to be marked’ (sig. C3’).

<sup>29</sup> Justin Stagl, ‘The Methodising of Travel in the Sixteenth Century: A Tale of Three Cities’, *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1990), 303-38.



*Urbis*.<sup>30</sup> That Hakluyt almost certainly had Meierus's tract translated at the same time as he published the first edition of *The Principall Navigations* suggests he believed it to be a valuable document, and in part it explains the eclectic nature of the material in his collections.<sup>31</sup> The practical aspect of *The Principal(l) Navigations* is legible in Hakluyt's claim that his '*chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall co[m]moditie of this our Realme*'. On the basis of that desire he included detailed information in his work about '*the fittest places*' for such sales.<sup>32</sup> Yet this practical application of *The Principal(l) Navigations* is just one among many. For example Hakluyt also commented that he had:

*not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars which might serue 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.*<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the practicality of *The Principal Navigations* was not just a question of information. It was also one of precedents or '*woorthy monuments*' which, as we have seen, were intended as precursors to action.

---

<sup>30</sup> James Hankins, 'Rhetoric, History and Ideology: The Civic Panegyrics of Leonardi Bruni', in id. (ed.), *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 146.

<sup>31</sup> For Hakluyt's involvement in the translation of this work see Payne, 'Travel Books', 35. On sig. A3<sup>r</sup> Jones comments that Hakluyt encouraged him to dedicate the work to Drake. I discuss the importance of Meierus's tract in relation to *The Principal Navigations* in Chapter 3. It is noticeable that Gabriel Harvey, Hakluyt's friend, owned a copy of this work, which he admired. For a brief discussion of this work see Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 185-90.

<sup>32</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>. Hakluyt's interest in such exports may have been influenced by the fact that he held a scholarship from the Clothworkers' company. See G. D. Ramsay, 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 504-21.

<sup>33</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>v</sup>.

Yet while practicality was an essential element of humanist education, it was inevitably not the only one. As James Hankins has observed, humanists aimed to revive 'the ancient prizes of fame and glory', and the attempt to create an emotional and psychological impact is also evident in *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>34</sup> Hakluyt published materials specifically relating to English enterprise and endeavour, in order to silence those who condemned the English for 'their sluggish security, and continuall neglect' of 'discoveries and notable enterprises by sea'.<sup>35</sup> He even claimed that English navigational achievements exceeded those of the Italians, Portuguese and Spanish:

*wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme unto our English nation, to haue bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape ... and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia ... as for the Portugales to haue 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 haue discovered unknowen landes to many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? ... in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse.*<sup>36</sup>

The failure of the English to discover riches on the scale that the Spanish and Portuguese had in their discoveries was no doubt a factor in this encomium, for the lack of financial rewards forced Hakluyt to praise the endeavour and the difficulty of the enterprise instead. As opposed to the transience of material benefits, Hakluyt offered the praise of posterity. Significantly, too, it was not the individuals who received the credit but the 'English *nation*' collectively. As in the humanist tradition,

---

<sup>34</sup> James Hankins, 'Humanism and the Origins of Modern Political Thought', in Jill Kraye (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 125.

<sup>35</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>.



praise and glory were promoted as ideals, but rather than being directed at the individual they were located within the context of international competition. Hakluyt's paradoxical claim was that despite their inability to find a route to the Far East or great wealth, the English had still achieved more than the Spanish and Portuguese because of the difficulty of the enterprise. Thus, Hakluyt used international comparison to make the efforts of a series of individuals a means to praise the whole English nation.

A similar approach is discernible in the commendatory verses of two great humanist educationalists whose poems adorn the front of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. The verses of Richard Mulcaster, the Headmaster of both the Merchant Taylor's School and St Paul's and author of a tract on education, which appear in the second edition, parallel Hakluyt's own comments about the achievements of the English.<sup>37</sup> Even though he was critical of merchants, Mulcaster nevertheless praised *The Principal Navigations* as a work which promoted the acquisition of wealth and the achievements of the English nation:

*Quæcunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica naui,  
 Oceani tristes spernere doctaminas [sic],  
 A prima generisq[ue] & gentis origine gessit,  
 qua via per fluctus vlla patere potest,  
 Siue decus, laudémq[ue] secuta, vt & hostibus alas  
 demeret, atque suis læta pararet opes:  
 Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,  
 cui multum, patriæ quisquis amicus erit.<sup>38</sup>*

<sup>37</sup> DNB, s.v. 'Mulcaster, Richard'.

<sup>38</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*3<sup>r</sup>. Compare Richard Mulcaster, *Positions wherein Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, which are Necessarie for the Training vp of Children, either for Skill in Their Booke, or Health in Their Bodie* (London: Thomas Chard, 1581), sig. 2D1<sup>v</sup>: 'Marchautes by forcing their naturall soile beyond her proportion to some gainefull commoditie

(For that reason the English nation of rapid ships spurned the sorrowful experiences of the sea, from the beginning of their race; and it gave birth to the start of a nation to whom any route through the waves lies open, they having followed honour and praise, so that they might snatch away the wings of the enemy and joyfully procure wealth for themselves. This is the work of Hakluyt to whom the country owes much, and to anyone who is a friend of the country it will be important.)

For Mulcaster, Hakluyt's work taught the English people to overcome difficulties, to seek praise and glory, and to acquire riches. His reading drew attention to the multifaceted aspect of nationalism in Hakluyt's work, and it converted the humanist ideals to a nationalist cause. Like Hakluyt, Mulcaster grouped together the activities of individuals into the actions of a single 'gens', (people/nation).<sup>39</sup>

Camden's commendatory verses run on a similar theme but stress the transition in England's prestige acquired through discovery:

ANglia quæ penitùs toto discluditur orbe,  
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.  
Nunc cùm sepositos alios detexerit orbes,  
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.<sup>40</sup>

(England, which was completely isolated from the world and was a corner of the world, was a small country. Now, after it will have uncovered other distant worlds, the greatest honour of the world will be both the World and a country.)

Camden's opening line wittily adapts a line from Virgil's first 'Eclogue' in which Meliboeus laments that the Romans have to go to 'penitus toto divisos orbe

---

verie vtterable abroad do breede gaules at home, and by bringing in also beyond proportion to serue pleasure and feede fantsie, proue great vndoers to a great number, which can neither temper their tast, nor refraine the fashion.'

<sup>39</sup> For further connections between Mulcaster and Hakluyt, see Foster Watson, 'Hakluyt and Mulcaster', *Geographical Journal*, 49 (1917), 48-53.

<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i., sig. \*\*3<sup>v</sup>.

Britannos' (the Britons, wholly sundered from all the world).<sup>41</sup> The implied comparison is with the Roman Empire, and the transformation from 'Britannos' to 'ANglia' is a significant change with its apparent exclusion of Scotland and Ireland, and, of course, the pun it permits on 'Angulus' (corner). Thus, both Camden and Mulcaster stressed that Hakluyt's text was one which offered precedents and inspirational examples, not just for anybody, but specifically for the English. They laid claim to a common cultural inheritance. In doing so, they adapted the humanist practice of gathering precepts from classical texts and re-applied it to texts based on English history, which were then perceived as providing exempla for the English. Both Mulcaster and Camden read Hakluyt's work as a national enterprise, not as individual endeavours. Hakluyt's collection of a series of individual narratives has formed the work of 'a nation', the '*gens Anglica*', and it is this which is to inspire, rather than the individual example.

Thus, humanist education influenced *The Principal Navigations* in three important ways. It inspired the desire to disseminate new knowledge; it initiated the search for and publication of previously unknown materials, and it sought to advocate the use of such texts either to promote practical activity or to inspire a desire for praise and glory. Another important area of humanist practice which influenced Hakluyt was textual analysis.

---

<sup>41</sup> Publius Virgilius Maro, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 28-29. See Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 4.



As the works of Kristeller, Weiss and Grafton, in particular, have demonstrated, humanism was founded on the discovery, publication and teaching of classical texts.<sup>42</sup> The humanists' work frequently involved the philological analysis of texts and an attempt to locate them within their own milieu, and resulted in some spectacular revelations about the authenticity, or otherwise, of those texts - most notably, of course, Valla's exposition of the forgery of the Donation of Constantine. The desire to return to the original source, and to strip away what they perceived as the obfuscating commentaries of the scholastics, was central to the humanists' methodology. King's description of this focus on the original documentation as a return *ad fontes* echoes the terminology that Hakluyt used to describe his own philological work. In his 1601 edition of Antonio Galvano's *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall vnto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555*, Hakluyt stated that he had had 'recourse vnto the originall histories' in order to correct the defects of the edition he had himself obtained.<sup>43</sup> He claimed that he had noted in the margin which sections came from what sources. By using his printed marginalia, Hakluyt claimed that those who wanted to know more could 'satisfie their desires by hauing

---

<sup>42</sup> See, *inter alia*, Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*; Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969); Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 'Quattro-cento Humanism & Classical Scholarship', in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*, iii. 23-66, 'Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts: Comments on Some Commentaries', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), 615-49, *Bring out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001). See also Robert Ralph Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954) and E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).

<sup>43</sup> Antonio Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall vnto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555*, trans. R. Hakluyt (London, 1601), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; reproduced in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 485.

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'.<sup>44</sup>

Yet this return to original documents was not an uncritical one. King has suggested that publishing materials 'regardless of whether [one] approves of their contents' was the humanist method.<sup>45</sup> As Grafton reveals in relation to Poliziano, humanist scholars were indeed prepared to use material which supported their argument, whether or not it met the tests of scholarship that they themselves advocated either in terms of authenticity or historical accuracy. Yet humanists did care about the texts they published.<sup>46</sup> Hakluyt was particularly careful on this score as he made clear when he observed:

*to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion and iust commendation which they haue deserued, and further, that euery man might answeere for himselfe, iustifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for ... Peregrinationis historia ... is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.*<sup>47</sup>

This organisational policy pertained to both editions and was carried through rigorously. Hakluyt removed from the second edition the version of Mandeville's travels that he had published in the first, as well as the narrative of David Ingram's

---

<sup>44</sup> Galvano, *Discoveries of the World*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; reproduced in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 485.

<sup>45</sup> For a consideration of Foxe's concern with accuracy see Patrick Collinson, 'Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Press, 1985), 31-54. See also John N. King, 'Fiction and Fact in Foxe's Book of Martyrs', and Glynn Parry, 'John Foxe "Father of Lyes" and the Papists', in David M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 12-35 and 295-305.

<sup>46</sup> Grafton, 'Quattrocento Humanism'. For another example see E. B. Fryde, *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983).

<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

journey across New Mexico. In both cases he seems to have deemed the texts unreliable. It is difficult to tell whether in publishing material which we now regard as mythological, Hakluyt was breaking this policy, but it is significant that in each case, the documents served a political turn.<sup>48</sup> Arguably too, Hakluyt was using the credibility acquired through careful selection of authentic texts to lend support to more dubious documents. The implications of such material were certainly not lost on the English Government in the eighteenth century when it cited Hakluyt in support of an international boundary dispute.<sup>49</sup> Authenticity, and hence the careful selection of texts, was essential to Hakluyt's claim about the achievements of the English in comparison with other countries, for only on that basis could the claims have any credibility.

However, it was not just the potential political significance of a work which mattered either to the humanists or Hakluyt, for both were genuinely interested in the nature of the texts they dealt with. Just as humanists travelled across Europe acquiring classical texts, so Hakluyt made enquiries throughout Europe in search of specific editions.<sup>50</sup> For example, having learned of the existence of works by Jacob Cnoyen, William Tripolitanus, and John de Plano Carpini, probably by reading a tract by Dee, Hakluyt wrote to Mercator asking him if he knew of these works.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the significance of the material relating to Arthur.

<sup>49</sup> See below Chapter 6.

<sup>50</sup> For an example of the humanist desire to acquire classical texts see Fryde's discussion of the growth of Lorenzo de' Medici's library in *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography*, 159-214.

<sup>51</sup> See Taylor, *Writings*, i. 161, for Mercator's letter to Hakluyt in which it is clear Hakluyt has been hunting down these works. For the suggestion that Hakluyt knew of them from Dee's 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries', see E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), 114-19, 131-34. See also E. G. R. Taylor, 'A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee', *Imago Mundi*, 13 (1956), 56-68, in which she discusses a letter to Dee from Mercator which is appended to



Fourteen years later, having located a copy of the Carpini text, Hakluyt could question Emanuel van Meteren about whether a friend of his, who seemed to Hakluyt to be mistaken about his reading of the Carpini text, had an Italian version, such as Hakluyt owned in his copy of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi*, or a Latin one, in which language he had also seen a copy. In the same letter, Hakluyt was able to inform van Meteren that he could obtain a copy of Abilfeda Ismael's work from a friend of his, Paul Melissus, or from some other friends in Venice who had a Latin copy.<sup>52</sup> What is particularly interesting with regard to the Carpini text is that Hakluyt ultimately decided to print in *The Principal Navigations*, not the Italian version as found in Ramusio, which he himself owned, but rather the Latin manuscript version which he transcribed from John, Lord Lumley's library. His interest in these texts, which said nothing about English navigation but which still found their way into *The Principal Navigations*, derived from his belief that they contained valuable practical information, about a possible North-East Passage. Hakluyt's endeavour followed humanist practice in that he obtained the best available texts and published them. It

---

the end of Dee's holograph text of 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' in British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C VII. For the influence of Dee's work on Purchas, Hakluyt and Drake, see Sherman, *John Dee*, 177. Sherman cites Taylor's *Tudor Geography* and points out that the first five chapters of 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' are now lost but are alluded to in Purchas. This raises the possibility that this was a text Purchas obtained from Hakluyt, for although Purchas acknowledged those texts he received when he printed them as separate items, the allusion to 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' occurs in a passage of commentary. See Sherman, *John Dee*, 176, 245, which notes that Purchas's summary is found in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons, 1905-7), i. 93, 97, 105-6, 108-16. Taylor also notes that Dee's section of Nicholas of Lynn contained in 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' was 'later printed by Hakluyt' in *The Principal Navigations* (Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 133).

<sup>52</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 419-20. That both Hakluyt and Gabriel Harvey knew van Meteren is a further link between the two English men whose friendship I discuss below in Chapter 2. Harvey's *Fovre Letters and Certeine Sonnets* (London, 1592) addresses the first letter to 'M. Emmanuell Demetrius', who, as Mark Eccles has shown, was Emanuel van Meteren. See Mark Eccles, 'Brief Lives: Tudor and Stuart Authors', *Studies in Philology*, 79:4 (1982), 62.

was nationalist in that he published such texts because he believed that they contained practical information of potential use to the English.<sup>53</sup>

Although in the case of the Carpini narrative, Hakluyt rejected Ramusio's text in favour of a medieval manuscript, he was nevertheless heavily influenced by the Italian's collection of travel narratives.<sup>54</sup> Here too we can see the adaptation of humanist methods. As David Rundle has pointed out, humanist imitation of classical examples, although it was largely a literary and rhetorical practice, also extended to imitating genres.<sup>55</sup> Yet, as Martindale has emphasised, pure imitation was always condemned by the humanists.<sup>56</sup> Hakluyt's adaptation of Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi* can consequently be seen in this humanist light. Both Ramusio and Hakluyt published first-hand accounts of modern travel narratives and both organised their material in a methodical way. However, there are crucial differences in their reasons for publication. This is evident when we compare Hakluyt's acknowledgment that love of his country helped him to overcome all difficulties (which I quoted earlier) with Ramusio's comment:

---

<sup>53</sup> I consider the question of Hakluyt's inclusion of material relating to the voyages of other nations in *The Principal Navigations* in Chapter 5. Hakluyt's comments on the text of John de Plano Carpini are to be found at *Principal Navigations*, i. sigs. \*\*1<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> In fact Hakluyt's debt to Ramusio's *Navigazioni et viaggi* was enormous in terms of raising his awareness of material. For example, the translation of Cartier's narrative by Florio which Hakluyt sponsored was from Ramusio, while the works by Pigafetta, Peter Martyr, and Leo Africanus, with which Hakluyt was also associated, were all to be found in *Navigazioni et viaggi*. See Payne, 'Travel Books', 11-14, 34-36. In addition, a number of texts which Hakluyt published in *The Principal Navigations* were translated directly from Ramusio's work. See D. B. Quinn, 'Principall Navigations (1589)', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 338-39, 355, 366, and 'Principal Navigations (1598-1600)', in *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 372, 400, 431, 442-45.

<sup>55</sup> David Rundle, "Not So Much Praise As Precept": Erasmus, Panegyric, and the Renaissance Art of Teaching Princes', in Too and Livingstone, *Pedagogy and Power*, 148-69.

<sup>56</sup> Joanna Martindale (ed.), *English Humanism Wyatt to Cowley* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 29.

Ma la cagione che mi fece affaticar volentieri in questa opera, fu, che vedendo, & considerando le tauole della Geografia di Tolomeo, doue si descriue l’Africa, & la India esser molto imperfette, rispetto alla gran cognitione che si ha hoggi di quelle regioni, ho stimato douer esser caro, & forse non poco vtile al mondo il mettere insieme le narrationi de’ gli scrittori de’ nostri tempi, che sono stati nelle sopradette parti del mondo, & di quelle han parlato minutamente ...<sup>57</sup>

(But the reason that made me voluntarily undertake this work was, that seeing and considering the maps of Ptolemy’s *Geography*, in which he himself describes Africa and India to be very imperfect, in respect of the great knowledge that one has today of those regions, I thought it would be valuable, and perhaps not a little useful to the world, to put together the narrations of the writers of our time who have stayed in the aforesaid parts of the world, and who have spoken in detail [about them].)

Whereas Ramusio hoped that his work would supply new information, replacing the outdated information in Ptolemy’s *Geography*, and that it would be ‘vtile al mondo’, Hakluyt hoped only that his collection of narratives would inspire the English to action or create a sense of pride through a common history. The transition from general supplier of information to would-be nationalist is clear.

Indeed, the specifically nationalist nature of *The Principal Navigations*, in particular, is evidenced by Hakluyt’s willingness to publish narratives by travellers from other nations separately. Moreover, he did so either in Latin, which suggests a willingness to make available material to any educated person across Europe, or in other vernacular languages including French, and Spanish, which inevitably restricted access to those with a knowledge of that language. Hakluyt also undertook translations from Dutch and Portuguese. Some of these texts can be placed in humanist traditions of non-nationalistic knowledge dissemination, although

---

<sup>57</sup> Gian Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice 1563-1606* (facsimile edition with an introduction by R. A. Skelton and analysis of the contents by G. B. Parks, 3 vols.; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970), i. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.



nationalism was often implicit.<sup>58</sup> Others, although published separately, were subsequently included in *The Principal Navigations*, and when they were, were often cited for their usefulness to English maritime or colonial activity. It seems that, as Warren Boutcher has argued in relation to Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essais*,

Tudor and early Stuart English translation in the area of humanistic belles-lettres, history, philosophy and 'science' should be interpreted in the light of the pragmatic goals of Tudor pedagogy and against the political background of the 'Protestant nation'.<sup>59</sup>

That is to say, when Hakluyt published these texts in translation in *The Principal Navigations*, he was accessing a humanist tradition which in England was serving a nationalist end.<sup>60</sup> His sustained commitment to translation, which continued throughout his life and is particularly evident in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, was largely an attempt to provide practical information in the tradition of pragmatic humanism.<sup>61</sup> In *The Principal Navigations*, however, translated works were always designed to be read in a nationalistic way.

Hakluyt's commitment to primary sources whether translated or not put him in a difficult position with regard to another important humanist concern, that of literary

---

<sup>58</sup> However, for a consideration of the texts and contexts of Peter Martyr's *De orbe nouo*, see Andrew Hadfield, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation', *Connotations*, 5 (1995/96), 1-22; and Michael Brennan, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield', *Connotations*, 6 (1996/97), 227-45. Brennan reads Hakluyt's two editions as 'inspiration for an independent and vigorous English imperialism' (240).

<sup>59</sup> Warren Boutcher, 'Florio's Montaigne: Translation and Pragmatic Humanism in the Sixteenth Century', D. Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1991), vi.

<sup>60</sup> The extent to which Hakluyt's work can be seen as promoting Protestant nationalism, however, is discussed in Chapter 5 below.

<sup>61</sup> For a full list of works with which Hakluyt was involved see Payne, 'Travel Books', 34-8.

style. Indeed, he apologised for the style of some of the works that he published. The narratives of John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck are described as being put down '*in that homely stile wherein they were first penned*'.<sup>62</sup> Hakluyt also lamented his portrayal of America in her '*rude lineaments*', confessing '*I would haue limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours*'.<sup>63</sup> Yet his comments about 'The Libell of English Policie' are the most revealing. He described this medieval verse tract as having a '*harsh and unaffected stile ... as ... may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe*'. However, he justified its inclusion by extensive praise of its contents:

*take you off his vtmost weed, 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 liuely 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.*<sup>64</sup>

His comment evokes Sidney's observation in the *Apologie for Poetry*, that despite its 'low' style, the pastoral mode can be used to comment upon matters of great significance:

Is the poor pipe disdained, which sometime out of Meliboeus' mouth can show the misery of people under hard lords or ravening soldiers?<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry, or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), 116.



Style, then, was important to Hakluyt, as it was to other humanists, but he subjugated it to his desire to reproduce works in their original form. More significantly, he did not exclude material on stylistic grounds when he believed the content justified its inclusion. Information about shipping, goods, fraud and corruption was more important than the style in which it was revealed, because information and not style facilitated the enrichment of the nation and promoted national self-esteem.

To date I have used the terms ‘nation’, ‘nationalist’ and ‘nationalism’ rather freely, offering no definition of these slippery and notoriously polyvalent terms.<sup>66</sup> The reason for this is simple enough: the eclectic, variable and multi-faceted nature of Hakluyt’s nationalism precludes any attempt to narrow it down. This is in part a product of Hakluyt’s *modus operandi*, which largely comprises minimising direct comment and maximising the voices of others, but it is also a matter of the historical context within which Hakluyt lived. This ambivalence can be elucidated by considering what the idea of ‘nation’ might have meant to Hakluyt.

Hakluyt himself never offered a definition of the term ‘nation’, and *The Principal Navigations* offers us a complicated picture. On the one hand the title seems clear enough: *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoveries of the English Nation*, as the second edition is entitled, unambiguously refers to the English

---

<sup>66</sup> As Anderson puts it, ‘Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have been notoriously difficult to define let alone to analyse’ (*Imagined Communities*, 3). McCrone has similarly commented, ‘there simply is no agreement about what nationalism is, what nations are, [or] how we are to define nationality’ (McCrone, *Sociology of Nationalism*, 3).



nation. Yet the opening pages of that same edition offer us references to Arthur as King of Britain, and as a monarch who dominates the surrounding countries of Ireland, Iceland, Orkney, Norway and Denmark. The text then refers to King Malgo, 'King of England' who 'obtained the government of the whole Island of Britaine'.<sup>67</sup> There appears to be tension here about what constitutes the English Nation. However, for Hakluyt the position appears to be straightforward, for he commented

*I haue not bene vnmindefull ... to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of our English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place ... I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings.*<sup>68</sup>

Arthur's Britain seems to be part of the history of the English nation, despite differences in the geographical extent of Arthur's Britain and Tudor England. Hakluyt seems to acknowledge that English territorial claims had waxed and waned over the long period that his collection covers. In part his acceptance of such fluidity may have derived from the actual situation in late Tudor England.

Anthony Smith has suggested that a nation constitutes 'a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights'.<sup>69</sup> While such a definition is helpful, the idea of 'a unified

---

<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>v</sup>. For a consideration of the question of English national identity and colonialism in Ireland, see Hadfield, 'English Colonialism'. For information about the rights of ethnic minorities in Tudor England, see Guy, *Tudor England*, 353: 'the indigenous communities of Wales and Ireland were granted the rights of freeborn Englishmen only if they adopted English customs, language, and law'. I consider the implications of the Arthur and Malgo texts and their relationship to empire in Chapter 4.

<sup>69</sup> Anthony D. Smith, 'The Origins of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12 (1989), 342.

territory' in the 1590s is not straightforward. Not only is it complicated by the claims to new territories made by Drake, Frobisher, Raleigh and Gilbert, which had all been made by the time of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, but historic claims to Ireland, France and Scotland made the relationship with these countries unclear. For example, although in the 1570s Dee could claim that Scotland owed allegiance to England, by 1598 discussion of the English succession was banned, making consideration of the relationship between the two countries a sensitive issue.<sup>70</sup> If we are to judge from the contents of *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's idea of the English nation would appear to be the standard, official line which included Wales and Ireland, but excluded Scotland, but he is never explicit on this issue. His aspirations for the territorial expansion of England (with the exception of Scotland), were, however, extensive and seem to have included acquisition of the whole of North America, as well as much other territory in the northern seas. It appears as though what was once Arthur's Britain is now to become an extended England.

Nations, however, are not only defined by their territorial extent; social composition is an equally important factor. A fundamental element of modern nationalisms (that is, those dating from the nineteenth century onwards) is the fact that they all had widespread support.<sup>71</sup> As Smith has explained,

---

<sup>70</sup> Dee, however, did refer Dyer to this claim in 1597 in 'Thalattokratia Brettaniki' (British Library, MS Royal C XVI, fos. 161<sup>r</sup>-62<sup>v</sup>). There is also a passing reference to the idea that Scotland is subject to England in Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (London, 1577), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Advocates of this view include Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*; Kedourie, *Nationalism*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An*

A single propagandist does not constitute a movement, nor does a literary or antiquarian society, however much their researches and activities may deepen awareness of national roots and aspirations.<sup>72</sup>

It is difficult to assess the extent to which any movement, particularly one based on the printed word, could be established in Tudor England and could disseminate a consistent message. Nevertheless, the concept of widespread support across the social spectrum is regarded as essential to nationalism, and we need to understand how it might relate to Hakluyt's collection. While the content of *The Principal Navigations*, with its authors drawn from all levels of society suggests Hakluyt believed that anyone could contribute to national advancement, the expensive nature of the book limited its readership. Paradoxically, the nation that Hakluyt forged in *The Principal Navigations* was targeted at the educated and the wealthy. The transformation of texts from cheap quarto to expensive folio is a key factor here. For while the accumulation of such texts suggested unity when compared with the individuality evident from the publication of one-off travel narratives, the book itself was likely to reach only a part of that nation. Nor did Hakluyt's work have the advantage of being dispersed to every Cathedral church like Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, or of becoming required reading from every pulpit, as was Whitbourne's *A Discovrse and Discovery of Nevv-Fovnd-Land*.<sup>73</sup> Hakluyt's claim to

---

*Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1953); and Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*.

<sup>72</sup> Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 209.

<sup>73</sup> Richard Whitbourne, *A Discovrse and Discovery of Nevv-Fovnd-Land, with Many Reasons to Prooue How Worthy and Beneficiall a Plantation may there be Made, after a Better Manner than Now It Is* (London, 1622). The evidence for this claim comes from the British Library copy of this edition, which includes a copy of King James's instructions to this effect at sig. A2<sup>r</sup>. The copy,



be writing for posterity brings a temporal perspective to the idea of the nation, suggesting that it is a continuing entity. The unavoidable conclusion, however, is that although the contents of Hakluyt's work excluded no-one on the grounds of social class or education, its form did restrict access. This is why in *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt is in many ways a nationalist, rather than a successful exponent of nationalism. His collection suggests that he adopted the conventional Tudor line that each person, in their station, could and should serve the nation, but it was directed initially at the better off and the educated, perhaps because he saw them as the potential initiators and financiers of such service.<sup>74</sup>

So the issues of nation and nationalism are complicated in relation to *The Principal Navigations*. Consequently, in the remainder of this chapter, I want to examine the polymorphic nature of nationalism as it is evidenced in that work. Although it is tempting to think of nationalism in terms only of an ideology, it would be mistaken to do so. Ideological elements drawn from Ciceronian and Machiavellian political ideas do feature heavily in Hakluyt's thinking but there is also a constantly pragmatic element. This leaves us with the paradoxical situation that Hakluyt's nationalism can be, on the one hand, visionary, ideological and single-minded, but on the other, pragmatic, flexible and opportunistic. These contradictory impulses

---

shelfmark G.2907, also includes a tipped-in, printed letter from the Bishop of Norwich to his diocese requiring implementation of the King's instruction.

<sup>74</sup> I consider the implications of such transitions, including those from manuscript to print, in Chapter 2. For the idea that each member of society should play their part, see Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 19-23, and the discussion later in this chapter. For the wealthy and educated classes as financiers and initiators of projects see Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England 1575-1630* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).

derive from Hakluyt's eclectic view of what might be improved and how. Anthony Smith has drawn attention to the fact that while nationalists typically seek the tangible realities of political change, (increased material wealth, administrative re-organisation, and practical cultural transformation), they may also seek to promote a common historical narrative, by invoking myths and legends, and advocating a set of shared cultural beliefs.<sup>75</sup> Many of these diverse aspects of nationalism are to be found in *The Principal Navigations*. Hakluyt, for example, promoted higher levels of exports and the acquisition of valuable imports. He advocated better navigational skills and improved geographical knowledge for merchants. He sought a better organised, larger and more powerful navy, and he promoted territorial expansion and the infringement of other nations' material or territorial advancement. However, these very practical nationalistic aims were combined with a desire to improve national esteem by increased awareness among the English of the achievements and efforts of their forefathers. Hakluyt also sought to increase acknowledgement from other nations of English abilities and power. He attempted to gather material which would form an English historical tradition, and incorporated material which some of his contemporaries considered mythological. He published texts which he thought would advance English legal claims, and brought to print others as ideological and practical precedents. Such a diversity of approaches and vision, forbids a simple definition of Hakluyt's nationalism. This thesis sets out to document how Hakluyt endeavoured to achieve his multifarious aims. What will become clear is that not

---

<sup>75</sup> See for example, Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986) and *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Benedict Anderson has equally stressed the importance of shared cultural identity in *Imagined Communities*. For a consideration of the importance of narration to nationalism see Homi K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).

only was a range of texts legitimate grist to Hakluyt's mill, but a variety of reading approaches were also required to achieve his ends. An indication of this variability can be observed from a consideration of the religious material in *The Principal Navigations*.

That religion can play a part in national identity is accepted by political scientists, historians and literary scholars.<sup>76</sup> In Tudor-Stuart England, humanist writers do not appear to have allowed their religious persuasion to inhibit their scholarly practice or their notions of 'civic' humanism.<sup>77</sup> Increasingly, however, in so far as religion was a factor in English nationhood, it was of course Protestantism rather than Catholicism which held sway. For Haller the influence of religion was such that the idea of an 'elect' nation emerged.<sup>78</sup> Arthur Marotti has suggested that because English nationalism 'was gradually being defined in relation to a (constantly contested) Protestant identity ... international Catholicism, especially in its militant Counter-Reformation forms, was cast as the hated and dangerous antagonist'.<sup>79</sup> Anne McLaren has argued in a similar vein that the fact of 'two queens in an island whose manifest destiny it was to be a united kingdom' led to the emergence of an English nation which was 'xenophobic, misogynist, virulently anti-Catholic – and as a

---

<sup>76</sup> See, Berry, 'Sidney's "poor" painter'; Kinney, 'Shakespeare's *Macbeth*'. For a consideration of the Protestantism of Bale's nationalism see Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity*, 51-80; Shrank 'English Humanism'.

<sup>77</sup> This is particularly true, of course, of humanists such as Erasmus, More and Pole who continued their humanist activities notwithstanding religious controversy. See, for example, Richard J. Schoeck, 'Humanism in England', in Rabil, *Renaissance Humanism*, ii. 5-38.

<sup>78</sup> William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963). See also Glynn Parry, 'Elect Church or Elect Nation, the Reception of the *Acts and Monuments*', in David M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 167-81.

<sup>79</sup> Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), xiii.



consequence the mother of both modern republicanism and constitutional monarchy'.<sup>80</sup> Her analysis seems to me an over-simplification of complex issues, but Greenblatt's assertion that *The Principal Navigations* is 'intensely patriotic and staunchly Protestant' and Maltby's claim that the work contributed to the Black Legend, seem to locate the work within this 'virulently anti-Catholic' tradition.<sup>81</sup> The picture of Hakluyt as fiercely Protestant gains support from his comments in the 'Discourse of Western Planting', where he argues against Papal authority, and observes that for the American colonies

*in choice of all Artesanes for the voyadge this generall rule were goodd to be obserued that no man be chosen that is knowen to be a papiste for the speciall inclynation they have of fauour to the kinge of Spaine.*<sup>82</sup>

Such statements, however, need to be read in context for it is possible to overstate Hakluyt's Protestantism, particularly as it is revealed in *The Principal Navigations*, if one reads it in the light of the 'Discourse'. The manuscript work was given personally to Elizabeth I, and intended probably only for her and the Privy Council. The anti-papal material was essential to Hakluyt's argument that the English had a right (in European eyes) to colonise America. Chapter 19 of the tract specifically attacked the Pope's claim to have the power to divide the world between Spain and Portugal, but specifically religious issues were not addressed in it. Even in Chapter 1, where Hakluyt did comment on Catholic evangelism in the New World, his

---

<sup>80</sup> Anne McLaren, 'Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 767.

<sup>81</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 8; Maltby, *Black Legend*. I discuss the extent to which I agree with Greenblatt and Maltby in Chapter 5 below.

<sup>82</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 127.

hostility to the type of Christianity that was disseminated was tempered by admiration for its achievement.<sup>83</sup> More influential was the political reading of religion which coloured Hakluyt's view of Catholics, as the passage from the 'Discourse' makes clear. That specifically anti-Catholic passage was added as the final thought in a section which was itself clearly an afterthought since it was entitled 'Things forgotten may here be noted as they com[m]e to mynde...'.<sup>84</sup> More pertinently, despite their rather sweeping nature, Hakluyt's comments constituted sound political advice. Not only were Spanish treasure fleets the intended target of English ships which could be based at a prospective colony on the east coast of America, but Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and Central America were also potentially threatened - a fact which had induced the Spanish to destroy the French colony in Florida. In these circumstances paranoia about retaining in a small colony those who might sympathise with the Spanish was understandable, and the desire to exclude such potential fifth columnists made good political sense. When we turn from the 'Discourse' to *The Principal Navigations*, the important point is to distinguish between the privately circulated, polemical and potentially ephemeral manuscript and the publicly printed, historical collection intended to last for posterity. This change in purpose is reflected in a change in attitude to religion.

In *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's tone is more conciliatory than it is in the 'Discourse'. To be sure, the predominant tone is Protestant, not least because of the virulent Protestantism of many of the original texts which Hakluyt reproduced and

---

<sup>83</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 8-12.

<sup>84</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 127.

chose not to edit. Yet, the collection also finds room for the narratives of both Protestant Dissenters and Catholics, and space to praise Catholic missionary work. At one point there is even a reference to the Pope as ‘Christianorum Pater & Dominus’, a point which is reiterated in a marginal note with no sense of irony.<sup>85</sup> Nor was Hakluyt ashamed of his Catholic connections, thanking John, Lord Lumley, a well-known Catholic, for access to his library. In its willingness to accommodate different religious perspectives, *The Principal Navigations* demonstrates a move towards a nationalism which is not uniquely Protestant. It is clear from the work that many things which will enhance the nation, such as increased wealth, greater military strength, improved esteem among foreign nations, and extended territories, are secular matters. Although Hakluyt’s collection promoted the Protestant duty to evangelise, even this was often part of a strategy either to promote trade or to secure colonies. Moreover, the rewards of such work were not of this world, while those things which benefited the nation very much were. *The Principal Navigations*, for all its Protestantism, hints at what was to become an eighteenth-century style secular nationalism, in which national interest took precedence over matters of religion. If that argument appears too teleological, it is, I believe, nevertheless sustainable. Nor were the political uses of state-religion lost on Hakluyt’s contemporaries, for, as Botero observed:

Such is the importance of religion for the tranquillity and successful government of a state that a prince should encourage religion and make every effort to propagate it, because as

---

<sup>85</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 46.



Duke Emmanuel of Savoy used to say, a people devoted to religion and piety is much more obedient than one without a guiding principle.<sup>86</sup>

It does not seem to me that Hakluyt was this cynical about religion; indeed, all the evidence is that he took religion very seriously, editing out flippant remarks about Catholics, incorporating materials written by Jesuits, and including descriptions of the practices of other religions such as that of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Furthermore, his treatment of texts reveals that he was not prepared to omit material on religious grounds, although he might well obscure the religious denominations of writers. Political, material and cultural considerations were, it seems, more important in his nationalism than religious ones.

Hakluyt's interest in improved material wealth, greater naval strength and better organised bureaucracy forms a central element of his nationalism. Moreover, these factors link his nationalist ideas to the concept of state-building in a way that, for example, his promotion of praise and glory do not. The relationship between nationalism and state-building is complex, highly-contested and by no means inevitable.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, Herbert Grabes, developing the observations of Greenfeld, reveals how under Mary and Philip, national identity could not only exclude, but indeed be in direct opposition to, the state.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, for the latter part of the sixteenth century, Anthony Smith's identification of a form of nationalism which

---

<sup>86</sup> Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, trans. P. J. and D. P. Waley (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956), 67.

<sup>87</sup> Both Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, and McCrone, *Sociology of Nationalism*, explain well the various possible relationships between state and nation. Post-colonial nationalisms in particular have shown that nationalist aspirations need not in any way advocate the maintenance of the state in which they emerge, although they often also have promoted independent states.

<sup>88</sup> Herbert Grabes, 'England or the Queen?: Public Conflict of Opinion and National Identity under Mary Tudor', in id. (ed.), *Writing the Early Modern English Nation*, 47-87.

was related to the state remains apposite. Indeed, he argues that although they are exceptional, English, French, and to some extent Spanish nationalist movements of this period were all dependent on the creation of the state:

Historically, the formation of modern nations owes a profound legacy to the development of England, France and Spain. This is usually attributed to their possession of military and economic power at the relevant period, the period of burgeoning nationalism and nations. ... in the case of England and France, and to a lesser extent Spain, this ... was the result of the early development of a particular kind of 'rational' bureaucratic administration, aided by the development of merchant capital, wealthy urban centres and professional military forces and technology. The 'state' formed the matrix of the new population-unit's format, the 'nation'.<sup>89</sup>

He categorises such nationalism as of a 'preservative' type, the proponents of which were keen to retain the state's independence and sovereignty, and might promote the view that:

my group has long been sovereign ... I must strengthen it and maintain this state, by preserving the status quo, or reviving its group will and identity, by expanding or unifying the group, or by increasing its self-reliance.<sup>90</sup>

We have already seen that in many ways Hakluyt's nationalism fits such a typology, and historians of the period support Smith's thesis about the bureaucratisation of the state. They have long since identified the Tudor regime as one in which the English nation-state emerged, although they disagree about the timing, method and extent of this process.<sup>91</sup> Largely however, they neglect the impact of cultural factors which

---

<sup>89</sup> Smith, 'Origins of nations', 352.

<sup>90</sup> Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 224.

<sup>91</sup> G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) emphasises the changes made by Cromwell. Elton's view has received its most cogent attack in Brendan Bradshaw, 'The Tudor Commonwealth:



Smith also identifies as an essential element in the creation of nationalism. He notes that it is from 'myth, memory, symbol and tradition that modern national identities are reconstituted in each generation' and that these factors aid the dissemination of nationalist sentiment.<sup>92</sup>

To claim that a work which is routinely identified as being about voyages and travel promoted the creation of a nation-state might seem to border on the absurd. Yet Locke's complaint about the 'multitude of articles, charters, privileges, letters, relations and other such things little to the purpose of travels and discoveries' should alert us to another aspect of Hakluyt's eclectic collection.<sup>93</sup> His inclusion of, for example, the Muscovy and Levant Company Charters can be seen as support for the due processes of law. As Ramsay and Willan have noted, interloping voyages (that is, voyages which contravened the monopolies established by charters) were a constant irritation to the authorised companies.<sup>94</sup> Since such interloping voyages were often undertaken by English sailors they were, in one sense, legitimate material for Hakluyt's collection, yet accounts of them are very rare in *The Principal*

---

Reform and Revision', *Historical Journal*, 22 (1979), 455-76. Refereeing the dispute has been John Guy in 'The Tudor Commonwealth: Revising Thomas Cromwell' and 'The Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution', in id. (ed.), *Politics, Law and Counsel in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 681-87, 59-85. Smith, *Emergence of a Nation State* and Guy, *Tudor England*, especially Chapter 14, locate the emergence of the state in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Braddick, *State Formation* extends this into the late seventeenth century but claims that 'state-building' suggests a far too purposeful development, and prefers the term 'state-formation'. See also Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism* and Cressy, 'National Memory'. For a consideration of the importance of law and order in creating a nation-state see J. A. Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History 1550-1760* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Arnold, 1997), 103-29.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 9.

<sup>93</sup> John Locke, *A Catalogue and Character of Most Books of Voyages and Travels*, in John Locke, *Works*, 10 vols. (no place: 1823; repr. Germany: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963), x. 543.

<sup>94</sup> G. D. Ramsay, *English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence* (London: Macmillan, 1957), 166-206; and T. S. Willan, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959) Chapters 2 and 8, and *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956), *passim*.



*Navigations*. This concern for due process in Hakluyt's collection extends to state involvement in seeking redress for injuries suffered at the hands of other nations. Elizabeth's letters to Murad Khan in 1584 seeking restitution of the captured ship *The Jesus* exemplify this. Similarly the exchange of letters between Henry IV and the Prussian Master General Conrad de Jungingen reveals a concern for authorised trading activity. The publication of the letters patent for American colonisation by Gilbert and Raleigh confirms state legitimisation of these expansionist activities, giving them royal authorisation, though they remained private enterprises.

Nor should we overlook Hakluyt's decision to include material which he thought would serve as useful precedents. We have already noted his comment about the inclusion of '*Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars*', but other texts seem to be intended to serve a similar purpose.<sup>95</sup> Hakluyt's decision to include, on specially printed pages, John Davis's log book of his third voyage is just such an example [figure 1]. The log-book contains no significant information which is not included in the extensive narrative of the voyage printed adjacent to it. This suggests it was the pattern of the log-book rather than its contents which were of interest. Taylor's comment that 'every ship-master now [by 1574] kept a written record, although it was not yet called a log-book', hints at possible idiosyncrasies, and Waters notes that Hakluyt's 'reprinting [of] Davis's traverse book for the voyage of 1587 undoubtedly helped to get the lay-out of log-

---

<sup>95</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>v</sup>.

A TRAVERSE-BOOKE MADE BY M. IOHN DAVIS in his third voyage for the discoverie of the Northwest passage. Anno 1587.

Month.	Days.	Course.	Latitude.	Longitude.	The wind.	
May.	10	W. by N. 1/2 N.	50	20	N.E.	We departed from Dartmouth at close of the cloke at night.
	20					
	21	W. by N. 1/2 N.	50	50	N.E.	This day we descried Silly N. W. by W. from us.
	22	W. 1/2 N.	44		N.E. by E.	This day at noone we departed from Silly.
	22	W. 1/2 N.	6		N.E. by E.	
	22	W. 1/2 N.	12			
	22	W. by N.	18		N.E.	
	27	W. 1/2 N.	26	40		The true course, distance, and latitude.
	1	W. 1/2 N.	2		N.N.E.	
	6	N.W. by W.	5		N.E. by N.	
	7	W. N.W.	2		N.N.E.	
	12	W. N.W.	12		N.E.	
Noone the	24	W. 1/2 N.	25	51	16	The true course, distance and latitude.
	3	W. N.W.	3		N.N.E.	
	3	W. N.W.	2		N. by E.	
	6	W. by N.	5		N.	
	6	W. by N.	5		N.	
	3	W.	1		N.	We lay upon the ice for the 30 minutes, which had taken a leak of 300 Grob in a trench.
Noone the	24	W. by N.	20	51	30	The true course, distance, and latitude.
	1	W.	2		N.N.W.	
	2	W. by N.	2		N.W.	
	1	W. N.W.	1		W. N.W.	
	1	W. N.W.	1		N.	
	1	W. N.W.	1		N.	
	1				Calm.	
	4	W. N.W.	4		S.S.E.	
	5	W.	6		S.S.E.	
Noone the	26	W. by N.	27	51	40	The true course, distance, &c.
	11	W.	16		S.S.E.	
	6	W. N.W.	2		S.S.E.	We lay at hull with much winde. raine, and fog.
	7	W.	5		S.E.	
Noone the	27	W. northerly	32			The common course finished.
Noone the	28	W.	30	52	17	We towed the pinnace 18 hours of this day.
Noone the	28	W. by N.	43	52	13	The true course, distance, &c.
Noone the	29	N.W.	40		S. by E.	
	14					

Figure 1: Page from Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, iii. 115, showing the first page of John Davis's 'Traverse' or log-book.

books standardized'.<sup>96</sup> In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of the third volume Hakluyt had commented on his admiration for Spanish 'gouernment in sea-matters', and his publication of Davis's 'trauerse book' in that same volume seems to exemplify this.<sup>97</sup> The inclusion of rutters, detailed navigational aids, can be read in the same light, for it seems unlikely that any captain would pay for a folio volume of *The Principal Navigations*, with all its additional and potentially irrelevant material, when he could obtain such a document much more cheaply in manuscript.<sup>98</sup> In these examples we can see Hakluyt's concern to try to improve the navigational skills of the English; a matter which he believed should be taken in hand, in part at least, by the state.<sup>99</sup>

Hakluyt's interest in the state can be seen in the light of 'civic' humanism. Although this was conventionally linked with the republican values of the Italian city-states, by the time it had spread to northern Europe, and particularly England, commentators on such matters promoted monarchy as often as republicanism.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> E. G. R. Taylor, *The Haven-Finding Art* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1956), 202; David H. Waters, *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958), 203.

<sup>97</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> The rutter printed at Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 603 is also to be found in British Library, Sloane MS 2292 fos. 16-33. See D. B. Quinn, 'Principal Navigations (1598-1600)', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 451. Waters, however, believes that the Spanish rutters that Hakluyt printed which related to the North Atlantic 'played an important part in the inauguration of transatlantic trade' and that 'Generations of Englishmen' followed Hakluyt's sailing directions, including 'Nelson in his pursuit of Villeneuve to the West Indies in 1805' (Waters, *Art of Navigation*, 262). However, Waters offers no evidence to show whether Hakluyt's work was used specifically, or whether the route proposed came generally to be known as the way to cross the Atlantic.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, his letter to Walsingham of 1584 (printed in Taylor, *Writings*, i. 209), in which he commented, '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, ... yt wold be the best hundred pounds that was bestowed this five hundred yeares in England'.

<sup>100</sup> The classic texts on civic humanism are Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), and the reply in Jerrold E. Seigel, "'Civic Humanism'" or



Charles Merbury, Sir Thomas Elyot, Thomas Floyd and Barnabe Barnes all wrote political tracts which represented monarchy as the best form of government, though Patrick Collinson is surely right to describe what they advocated as a monarchical republic.<sup>101</sup> Another important supporter of monarchy was John Dee. His support was expressed more privately, through the provision of manuscripts such as those which revealed Elizabeth's title to lands as far apart as America and North-West Russia. He also produced 'Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis'. This important manuscript [figure 2], based on Ciceronian notions of the ideal state, suggested to Elizabeth ways 'To make this Kingdome flourishing, Triumphant, famous, and Blessed' and is important for our understanding of some of the ideological background to Hakluyt's nationalism.<sup>102</sup>

The 'Synopsis' was a wide-ranging document and included the idea that 'Ordayning, Keping and Judging according to Laws Just' was a necessary requirement for the effective state. Just as Hakluyt believed orderly documentation to be essential, so

---

Ciceronian Rhetoric? The Culture of Petrarch and Bruni', *Past and Present*, 34 (1966), 3-48. See now Hankins, *Renaissance Civic Humanism*, and Markku Peltonen, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For a reply to Peltonen's reading of *Solon His Follie*, see Vincent Carey, 'The Irish Face of Machiavelli: Richard Beacon's *Solon his Follie* (1594) and Republican Ideology in the Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland 1541-1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 83-109. For a more general guide see Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

<sup>101</sup> Charles Merbury, *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie, as of the Best Common Weale* (London, 1581); Thomas Floyd, *The Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth* (London, 1600); Barnabe Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices: Enabling Privat Persons for the Speciall Service of All Good Princes and Policies* (London: George Bishop, T. Adams, and C. Burbie, 1606); Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (London, 1534); Patrick Collinson, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 69 (1987), 394-424.

<sup>102</sup> The document is entitled 'Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis' and is British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39. For a discussion of this work see Sherman, *John Dee*, 128-47.



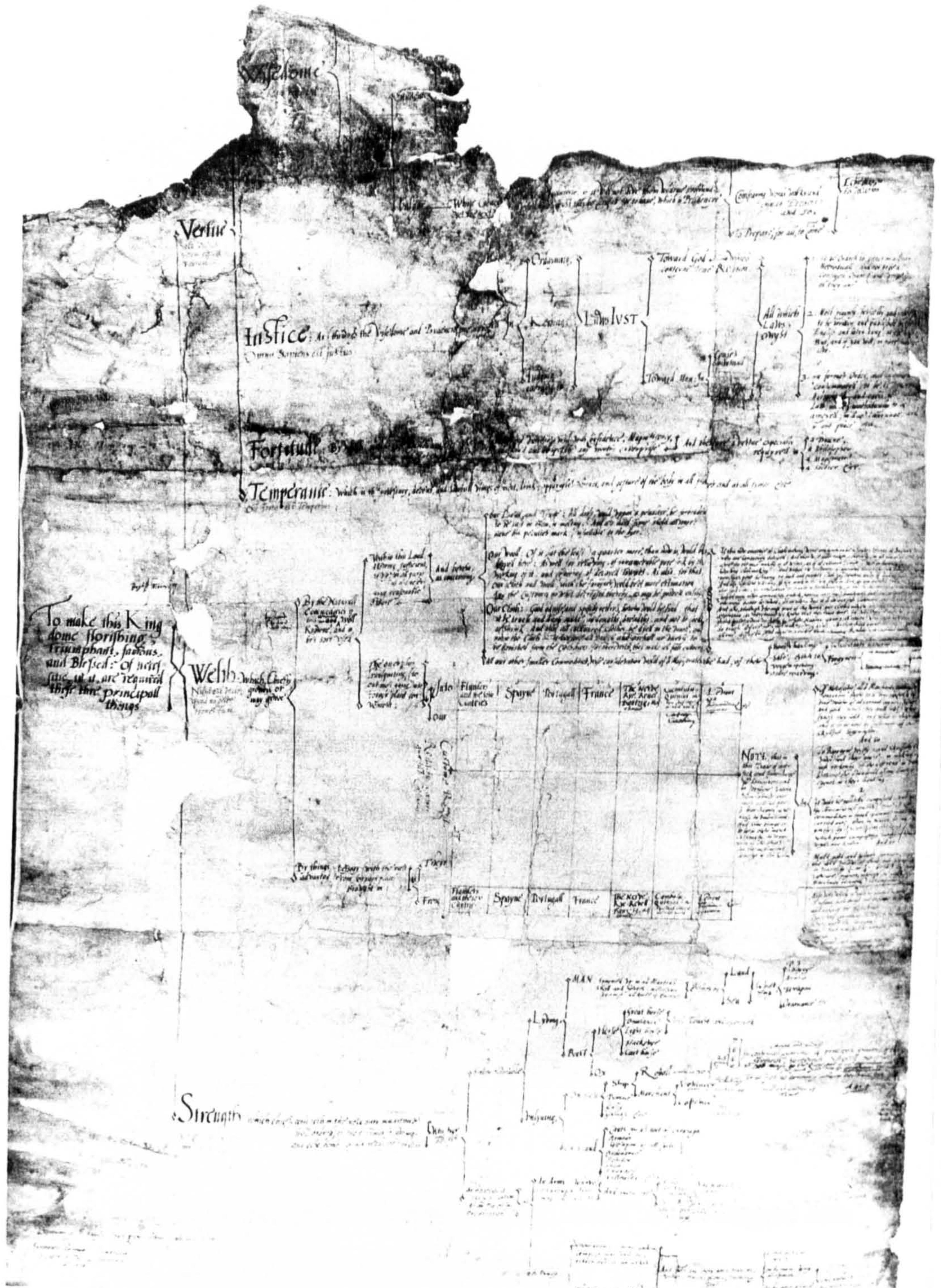


Figure 2: John Dee's 'Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis' (1570), British Library MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39. Reproduced from Sherman, *John Dee*, 112.



Dee prescribed that the laws needed to be ‘Ordred to gether in a Body Methodicall’. He also believed that they should be *‘Most playnely perfectly and tidly ... written and published in the English and latyn’*.<sup>103</sup> Just as in *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt’s *‘chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth’*, so Dee advocated improvements in the quality of English cloth-making which would mean that the goods *‘with the forayner, wold be of more estimation’*.<sup>104</sup> Just as Hakluyt proposed the expansion of trade to as many places as possible including Russia, China, Japan and the Levant, so Dee urged trade to ‘The Nerve, Rye, Revel, Dantzig, Moschovia, Cambalu, Quinsai, the two chief cities of the whole world, [and the] Levant’.<sup>105</sup> Nor was it only the export of woollen cloth that the two men promoted, but also the improvement of mercantile knowledge. Hakluyt’s decision to include exchange-rate information on a number of foreign currencies, his publication of data on weights and measures and on how to identify good quality and adulterated goods, appears akin to Dee’s demand that

*all o’ Marchants (trading w<sup>th</sup> forayners) ought to be very perfect in the true valew of all current coynes, Sylver and Gold (which they deale with) What fyness they hold, and what is theyr allo[y]*.<sup>106</sup>

Dee also thought that the stationing of factors overseas would ‘make England both abroad and at home to be lord and ruler of the Exchange’.<sup>107</sup> Like Hakluyt, then, he believed esteem and authority to be as important as increases in wealth. Dee and

---

<sup>103</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

<sup>104</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

<sup>105</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39. Dee also included trade to Flanders, Spain, Portugal, and France. ‘Quinsai’ was the usual name for the countries of the Far East.

<sup>106</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

<sup>107</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.



Hakluyt also shared a belief in the importance of a powerful and well-trained navy. Dee went so far as to advocate the establishment of a Royal Navy of fifty ships, as well as a merchant navy, and stated that both needed to be 'of his requisite perfectio[n]'.<sup>108</sup> Clearly there is a great deal of common ground between Dee's 'Synopsis' and Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.

Despite their common interests and thoughts, the extent to which Dee and Hakluyt knew one another is unclear.<sup>109</sup> We have already seen that Hakluyt may have seen Dee's 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries', and any period of influence would seem to date to the late 1570s and early 1580s. This is a matter of timing rather than principle, for in 1580 Hakluyt was still at Oxford University by which time Dee had written three major works relating to navigation, British sea limits, and territorial discoveries, as well as producing a summary of the second and the 'Synopsis'. His only other literary venture into the field of maritime history was written in 1597 in response to a request from Sir Edward Dyer. The first part of this work drew heavily on his other writings.<sup>110</sup> After 1580 Dee's interest in such matters seems to have

---

<sup>108</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

<sup>109</sup> Christopher Hill is far too sweeping when he claims that the wide circle to which Dee opened up his library included Hakluyt; *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 19.

<sup>110</sup> The four works are *General and Rare Memorials* (1577), 'Brytanici Imperii Limites' (British Library, Additional MS 59681, 1578); 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' (British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C VII, 1577), and the untitled chart which has on the verso 'To the Queenes Maiesties Title Royall to these foreign Regions and Ilands doo appertain 4. poynts', (British Library, MS Cotton Augustus I i I). The text is a shorter version of Elizabeth's title as it appears in British Library, Additional MS 59681. The vellum cover of this manuscript bears the title 'Brytanici Imperii Limites' but that work itself is the third in the manuscript and follows on from the item on Elizabeth's title, which appears as a separate item. Dee's response to Dyer exists in three versions: British Library, MS Harley 249, British Library, MS Royal 7 C XVI fos. 158-65, and a copy bound with the British Library's copy of *General and Rare Memorials*, shelfmark British Library C.21.e.12. For further details on all of these manuscripts see Sherman, *John Dee*, 148-200, from which this

waned, perhaps because he knew of Hakluyt's interest in maritime affairs. Although Dee retained some interest in practical matters, he became increasingly involved in magic. In 1580 both he and Hakluyt were consulted by the Muscovy Company about the North-East Passage.<sup>111</sup> Along with Walsingham, Sir Edward Dyer, and Sir Philip Sidney, they were both also involved in some way in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's project to colonise America.<sup>112</sup> There do not appear to be any documented instances of the two men meeting. Nevertheless, they had a number of important mutual connections, not the least significant of whom was Hakluyt's elder cousin.

In his diary entry for 30 June 1578, Dee noted:

I told Mr Daniel Rogers (Mr Hackluyt of the Middle Temple being by) that King Arthur, and King Malgo both of them, did conquer Gelandium, lately called Friseland. Which he so noted presently in his written copy of Monumenthensis: for he had no printed book thereof.<sup>113</sup>

---

information is taken. For the date of 'Brytanici Imperii Limites' see Ken MacMillan, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64 (2001), 151-59.

<sup>111</sup> See Benjamin Woolley, *The Queen's Conjuror: The Life and Magic of Dr Dee* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), and Sherman, *John Dee*, 173.

<sup>112</sup> The involvement of Dee and Hakluyt in Gilbert's enterprise was as follows: Walsingham and Sir George Peckham (possibly with Hakluyt in attendance) interrogated David Ingram about his experiences in North America; Dee also interviewed Ingram; Hakluyt wrote *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582), to promote Gilbert's voyage; Dee acquired from Gilbert the right to discover the whole of North America north of 50 degrees of latitude. See D. B. Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 83-4, 1940).

<sup>113</sup> E. Fenton, (ed.), *The Diaries of John Dee* (Oxfordshire: Day Books, 1998), 3. Hakluyt's presence at Dee's house may have been related to his interest in Gilbert's first attempt to make use of his patent in 1578/9. Taylor, *Writings*, i. 116-22 prints some 'Notes on Colonisation' drawn up by the elder Hakluyt which she believes were for Gilbert's voyage. It is noticeable that they give a great deal of advice about establishing a town and the location of a port, suggesting that he was knowledgeable in these matters, and may therefore have been drafted onto the committee regarding Dover Harbour three years later.

Dee's meeting with Rogers and the elder Hakluyt is significant because Rogers was also a friend of the Hakluyts. In 1567/8, during his frequent shuttles between the Netherlands and England, he had carried one of the elder cousin's letters to Ortelius, who was a kinsman of his.<sup>114</sup> Only six months after he had met the elder cousin at Dee's house in Mortlake, he wrote one of two poems 'Ad Iuvenem Hackluitum', and the poem implies that the younger Hakluyt and Rogers had met.<sup>115</sup> As Dee's diary entry suggests, Rogers had a strong interest in antiquarianism. It is noticeable that Hakluyt subsequently opened the second edition of *The Principall Navigations* with a selection of materials about Arthur and Malgo from Jerome Commelin's *Rerum Britannicarum ... scriptores* of 1587 which contained extracts of 'Galfridus Monumetensis', - that is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* - which he had also included in the 1589 edition.<sup>116</sup> That Dee was familiarly associated at least with the elder Hakluyt in the 1570s is suggested by a comment in *General and Rare Memorials*. There Dee alluded to the reclaiming of coastal fishing

---

<sup>114</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, i. 6-7. For further connections between Rogers, Sidney, and Languet see Jan A. Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962). Indeed the connections between Dyer, Sidney, Dee, the Hakluyts, and Rogers suggest that this was a coterie, to which we might add Walsingham, and Christopher Carleill (Sidney's father-in-law and brother-in-law). Stewart notes that Dyer and Sidney were tutored by Dee; Hakluyt dedicated *Divers Voyages* to Sidney who acknowledged that Hakluyt had half-persuaded him to join Gilbert's enterprise; Dyer, Dee and Sidney all invested heavily in Frobisher's voyages in the 1570s (Alan Stewart, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Pimlico, 2001), 169, 266-67). Taylor, (*Writings*, i. 31-2) notes that Hakluyt provided information to Carleill when he was thinking of colonising America; and (*Writings*, i. 26-27) that Walsingham encouraged Hakluyt in his studies, employed him as an advocate for colonial ventures, and sent him to Paris. Walsingham was also the dedicatee of *The Principall Navigations*, which he took the unusual step of having licensed by letter 'under his own hands'. A search through the Stationers' Register suggests that this is the only time that he did this. See *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, ed. Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London: privately printed, 1875-94).

<sup>115</sup> In the first poem Rogers urges Hakluyt to visit him, and complains that he can 'do without homeland and ancestral hearth, but not any longer without your company'. The second reveals Hakluyt's own interest in obtaining wealth. In it Rogers 'said that Hakluyt had asked why he should have shrunk from marrying a rich wife, but he was determined not to sell his independence for a dowry' (D. B. and A. M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 269).

<sup>116</sup> D. B. Quinn, 'Principall Navigations (1589)', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 354.



rights and the danger to the country of knowledge about the English coast which foreign fishermen had gathered. He noted that 'R.H.' 'of the Middle Temple' brought this to the attention of 'some of the higher powers of this kingdom' and that he 'very discretely and faithfully hath dealt there in, and still trauaileth, (and by diuers other wayes also) to farder the Weale-Publik of England, so much as in him lyeth'.<sup>117</sup> Hakluyt's role as an advisor was taken on by his younger cousin, and is evidenced by the documents that are printed in *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>118</sup> Those of the elder Hakluyt, in particular, reveal a genuine concern to improve the English wool trade, and to aid all members of the state.<sup>119</sup>

Whether or not Dee and the younger Hakluyt met, it seems likely that they shared the ideological views about improving the nation which were set out most explicitly in the 'Synopsis'. This is because the intellectual framework on which it rests was remarkably widespread among political commentators in the late Tudor period. The intellectual tradition was Ciceronian, and based on *De Officiis*, but it was extended to incorporate two other key factors, 'Welth' and 'Strength'. In the remainder of this chapter I want to explore this intellectual inheritance as it is manifested in both political tracts on constitutional theory and conduct books. It is the aspect of humanism which I see as most important in terms of understanding *The Principal Navigations*, for it helps us to explicate the contents of the work and the readings

---

<sup>117</sup> Dee, *General and Rare Memorials*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>. Taylor, (*Writings*, i. 7) notes that the elder Hakluyt was appointed to a commission to look into abuses relating to the farming out of customs duties. Taylor prints Hakluyt's letter to Cecil (i. 93-95), and comments that 'in it he appears as a man who had the ear of the highest Ministers of State' (i. 7).

<sup>118</sup> For a convenient collection of the documents written by the two Hakluyts see Taylor, *Writings*, *passim*.

<sup>119</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 432-33 and II i. 160-165.

that Hakluyt attempted to impose on them. My purpose is to show that the language of the 'Synopsis' is a language shared by political commentators; that it constituted a legitimate language for discussing the ideal state and how to attain it; and that material included in *The Principal Navigations* was just the sort of material that such writers drew on.

In the Tudor-Stuart period, constitutional theories derived from two main sources. On the one hand, there were tracts such as the anonymous *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England* (1581), Blandy's *The Castle, or Picture of Pollicy* (1581), Merbury's *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie, as of the Best Common Weale*, (1581), Beacon's *Solon His Follie* (1594), Floyd's *The Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth* (1600), and Barnabe Barnes's *Fovre Bookes of Offices* (1606).<sup>120</sup> They set out the notion of the ideal state, and drew heavily on Aristotle's *Politics* and Cicero's *De Officiis*. As well as the published works there was a host of manuscript works, such as Hakluyt's own commentary on Aristotle's *Politics*.<sup>121</sup> As Peltonen remarks,

---

<sup>120</sup>*A Discourse of the Commonwealth of This Realm of England*, ed. Mary Dewar (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1969). The tract was written in 1549 and circulated in manuscript before being published in 1581. William Blandy, *The Castle, or Picture of Pollicy, Shewing forth Most Liuely the Face, Body and Partes of a Commonwealth* (London, 1581); Charles Merbury, *Briefe Discourse*; Richard Beacon, *Solon His Follie, or A Politique Discovrse, Tovching the Reformation of Common-weales Conquered, Declined or Corrupted* (Oxford, 1594); Floyd, *Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth*; Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices*. For an extensive list of works relating to this issue see the 'Bibliography of Primary Sources' in Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*.

<sup>121</sup> British Library, MS Royal 12 G XIII. For discussion of Aristotle's commentary see Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12 (1981), 73-83; Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 73-4, and Jonathan Woolfson, 'Between Bruni and Hobbes: Aristotle's *Politics* in Tudor Intellectual Culture', in id. (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism*, 197-222. Armitage locates Hakluyt's commentary firmly in the scholastic, Thomist tradition while Woolfson demonstrates how Aristotle's *Politics* was increasingly adopted by the humanists. As Armitage notes, however, (*Ideological Origins*, 72) Hakluyt gave the commentary to Elizabeth I at

the uninterrupted reprinting of some central humanist treatises (e.g. Cicero's *De Officiis* seven times between 1558 and 1600, Elyot's *The Governour* 1565, 1580, Castiglione's *The Courtier* in English 1561, 1577, 1586, in Latin 1571, 1577, 1585) yields prima facie evidence ... for ... the ubiquity of humanist preoccupations [with the commonwealth and the virtuous citizen's role in civic life].<sup>122</sup>

Peltonen's list draws attention to a second type of work which contained theoretical views about state-formation. These are what Skinner identified as 'advice-books', of which Elyot's *The Governour* and Castiglione's *The Courtier* were only the most famous.<sup>123</sup> However, there was a number of other works which might be thought of as 'conduct books', such as Braham's *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (1555), the anonymously authored *Cyule and Vncyule Life* (1579), Bryskett's *A Discovrse of Civill Life* (1606), Cleland's *Hero-paideia: or the Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (1607) and William Martyn's *Youths Instruction* (1612).<sup>124</sup> Some of these tracts were targeted at the would-be office-holder, but others aimed at a wider audience, considering ways that 'gentlemen' could serve the state. As Sir Robert Dillon is made to say in *A Discovrse of Civill Life*,

---

the same time as he presented her with the 'Discourse of Western Planting'. He observes, 'The simultaneous presentation ... was an attempt to frame English overseas activity within the context of classical civil philosophy', and that 'to trained and committed humanists like Sir William Cecil or Elizabeth herself, the significance of the juxtaposition would have been clear' (74). For an indication of the number of Latin commentaries on Aristotle's *Politics* see C. H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries, ii: Renaissance Authors* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1988) which reveals that between 1500 and 1650 more than 50 Latin commentaries were written on the *Politics* alone.

<sup>122</sup> Peltonen, *Classical Humanism*, 19.

<sup>123</sup> Skinner, *Foundations*, i. Chapter 5.

<sup>124</sup> Humphrey Braham, *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (London, 1555); Anonymous, *Cyule and Vncyule Life* (London, 1579); Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discovrse of Civill Life* (London: William Aspley, 1606); James Cleland, *Hero-paideia: or the Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (Oxford, 1607); and William Martyn, *Youths Instruction* (London, 1612).



Though this diligence and care were fitting for so high an estate as the son of a mightie monarke, yet hath the declaration therof bin both pleasing and profitable to this companie, and may well serue for a patterne to be followed by priuate gentlemen, though not with like circumstances; since the same vertues serue as well for the one as for the other to guide them the way to that ciuill felicitie, whereof our first occasion of this dayes discourse began.<sup>125</sup>

From these diverse tracts some common features of an ideal state and of ideal behaviour/conduct to support the state emerge. In particular, there was a consensus about the individual's purpose in society and the virtues required to achieve this.

The notion that everyone in their degree should strive to benefit the state was a common-place among these writers. Such endeavour could take the form either of improving it materially, or attempting to increase its honour, although the two concepts were not mutually exclusive. William Segar thought it was the '*duety of euery Subiect ... not onely to obey, but also to the vttermost of his power, in his degree and qualitie to aduance the Honour of his Prince and Countrey*', and that

THE Principall markes wherent euery mans endeuour in *this life aimeth, are either Profit, or Honor; Th'one proper to vulgar people, and men of inferior Fortune; The other due to persons of better birth, and generous disposition. For as the former by paines, and parsimony do onely labour to become rich; so th'other by Military skil, or knowledge in Ciuill gouernment, aspire to Honor, and humane glory.*<sup>126</sup>

Lipsius also thought commercial interactions were the mark of '*Ciuill Life*', which he defined as '*that which we leade in the societie of men, one with another, to*

---

<sup>125</sup> Bryskett, *Discovrse of Civill Life*, sig. N2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>126</sup> William Segar, *Honor, Military, and Ciuill* (London, 1602), 'Dedicatory Epistle' and 'To the Reader' (no signature numbers).

*mutuall commoditie and profit, and common vse of all*.<sup>127</sup> He also assigned to the search for '*commoditie and profit*', 'two guides, *Prudence, and Vertue*'. The anonymous author of *A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England*, thought along similar lines, observing, 'True it is that that thing which is profitable to each man by himself, so it be not prejudicial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweal'.<sup>128</sup>

Nevertheless a strong body of opinion echoed Richard Beacon's sentiment that a 'commonwealth' should aim at 'vertue, honour and glorie'.<sup>129</sup> As Sir Martyn Cognet observed, taking his lead from classical example,

The *Romans* builded the te[m]ple of glory, adioyning to that of vertue, throgh which they must of necessity passe that will goe to the other: as if one would say that there were no honor without vertu.<sup>130</sup>

'Honor', as Quentin Skinner has observed was a 'straightforward restatement of the classical typology' of the four cardinal virtues.<sup>131</sup> This typology had been promoted

---

<sup>127</sup> Justus Lipsius, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine*, trans. William Jones (London: William Ponsonby, 1594), sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> Dewar, *Discourse*, 52. In both quotations it seems to me that the notion of 'profit' is one of 'benefit' rather than purely financial advantage.

<sup>129</sup> Beacon, *Solon His Follie*, sig. H4<sup>v</sup>. For a definition of 'commonwealth' at this time see Smith, *The Emergence of the Nation State*, 42: "'Commonwealth' ... could mean simply the state, but it was also used to denote the well-being of all members of the community. 'Commonwealth' policies basically meant advancing the interests of society by maximising wealth while at the same time protecting the consumer and the less fortunate sections of society'. See also Collinson, 'Monarchical Republic'.

<sup>130</sup> Sir Martyn Cognet, *Politique Discovrses vpon Trveth and Lying. An Instrvction to Princes to Keepe Their Faith and Promise*, trans. Sir Edward Hoby (London: R. Newbery, 1586), sig. E8<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Skinner, *Foundations*, i. Chapters 2-3. For discussions of the honour principle in relation to trade and exploration see Peter Burke, 'Chivalry in the New World', in Sydney Anglo (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), 253-62; Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986); Lorna Hutson, 'Chivalry for Merchants; or Knights of Temperance in the Realms of Gold', *Journal of Medieval and*



both by scholastics and humanists, and derived, via Cicero, from Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. The good ruler, and the good subject, must have

prudence, 'the first virtue', which includes foresight, care and knowledge, ... temperance, which is said to involve honest, sobriety, and continence ..., fortitude or strength, enabling him to attain 'magnificence in war and peace' as well as constancy and patience 'in the face of assaults from adversity'. And finally he must have a sense of justice, a highly complex quality which is taken to include liberality, religiousness, pity, innocence, charity, friendship, reverence and the desire for concord.<sup>132</sup>

Thus, honour and virtue formed an integral part in the theory which lay behind notions of the ideal state.

Yet authors of political tracts were not only concerned with virtue and honour, for they were also aware of the importance of military strength and wealth to the success of a state. The former was an aspect of state-formation which originated in Aristotle's *Politics*, and was picked up by many writers. For Vegetius, nothing could be 'more expedient & necessarye to the co[m]mon wealth, then to haue in readines pollitike and ualiant Captaynes, experte and manlye souldiours ... which maye ... do high seruice to God, their Prince, and their countrie.'<sup>133</sup> For Botero, military exercises were a means of avoiding internal strife and of raising the country's

---

*Early Modern Studies*, 20 (1996), 29-60; and Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).

<sup>132</sup> Skinner, *Foundations*, i. 47. The quotations are from F. J. Carmody (ed.), *Brunetto Latini, The Books of Treasure* (California, 1948), 259-60. Latini's work dates from the 1260s.

<sup>133</sup> F. R. Vegetius, *The Fovre Bookes of Flaius Vegetius Renatus, Briefelye Contayninge a Plaine Forme, and Perfect Knowledge of Martiall Policye, Feates of Chiualrie, and whatsoeuer Pertayneth to Warre*, trans. John Sadler (London, 1572), sig. \*1<sup>v</sup>.



esteem in the eyes of others.<sup>134</sup> When employed, these troops were seen as essential both to protect and extend a prince's dominions.

Sometimes linked to military strength, but almost always included in the tracts, was the observation that the commonwealth depended on wealth. Lipsius quoted approvingly that '*Cæsar* was wont to say, that *there are two things which do purchase, maintaine, and enlarge an empire; Men of warre, and Monie.*'<sup>135</sup> Barnabe Barnes thought that, 'even as moneyes are fitly called the sinews of war, so may we likewise properly terme them the blood of peace'.<sup>136</sup> Botero remarked that wealth was a question of accumulation across social classes:

The wealth of the ruler depends upon that of his individual subjects, which comprises property together with the actual commerce in the fruits of the earth and industry: import, export and transport from one place to another, either within the country or in other countries.<sup>137</sup>

Integral to most writers' perception of increased wealth was trade. In this aspect we see the first of three areas of convergence between those who theorized about the state, and those interested in travel, trade, exploration, discovery, and colonization.

Authors differed in their attitude to merchants, especially when it came to assessing their contribution to the 'civil' state. Lipsius observed that, 'Ciuill life consisteth in

---

<sup>134</sup> Botero, *Reason of State*, 76.

<sup>135</sup> Lipsius, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes*, sig. L1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>137</sup> Botero, *Reason of State*, 21.

*societie, societie in two things, Traffique, and Gouvernement*'.<sup>138</sup> Barnabe Barnes was rather dismissive of 'poore merchants in euery State' whom he regarded as 'dishonourable, no more fashioning out a good Commonwealth, than a small weake legge graceth a great bodie'. However, he believed great merchants who brought in 'commodities with and from many nations' took 'to diverse countries many benefits'. Indeed, he asserted 'if it be not insatiate, mercature is the surest legge of a Commonwealth, specially to Maritime nations, Ilands and free cities: such as this kingdome of ours'.<sup>139</sup> Botero, however, made no distinction between great and small merchants, observing that, 'The Venetians, by concentrating on commerce, have become only moderately rich individually but enormously wealthy as a community'.<sup>140</sup> He saw customs duties as the method by which this was achieved, since increased trade meant increased revenue. Both Dee and Hakluyt shared this interest in crown revenue. Taking a slightly broader perspective, Bryskett noted that through 'nauigation', 'all that nature produceth to all people and nations in the world particularly, is thereby made common to all'.<sup>141</sup> In a number of these tracts it is noticeable that the cumulative aspect of individual wealth was fundamental to the success of the state. As Muldrew has commented, "'society" came to be defined, ... increasingly as the cumulative unity of the millions of interpersonal obligations which were continually being exchanged and renegotiated'.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> Lipsius, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes*, sig. C4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices*, sig. K4<sup>v</sup>-L1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>140</sup> Botero, *Reason of State*, 21.

<sup>141</sup> Bryskett, *Discovrse of Civill Life*, sig. V4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 123.

However, it was not just through trade that those involved in navigation were seen to increase the wealth of the state. Both Barnabe Barnes and the anonymous author of *The English Courtier* were impressed by the wealth that early colonists brought back to their native countries. Advocating the merits of industry the author of *The English Courtier* commented:

I will resite the names of some few, whose industry hath not only gained themselves glory, but also their Countrey infinite good. How say you to Columbus and Vesputius, whose industry discovered the west part of the world: from whe[n]ce the King of Spaine fetcheth yearely great Treasure? Also what do you thinke of Magelanus that sayled about the world: yea to come nearer to your knowledge, do you not thinke that Maister Frobusher, by his industry, and late travaile, shall profit his country, and honour himself?<sup>143</sup>

Barnes thought that Drake, by his circumnavigation, 'did both much benefit and magnifie the state of this land', and that the efforts of Cavendish and Gilbert were equally commendable. He also admired the 'much coine and bullion of gold and siluer' brought 'vnto the princes treasures, somewhat out of hostile spoyles from the Spaniards, taken by that euer renowned Earle of Cumberland in his nauall voyages'.<sup>144</sup> He thought 'treasures gotten from such ambitious and maleuolent people [sc. the Spanish], are laudable, and magnifie the state of our kingdomes'.<sup>145</sup>

So writers of political tracts perceived commerce, exploration (with its potential for plunder from colonies), and privateering as activities which 'magnified' the state.<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Anonymous, *Cyuite and Vncyuite Life*, sig. D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> All quotations from Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices*, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Barnes, *Fovre Bookes of Offices*, sig. B4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> For a consideration of the complex relationship between the state and privateers, see Kenneth R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).



Accounts of such activities all featured in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*. These activities were deemed to bring honour to the state and to increase individual as well as national or state wealth. Segar's *Honor, Military, and Ciuill* gave full expression to the notion of honour. He commended the 'many Merchants, Nauigators and simple Sailers of our land that haue not onely attempted, but also performed marueilous actions, to vulgar people and vnskilfull thought impossible'.<sup>147</sup> Like Barnes, he particularly praised the circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish. Indeed, he devoted a whole chapter to '*enterprises aduenturous*' which he believed should be '*admired*'. Locating their actions in the tradition of those of 'Vlysses, Æneas, Hector', Segar detailed English voyages dating from the time of Richard I, and he listed the exploits of Jenkinson, Windham, Gilbert, Drake, Frobisher, Willoughby, Grenville, Davis, Howard and Cumberland.<sup>148</sup> He concluded, with some satisfaction, that,

These and other notable aduentures and victories were aboue the common opinion of men, attempted and atchieued by worthie and excellent Captaines of our countrey: and the chiefe of them within the raigne of our sacred Soueraigne, by whose counsell and princely prudence they were begun and ended.<sup>149</sup>

Segar's allusion to Elizabeth's 'prudence', locates these activities within the context of the four cardinal virtues, and emphasises the role of the state, personified through the monarch, in their success. His comment stresses that 'the notable aduentures and

---

<sup>147</sup> Segar, *Honor, Military, and Ciuill*, sig. E4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> It seems very likely that Segar drew on Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* for this list. All the accounts he mentions are included in the second edition which was published only two years earlier. Particularly suggestive is Segar's division of the voyages into geographical areas such as 'North and Northeast regions', 'West and Southwest', which parallels the terminology (as well as the practical arrangement) of Hakluyt's work.

<sup>149</sup> Segar, *Honor, Military, and Ciuill*, sig. E4<sup>r-v</sup>.

victories', although they are carried out by individuals, are authorised, initiated and concluded by the monarch. The implication appears to be that without that 'princely prudence' they would have been neither permitted nor successful. There was a certain amount of duplicity here, for the voyages of Willoughby, Frobisher and Gilbert, could only be regarded as successful in a very limited way.

Although Segar drew a link between individuals and the state, it remains true as Quentin Skinner comments that these theorists 'remained confused about the relationship between the people, the ruler and the State. And of course they lacked the post-Enlightenment conception of the relationship between the nation and the State'.<sup>150</sup> This, I suggest is the key transformation that Dee's 'Synopsis' reveals. Whereas other writers spoke of the ideal state, only occasionally linking their comments to England, Dee's document specifically related to 'this Kingdome'. The chart's far left-hand column states: 'To make this Kingdome flourishing, Triumphant, famous, and Blessed: Of necessitie, in it, are required these thre principal things'.<sup>151</sup> The 'thre things' are 'Vertue', 'Strength' and 'Welth'. The detailed analysis which follows reveals a number of key points. For Dee 'Eche man, in his vocation' had to play their part, but so too did the state, by organising laws, developing naval and military resources, and enforcing improvements in the quality of manufactured goods. Nor did Dee only consider the English in their own right but located them within the context of other nations. It is this conversion of the humanist discourse of the civil state to the particular polemic of a nationalist agenda that I believe we can

---

<sup>150</sup> Skinner, *Foundations*, vol. i. p. ix.

<sup>151</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

also see at work in *The Principal Navigations*. I suggest that the four cardinal virtues, combined with the ideas of strength and wealth, were a significant element of the intellectual framework that shaped Hakluyt's collection, and that even more explicitly than in Dee's 'Synopsis' this intellectual inheritance is here transformed to serve nationalist ends.

In four key areas, then, Hakluyt adapted his humanist training to promote his nation. In terms of educational practice the recovery and discovery of new texts became no longer a search for classical texts but an attempt to unearth a local history and discover a common cultural inheritance. This material could be put to pragmatic or emotional/psychological use, but in either case the purpose was to benefit the English nation either materially or through enhanced self-esteem and prestige. In gathering material from diverse sources, from all levels of society, and from all parts of the country, and publishing them in one work, Hakluyt attempted to forge a nation: individual narratives created and were subsumed into a national history. His search for primary material was founded on a humanistic desire to obtain the best and most reliable texts. Although this in itself could not be described as a nationalist activity, the uses to which these texts were to be put clearly were. However, the desire to publish primary sources, and the determination to be faithful to the original when translating foreign material created concerns about style; concerns which nevertheless were over-ridden if the content was deemed sufficiently valuable. The most important humanist influence on Hakluyt, however, came through the intellectual inheritance of a transmuted civic humanism. This was not the republican



tradition of Renaissance Florence, but the Anglicised obsession with both Aristotle's *Politics* and Cicero's *De Officiis* which sought to define the ideal state. This was usually expressed in terms of a form of constitutional monarchy. At the heart of these theorists' creed was the belief that the four cardinal virtues combined with attention to both wealth and strength could lead to a flourishing state. This programme found clear expression in Dee's 'Synopsis'. Frequently, writers of political tracts suggested that activities such as colonisation, privateering, trade, and exploration were an important part of the development programme. To these Dee added a concern with the state's role in forming the nation, a desire for clear and published documentation, a stress on the individual's role in serving the state, an insistence upon the need for improvements in mercantile knowledge, and a desire to use all the country's resources, both natural and man-made, to the benefit of the nation. In many of the practical details he shared common ground with Hakluyt in whose *Principal Navigations* all these factors are evident. More forcefully than either Dee or the other commentators, however, Hakluyt turned the intellectual inheritance of Cicero to a nationalist agenda. It was not the only inheritance that influenced him, nor was it as clearly expressed in *The Principal Navigations* as it was in the political tracts, since it was inevitably veiled by the form of the book and its many voices. Nevertheless it is a discernible factor, and in the ensuing chapters I will demonstrate how, through the choice of literary genre, the use of paratextual material, and the careful selection, arrangement and editing of texts, Hakluyt attempted to shape readings of texts so that they benefited the nation. As I suggested above, there were myriad ways in which written or printed material could do this.

Fundamental to the enterprise, however, were methods of reading, and it is with a review of the reading practices of Gabriel Harvey, who was one of Hakluyt's close friends, that I wish to begin my consideration in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Framing the Text

Mieke Bal observes that putting things in collections changes their meanings.<sup>1</sup> Citing W. Durost she asserts that the object in a collection 'is denuded of its defining function so as to be available for use as a sign.'<sup>2</sup> In relation to texts, the truth of her observation seems to depend on their original form and function, and it may be that rather than being denuded of meaning they merely acquire further significations. Nevertheless her suggestion that the transformation may be 'synecdochic ("part of a whole", "one of a series") or metonymic ("valued chiefly for the relation it bears to some other object or idea")' is a valuable reminder that the objects in a collection are gathered for a variety of reasons.<sup>3</sup> She also points out that the arrangement of a collection is itself a 'meaning-producing agency'. Referring to the reorganisation in 1780 of the Habsburg painting collection, she suggests that the rearrangement of the same objects radically changed their meaning because they were 'inserted into a different syntagm'.<sup>4</sup> Tudor-Stuart English collections, particularly textual ones, seem to have been both very popular and diverse in nature.<sup>5</sup> Whether in printed works

---

<sup>1</sup> Mieke Bal, 'Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting', in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 97-115.

<sup>2</sup> Mieke Bal, 'Telling Objects', 111, citing, W. Durost, *Children's Collecting Activity Related to Social Factors* (New York, 1932), 10.

<sup>3</sup> Mieke Bal, 'Telling Objects', 111.

<sup>4</sup> Mieke Bal, 'Telling Objects', 112.

<sup>5</sup> The emergence of an interest in collections in the Tudor-Stuart period is suggested by the fact that the Earl of Arundel was one of the first Englishmen to gather an art collection. More closely related to Hakluyt is his own reference to the Cabinets of Curiosities of his '*friends M. Richard Garthe, one*



such as collections of sermons, Erasmus's *Adages*, and Tottel's *Miscellany*, or in manuscript common-place books, material of all, and sometimes very heterogeneous, kinds was brought together. In many cases, such as Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573 and 1575), the significance of the arrangement, if there was any, was (and is) enigmatically obscure; readers were reminded that 'the well minded ma[n] may reape some commoditie out of the most friuolous works'.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, some forty years later, and not without ridicule, Ben Jonson published his collected *Workes* (1616) in a form which very much aimed to direct the reader's interpretation.<sup>7</sup> *The Principal Navigations* of 1598-1600 lies in the middle of these two publication dates and, like Jonson's *Workes*, it is an early example of a collection in which the gatherer sought to impose readings on texts.

This chapter investigates the ways that Hakluyt attempted to shape meanings in *The Principal Navigations*. Although John Kerrigan has criticised Jerome McGann's claim that 'bibliographical environments ... enforce very different reading

---

*of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William [sc. Walter] Cope Gentleman Ussier to ... Lord Burleigh*'. (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>). For discussion of Cabinets of Curiosities see, Anthony Alan Shelton, 'Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World', in Elsner and Cardinal, *Cultures of Collecting*, 176-203; and Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds.), *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>6</sup> George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres Bounde vp in One Small Poesie* (London: Richarde Smith, 1573), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>. Gascoigne's most recent editor observes both that 'the dramatically different modes of presentation [of the two editions] influence the ways in which one reads the individual parts of the books' and that 'his original intentions for the volume remain obscure'. See *George Gascoigne, A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, ed. G. W. Pigman III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), liii, lvi. However, Richard C. Newton believes that Gascoigne's collection serves as an advertisement for the courtier and that it is 'edited to support the advertisement'. See 'Making Books from Leaves: Poets Become Editors', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 255.

<sup>7</sup> Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson* (London, 1616). For discussion of the work see Jennifer Brady and W. H. Herendeen (eds.), *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio* (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1991). See also Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 133-210.

experiences' because it denies the 'agency of readers', it remains true that bibliographic details can be used in an effort to change and direct meanings whether or not they are received as the creator intended.<sup>8</sup> An increasing body of research has drawn attention to such factors in the creation of meaning in literary works, and Genette has usefully encapsulated many of them in the word 'paratext':

liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues and afterwords.<sup>9</sup>

However, paratexts are not the only extra-textual conveyers of meaning. Serialisation, illustrations and genre are all excluded from Genette's definition, yet they all pertain to *The Principal Navigations*, and have significant implications for our understanding of it.

In the previous chapter I suggested that the Ciceronian ideal of civic virtue – based on the four cardinal virtues – was combined with ideas of strength and wealth, to constitute the main intellectual framework behind *The Principal Navigations*. I also

---

<sup>8</sup> John Kerrigan, 'The Editor as Reader', in James Raven, Helen Small, and Naomi Tadmor (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 105, citing Jerome J. McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 85.

<sup>9</sup> Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xviii. See also Genette's 'Structure and Functions of the Title in Literature', trans. Bernard Crampé, *Critical Inquiry*, 14 (1988), 692-720. Recent writing on paratextual devices by other authors includes William W. E. Sights, 'The Edifying Margins of Renaissance Books', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989), 682-716; Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993). Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997); David Duff, 'Paratextual Dilemmas: Wordsworth's "The Brothers" and the Problem of Generic Labelling', *Romanticism*, 6 (2000), 234-61. For a recent work on a related topic, see H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).



claimed that this paradigm served a nationalist end. Elie Kedourie has written of the self-determination inherent in nationalism, and in doing so has highlighted the inconsistencies it entails.<sup>10</sup> In this chapter I want to suggest that humanist methodologies of reading facilitated such flexibility, by enabling and encouraging readers to read selectively and for specific purposes. *The Principal Navigations* seems to offer a very early example of the application of such reading methodologies in the pursuit of nationalism. This nationalist endeavour could take many forms. It might involve demonstrating the navigational achievements of the English, asserting their moral qualities, or trying to increase their national self-esteem. On the other hand, it might mean exhibiting the state's implementation of justice, locating the development of trade and colonisation within a nationalist discourse, or advocating improvements in navigational expertise which would bring a variety of benefits to the nation as a whole. All these aspects were highlighted in *The Principal Navigations* by the use of paratextual features. Yet they were sometimes in conflict and necessitated what, to the modern mind, seem inconsistent responses to texts. The readings Hakluyt tried to impose are evidence of Hobsbawm's observation that there is an 'element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations'.<sup>11</sup> Before I proceed to an examination of these interpretations, however, there is an important caveat to be noted.

---

<sup>10</sup> Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 56-86.

<sup>11</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 10.



According to Genette many elements of the paratext of a modern book, particularly those which he terms the peritext – ‘the cover, the title-page and their appendages’ – and those which affect the book’s construction – ‘format, typeface, and so forth’ – are decided on by the publishing house ‘possibly in consultation with the author’.<sup>12</sup> The multiple-agency nature of book production which his comment discloses was as true for Tudor-Stuart publications as for modern ones, although, of course, readers in the earlier period often chose the bindings for their books.<sup>13</sup> Genette concludes, however, that the paratext is ‘always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author’.<sup>14</sup> Here, too there is a complicating factor, for *The Principal Navigations* was both multi-authored and co-collected.

Although Hakluyt himself wrote a small number of the texts in the collection, the vast majority were authored by other people. Moreover, they were written at different times for different purposes in different contexts and styles. Their diversity necessarily militates against homogeneity, and although it is true that every piece of type had to be re-set for the new folio format, many of the framing devices such as

---

<sup>12</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Valuable introductory guides to book-production are Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927) and Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974; repr. Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1995). Speaking about the multiple-agency production of play texts, Lynette Hunter has observed that ‘Correctors, scribes, [and] theatre-related workers in printing houses have recently been added to compositors as agents in the textual transmission of play-texts’ (‘Why Has Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* Such an Intelligent Editor?’, in Maureen Bell et al. (eds.), *Reconstructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 9. It seems reasonable to assume that production of *The Principal Navigations* was an equally complex operation, even if, as seems likely, Hakluyt saw the work through the press.

<sup>14</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 2. Of course this would not be true of pirated material, and I am grateful to Helen Smith for her information that some Tudor-Stuart books contain prefatory material which could in no way be described as ‘authorial’ or ‘more or less legitimated by the author’, since for example, it was authored by the printer or publisher. In the case of *The Principal Navigations*, as far as we can tell, all the prefatory material was ‘authorised’.

titles, sub-titles, and marginalia were reproduced in *The Principal Navigations* in much the same form as they had first been printed. In many instances *The Principal Navigations* preserved the texts, and hence the interpretive guides of the original copy texts.<sup>15</sup> Despite this fact, Hakluyt often changed meanings by changing substantives. Genette's discussion of paratextuality shows how authors deployed such devices to enhance (or sometimes undermine) the textual meanings of their own works. However, I am interested in the way Hakluyt used them to transform textual meanings and in some, but by no means all cases, converted objects into signs.

Whether transformed or not, it remains true that the texts as they stand in *The Principal Navigations* have in some way been endorsed by Hakluyt, although his reasons for doing so seem to have varied considerably. One difficulty in assessing the work is that the degree to which Hakluyt endorsed each text probably varied, but it is impossible to gauge how far he did so. Like other publishers of collections, then, Hakluyt stands in an anomalous position in relation to the question of authorial intention. This issue is further complicated by the fact that Hakluyt's decision to include texts may have had nothing to do with the original author's intentions in producing them. Every text in *The Principal Navigations* was therefore based not only on Hakluyt's understanding of it, but also on his perception of its potential place within the collection. In addition, the meaning of every text is necessarily altered by its inclusion in the work because of its changed context and the bibliographic re-presentation this entailed, irrespective of any verbal changes. This

---

<sup>15</sup> I will consider Hakluyt's editing of texts in detail in the next chapter.



metamorphosis of texts is further complicated by the fact that Hakluyt was assisted by John Pory for the three years of the work's production.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, we know nothing of their working arrangements, but Hakluyt clearly esteemed his colleague's work. Thus, in considering *The Principal Navigations* in relation to Hakluyt's intentions, we need to recognise that to some extent our understanding is limited by a lack of knowledge about the work's construction.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the bulk of the work, including the acquisition of texts, was clearly undertaken by Hakluyt, and he claimed responsibility for it. It seems reasonable, therefore, despite the contingencies of Tudor-Stuart publication, to consider the work as an expression of his intentions. As we shall see however, these could also be modified by 'external' factors such as marketing and censorship. These contingencies further complicate our understanding of Hakluyt's work, but they do not explain away the misapprehensions of some modern scholars regarding the work's genre. Correct interpretation of this factor is essential to understanding *The Principal Navigations*.

That Sir Walter Raleigh shelved his copy of Hakluyt's work among his history books rather than his large collection of geographical material suggests, obviously,

---

<sup>16</sup> See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>v</sup>, where Hakluyt comments, 'I haue for these 3. yeeres last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. IOHN PORY, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth'. Pory did continue in this line of work for a short while, publishing a translation of Leo Africanus's work, *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (London: George Bishop, 1600). For Pory's further career as colonist, and newsmonger see William S. Powell, *John Pory 1572-1636* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).

<sup>17</sup> None of the papers pertaining to the printing and production of either edition of *The Principal(l) Navigations* seem to survive, other, of course, than the books themselves. The sort of useful comparison that might be done is suggested by Tom Freeman's work on Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*: "The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuose Women": The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs', *Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000), 8-33.



that he located it within the ambit of historical literature.<sup>18</sup> His own historiographical interests were evidenced by the 'Preface' to *The History of The World*, and his commissioning of 'The Discourse of Western Planting', demonstrates his patronage of Hakluyt.<sup>19</sup> Raleigh, however, was not alone in identifying Hakluyt as an historian. The Council minutes of the East India Company refer to Hakluyt as 'the historiographer of the viages of the East Indies'.<sup>20</sup> Yet the most significant, and at the same time the most tantalizing, reference to Hakluyt as a historian was made by Gabriel Harvey.

Like Raleigh, Harvey was a close associate of Hakluyt, but he was a friend rather than a patron. The two men had in common social class, university education, and humanist aspirations of service to the state.<sup>21</sup> As Jardine and Grafton have shown, Harvey's humanist training led him to read literature, and especially histories, in a

---

<sup>18</sup> Walter Oakeshott, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Library', *The Library*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 23 (1968), 285-327.

<sup>19</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World* (London: Walter Burre, 1614) sig. E4<sup>r</sup>. 'The Discourse of Western Planting' was 'written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull M<sup>r</sup> Walter Raghly, nowe knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes'. See Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 2. For the dedications of the Martyr and Laudonnière works see, Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 356-69, and ii. 372-78. The works were Peter Martyr, *De orbe nouo Petri Martyris* (1587), and René Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida*, trans. R. Hakluyt (London, 1587). Oakeshott ('Library', 289) notes that in *The History of the World*, (II iii paragraph 8, 261), Raleigh stated that he gave Hakluyt 'the report of Castro, a principall commander under Gama ... to publish', but Hakluyt never did so. However, the patronage Raleigh gave Hakluyt was rewarded in various ways. Hakluyt acted as an agent for Raleigh when he wanted to obtain a Portuguese map of the Americas, provided information and advice for his colonizing enterprises, and drew into Raleigh's ambit a number of individuals who shared their interests, including the Hungarian scholar Stephen Parmenius and the publisher Theodore de Bry. See Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 353-56, and Shannon Miller, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 9.

<sup>20</sup> See the entry in the Court Book of the East India Company for 29 January, 1601, cited in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 476.

<sup>21</sup> Harvey was also known to Sidney, Dyer, Carleill, Gilbert and Sir Thomas Smith, all of whom were involved in colonization, and some of whom had an interest in long-distance trade.

specific way.<sup>22</sup> His ‘goal-orientated’ interactions with texts meant that he read Livy’s *Romanae historiae principis, decades tres, cum dimidia* (Basle 1555), with particular attention to ‘forms of states, the conditions of persons and the qualities of actions’ in the company of Sir Philip Sidney; for Sir Edward Dyer and Sir Edward Denny he read to ‘shed light on politics’; and with Thomas Preston he made ‘diligent and curious obseruations of the notable actions of the Romans’.<sup>23</sup> As Jardine and Grafton observe, reading history was not only a process of accumulating information, but also a guide and prelude to action. This attitude was shared by such leading lights as Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Bacon, and to a lesser degree, Sir Robert Cecil. To three of these men Hakluyt dedicated publications.<sup>24</sup>

Harvey’s marginalia document his friendship with Hakluyt. A note, made in 1598 in his copy of Chaucer, suggests that he knew of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* prior to its publication: ‘I looke for mucche as well in verse, as in prose, from mie two Oxford Friends, Doctor Gager, & M. Hackluit: both rarely furnished

---

<sup>22</sup> Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’”: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy’, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78.

<sup>23</sup> Jardine and Grafton, ‘Studied for Action’, 36, 38, 43.

<sup>24</sup> For Sidney see his letter of advice to his brother Robert in Albert Feuillerat (ed.), *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), iii. 130-33. For Bacon, see his letter to the Earl of Rutland 1595, cited in Joseph M. Levine, *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 148. The endnote also refers to Walsingham’s advice to his nephew, cited in Conyers Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925; repr. no place: Archon Books, 1967), i. 18-20. For Cecil see P. M. Handover, *The Second Cecil* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1959), 32. Sidney (*Divers Voyages*), Walsingham (*Principall Navigations* 1589) and Cecil (*Principal Navigations* 1598-1600, vols. ii and iii) were the three who received dedications from Hakluyt.



for the purpose'.<sup>25</sup> However, it is Harvey's comment about Hakluyt as a historian which is at once the most interesting and most tantalising for our purposes:

Hodie multi asini ausi sunt componere historias, chronica, annales, commentarios: ut fere Graftonus, Stous, Holinshedus, non pauci tales: nec iurisconsulti, nec politici, nec ethologi, nec ullo modo eruditi. Livium Britannicum quam diu desiderabimus? Ah quando exstabit Tacitus, Frontinusque Britannicus? Nugis affluimus: pragmaticarum, bellicarumve rerum quam ieiuna memoria? Solus fere Morus, et Aschamus nonnihil attigerunt pristinae artis, et industriae. Tandem etiam Cambdenus, Hacluitus...

(But today there are many asses who dare to compile histories, chronicles, annals, commentaries as, for example, Grafton, Stowe, Holinshed, and a few others like them who are not cognizant of law or politics, nor of the art of depicting character, nor are they in any way learned. "How long shall we yearn for a British Livy? Or when will there emerge a British Tacitus or Frontinus? We abound in petty things but how dry is our record of matters of pragmatic or military import. Almost the only men who approach former art and industry are More and Ascham. After all, even Camden, Hackluyt...)<sup>26</sup>

Harvey's marginalia break off before the caveat is revealed; still, it is clear that he perceived Hakluyt as a historian whose work should be read 'pragmatically', in just the same way as Livy or Tacitus. Indeed in *Pierce's Supererogation*, which describes the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* as 'a worke of importance',

---

<sup>25</sup> D. B. and A. M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 306, citing from G. C. Moore-Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), 233. It is noticeable in the light of my discussion in the previous chapter concerning the reading of political tracts and conduct books that the works in which Harvey wrote marginalia include B. Castiglione, *Il libro del Cortegiano* (Venice: Aldus, 1541); Hoby's 1561 translation of that work, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio* (London: William Seres); N. Machiavelli, *The Arte of Warre, ... Set foorth in English by Peter Withorne* (London, 1574); Joannes Foorth, *Synopsis politica* (London, 1582); and the anonymous *In This Booke is Contained the Offices of Shyriffes, Baylisses of Libertyes, Escheatours, Constables, etc.* (no date). Harvey also wrote in a number of books related to geography and travel such as Achilles Gasser, *Historiarum, et chronicorum totius mundi epitome* (Basle?, 1538); Dionysius Periegetes, *The Surueye of the World, or Situation of the Earth, so much as is Inhabited*, trans. T. Twine (London, 1572), Jerome Turler, *The Traveiler* (London: Abraham Veale, 1575) (a gift from Edmund Spenser in 1578). In the last of these Harvey refers to 'The excellent Tract of Albert Meier' (Moore-Smith, *Marginalia*, 173) which was a work Hakluyt had persuaded Philip Jones to translate in 1589 (see Chapter 1 above). For Harvey's marginalia see Moore-Smith, *Marginalia*, 79-86. See also Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 198-241.

<sup>26</sup> Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, 152. The translation is Stern's.



Harvey displays just this kind of reading.<sup>27</sup> Having listed many of the contents of the work and referred to the ‘reports’ of Gilbert, Drake, Frobisher, and ‘sundry other famous discoueryes & adventures, published by M. Rychard Hackluit in one volume’, Harvey declares that anyone who reads the work will find ‘proffit to be [his] pleasure, prouision [his] security, labour [his] honour, [and] warfare [his] welfare’.<sup>28</sup> Significantly, that list takes us back to the combination of factors identified by Dee in his ‘Synopsis’ as pertinent to a flourishing kingdom: Honour (which as I noted in Chapter 1 was associated with ‘Virtue’), Wealth and Strength.

That Raleigh’s and Harvey’s thinking about the genre of *The Principal Navigations* was in accord with Hakluyt’s own perception of the work is revealed by his comment that ‘*Geographie and Chronologie [were] ... the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history*’.<sup>29</sup> In the 1589 edition he dismissed ‘*those wearie volumes bearing the titles of uniuersall Cosmographie*’ as being ‘*unprofitable ramassed and hurled together*’.<sup>30</sup> This is not to say that the two editions do not include much material which Cormack has described as descriptive geography.<sup>31</sup> Yet Taylor and Cormack are mistaken, I think, to see geography as the main genre of *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>32</sup> Even though Hakluyt described himself as a student and teacher of geography, he repeatedly refers to his collection as comprising ‘histories’. By doing so he keyed it into a genre from which, through their humanist

---

<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (London, 1593), sig. G2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Gabriel Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (London, 1593), sig. G2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Leslie B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 129-62.

<sup>32</sup> See Taylor, *Tudor Geography, and Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934).

training, readers could be expected to extract ‘profitable’ readings; that is, readings which led to action which benefited the commonwealth. This factor was emphasised by Hakluyt in the Dedicatory Epistle to his edition of Peter Martyr’s *De orbe nouo*:

Conabimur autem, annuente numine, maritimos hominum nostrorum commentarios sparsos & hactenus squallore obsitos, diligenti temporum serie obseruata, in ordinem redigere, & puluere excusso, in lucem breui spectandos producere, quo posterii maiorum suorum indices, quibus diu caruerunt, diligenter intue[n]tes, hæreditario suo bono frui cognoscant, & serò oblatam rei bene gerendæ occasionem arripiant.<sup>33</sup>

(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, to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked for 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.)<sup>34</sup>

Two factors in particular from this account stand out: the desire to promote action, and the notion of producing material in ‘a worthy guise’, which suggests an interest in form and format. It is this factor which I now wish to consider.

Harvey’s claim in *Pierces Supererogation* that *The Principall Navigations* of 1589 was ‘a worke of importance’ is a reference to the work’s form as much as its content. His immediate purpose is to contrast the ‘reports’ of Gilbert, Drake, Frobisher, and ‘sundry other famous discoueryes, & aduentures ... in one volume’ with Nashe’s pamphlets.<sup>35</sup> Such a denigration of ‘pamphlets’ supports Sandra Clark’s observation that even those who troubled to mention them often spoke about

---

<sup>33</sup> Martyr, *De orbe nouo*, sig. A6.<sup>r-v</sup>, cited in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 362.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 369.

<sup>35</sup> Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, sig. G2<sup>r</sup>.

them in derogatory terms.<sup>36</sup> However, Harvey's willingness to separate 'pamphlets' from the 'reports' and 'traicts' of sea-voyages suggests that she is wrong to describe such works as a sub-genre of pamphlets, for it is clear that notwithstanding their similar format, the two are sufficiently differentiated for Harvey by their content. Yet, even though these 'reports' and 'traicts' may not have seemed to Harvey to be pamphlets, it is only through their collection 'in one volume' that they become 'a worke of importance'. That Thomas Bodley shared Harvey's view about pamphlets is revealed by the Bodleian Library's first printed catalogue.<sup>37</sup>

Bodley famously banned 'pamphlets' from his library because he thought them 'not worth the custody in such a library'.<sup>38</sup> It is not entirely clear whether he took any account of content in formulating his opinion or whether he perceived all books of 'pamphlet' size – usually three or four sheets folded into quarto or octavo format – as unworthy of his library. Nevertheless, the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, which contained reprints of many such works, was in the Bodleian Library by 1605, although none of the individual items had achieved such a distinction.<sup>39</sup> The folio format of Hakluyt's work and its inclusion of material other than narratives of exploration clearly over-rode any prejudice derived from the fact that much of the material had previously been published in 'pamphlet' form. Bodley's acceptance of Hakluyt's collection supports Kastan's observation that 'the

---

<sup>36</sup> Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: Athlone Press, 1983), 17.

<sup>37</sup> *The First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605: A Facsimile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 335.

<sup>38</sup> Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

<sup>39</sup> To take just one example, Thomas Ellis's *A True Report of the Third and Last Voyage into Meta Incognita* (London, 1578) was a work of forty pages, comprising only 2½ octavo gatherings.



imposing physical structure of a folio book, and the attendant costs, made it appropriate only for consequential publications and subjects'.<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt's decision to reprint in expensive folio format material which had previously been published in smaller and more ephemeral volumes revealed a belief that such works were worthy of preservation. Combined in this way, they constituted a national history. Like Jonson publishing his 1616 *Workes*, Hakluyt made a statement about the value and importance of the texts he re-printed merely by his choice of format.<sup>41</sup> Unlike Jonson he was not satirized for doing so.<sup>42</sup>

Harvey's observation about *The Principal Navigations* related to the 1589 edition; the second edition was of even greater bulk, and necessitated three volumes.<sup>43</sup> The principles of organisation remained the same, although the order of the volumes changed: the second edition opened with the voyages to the north, whereas the first had begun with voyages to the south. Nevertheless the narrative structure achieved by organising each volume chronologically by region was retained. Hakluyt's repeated references to this 'method' of organising the work suggest that it mattered to him, while the terminology recalls the work of Ramus.<sup>44</sup> It seems important, then, to examine this aspect of the collections.

---

<sup>40</sup> David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 50-1.

<sup>41</sup> See Brady and Herendeen, *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio*.

<sup>42</sup> James A. Riddell, 'Ben Jonson's Folio of 1616', in Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 152.

<sup>43</sup> The work was published in three volumes. However surviving copies are bound in one, two or three volumes. See P. A. Neville-Sington and Anthony Payne, *An Interim Census of Surviving Copies of Hakluyt's Divers Voyages (1582) and Principal Navigations (1589; 1598/9-1600)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997), *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> See Walter J. Ong, *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).

Despite E. G. R. Taylor's assertion that 'No one could sit down and read the *Principal Voyages* [sic] from end to end', at least two early readers did exactly that.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the annotations in Anthony Linton's copy show that he read it through *twice*. To such readers, the temporal narrative, which was remarkably simple, would have been immediately apparent. *The Principal Navigations* stated only that the English had made a large number of voyages, and that at various times in the past English navigation had been more extensive than it currently was. However, by framing these individual accounts with supporting documents and arranging them consecutively within a nationalistic context, they came to represent the history of a nation. We see in Hakluyt's organisation of these individual accounts, within the framework of a nationalistic ideology, the realisation of what Hobsbawm has called 'the invention of tradition': 'the creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past which belong not only to the world of specialist investigation but to the public sphere of man as a political being'.<sup>46</sup> As Hobsbawm observes, such 'inventions' are an essential part of nationalism. The importance of this structure is revealed by its repetition four times in the collection, since each volume followed the same temporal narrative for a different geographical area.<sup>47</sup> This ensured that even those readers who only had access to one volume could avail themselves of this 'island story' albeit in relation to a limited geographical sphere. Readers who had all

---

<sup>45</sup>E. G. R. Taylor, 'Samuel Purchas', *Geographical Journal*, 75 (1930), 536. Anthony Linton's copy is in St John's College, Cambridge, shelfmark Aa.4.35-36. Two notes imply that the copy in Longleat House was read from cover to cover: 'Je lay commence le 7ieme de Nov: 1617' and 'Je lay Finy le 10ieme de Jan 1617 ou 1621'. See Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*, 67.

<sup>46</sup>Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Tradition', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 12.

<sup>47</sup>The narrative is repeated four times even though there are only three volumes, because volume two is split between southern journeys inside the Mediterranean and those outside it.



three volumes and read from cover to cover would have felt the full force of the text's organisational rhetoric. Helgerson has described the reading of chorographies as being something akin to a royal Progress, as the reader, like the monarch, moves through the county or country from place to place.<sup>48</sup> The reader who read consecutively through *The Principal Navigations* would have emerged with a similar sense of moving from place to place, as the work described first one geographical area and then another. In doing so, the reader, would have become aware of the geographically disparate areas which *The Principal Navigations* claimed were of interest to the English. This aspect of the discourse also served a nationalist purpose. Hakluyt claimed that England was on a par with some of the most powerful contemporary nations, including Turkey, Russia, and Spain, and *The Principal Navigations* is designed to show this by a spatial as much as a chronological history. As Edmund Morgan has observed, there was more than a touch of propaganda in such claims, which Hakluyt made explicit in the prefatory material.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, the accumulation of extensive amounts of material and their arrangement in chronological order within geographical regions was one way of asserting English endeavour and achievement.

Yet if the structure of *The Principal Navigations* made rhetorical claims about the past, it also contained a message for Hakluyt's contemporaries, and, he hoped, for posterity. Each volume brought the narrative for that region up-to-date, ending with a recent letter or narrative. Consequently, no volume achieved a sense of closure.

---

<sup>48</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 139-47.

<sup>49</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 15-16.



Rather, each stopped in an open-ended way which implied that the narrative was incomplete. In this way, Hakluyt made the essential link between the past and the present which, as Smith observes, was a fundamental element of nationalism.<sup>50</sup> Yet while some readers did read the work consecutively, judging from marginalia contained in surviving copies, the vast majority seem to have read excerpts. Although Kintgen's theory that 'a Tudor reader would never read something as long as a chapter straight through' is clearly overstated, his emphasis on the reading of short passages is well-founded.<sup>51</sup> However, this does not mean that Hakluyt's attempt to construct a narrative failed. His own practice of selective reading is very evident in *The Principal Navigations*, and, not surprisingly, his paratextual arrangements facilitated such readings of his own work.

Apart from the summaries in the dedicatory epistles, which commented briefly on the most important works and stressed the chronological nature of the work's arrangement, Hakluyt used other devices to facilitate selective reading. Most obvious were the 'Catalogues' at the start of each volume. These 'tables of contents' give the title of each piece contained in the collection but they do not list the items consecutively as they appear in the text. Rather, they direct readers to the different types of text. Thus in the 'Catalogues' all the narratives pertaining to a region are listed together, followed by the list of all the 'Ambassages, Treatises, Priuiledges, Letters, and other obseruations' which relate to them.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, Hakluyt used

---

<sup>50</sup> Smith, *Myths and Memories*, 9.

<sup>51</sup> Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), 182.

<sup>52</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*4<sup>v</sup>.

the 'Catalogues' as an opportunity to draw attention to instructional materials, even when they did not constitute separate items, but were part of a longer text. Thus, George Best's account of Frobisher's voyages incorporates a subsection headed 'Articles and orders to be obserued for the Fleete'.<sup>53</sup> It is listed separately in the 'Catalogue' of *The Principal Navigations*. Hayes's account of Gilbert's voyage includes a section about the loss of Gilbert's main ship headed '*The maner how the sayd Admirall was lost*', and it, too, is itemised separately.<sup>54</sup> In both tracts, however, there are other sub-headings within the text which Hakluyt does not reproduce in the 'Catalogue', and this decision suggests that these sections of text were less important to him.

Further evidence that Hakluyt encouraged episodic reading comes from his decision to break the 'method' of arranging the texts. At the end of the first volume of the second edition he added the accounts of the Spanish Armada and the 1596 Cadiz raid. As he observed, '*they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation*'.<sup>55</sup> His justification for breaking his method was '*the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, no longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses*'.<sup>56</sup> Marketing considerations played their part in the decision to publish, as soon as possible, accounts of two famous English victories. The nationalist aspect of this decision was

---

<sup>53</sup> George Best, *A Trve Discovrse of the Late Voyages of Discouerie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northveast, vnder the Conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Devided into Three Books* (London, 1578), sig. 2F3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A4<sup>r</sup>. Best's and Hayes's accounts are at *Principal Navigations*, iii. 48-96, and iii. 143-61. Hayes's account does not seem to have been previously published so it is not possible to compare texts, as no manuscript is known to survive.

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, sig. \*\*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, sig. \*\*2<sup>v</sup>.



revealed by the titles Hakluyt gave to each piece: ‘The miraculous victory atchieued by the *English Fleete...*’ referred to the defeat of the Armada and emphasised English achievement, and ‘A briefe and true report of the Honourable voyage vnto *Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning, sacking, and burning of the Citie*’ located the Cadiz raid in the context of damage done to an international opponent.<sup>57</sup> The point is, then, that Hakluyt facilitated different kinds of historical reading of *The Principal Navigations*. The historical genre opened up possibilities for narrative reading as well as for the selective reading of sections of the text, and it invited the sort of exemplary reading that Harvey, and others familiar with humanist methods, were trained to undertake.

The inclusion of such contemporary material further suggests that Hakluyt’s work should be perceived as an historical, rather than as an antiquarian work. The need to discuss this issue arises from the failure of recent studies of Tudor-Stuart historiography to engage in discussion of Hakluyt’s magnum opus.<sup>58</sup> In part this stems from a willingness to believe that it should be categorised as travel literature,

---

<sup>57</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 591, 607.

<sup>58</sup> Of the works by Baker, Fox, Fussner, Levy, Thomas, and most recently Woolf, only Fussner mentions Hakluyt. He categorises *The Principal Navigations* as history, but only in an attempt to deny that it constituted propaganda – a distinction which is itself not unproblematic (F. Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580-1640* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), 283-4). The other works are Herschel Baker, *The Race of Time: Three Lectures on Renaissance Historiography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); Levi Fox (ed.), *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press for the Dugdale Society, 1956); F. Smith Fussner, *Tudor History and Historians* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1967); Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England* (London: University of London, 1983); and D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), and *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks (eds.), *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric and Fiction 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).



and in part from its inconvenient and unusual methodology. Of course, the distinction between history and antiquarianism is not always clear, and Woolf claims that by the 1630s the terms 'antiquary' and 'historian' were often used synonymously.<sup>59</sup> Yet he also suggests that, in the Tudor period, historical work did not include antiquarian writing.<sup>60</sup> Hakluyt's work seems an instance to the contrary. Indeed, Anthony Payne goes so far as to comment that the 1598-1600 edition 'may best be seen in the context of the antiquarian and collecting movement of the circle of William Camden, as an episode in intellectual as much as colonial history'.<sup>61</sup> Such a view seems to me mistaken since it allows the antiquarian element to dominate in what in fact was a predominantly historical work. Shapiro's comment that, 'antiquarian scholarship was increasingly seen as an important part of historical studies' is a more accurate reflection of the relationship between the two genres in *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>62</sup> For, although the work includes many 'antiquities', and reveals Hakluyt's desire to preserve contemporary events for posterity, it was not particularly antiquarian. All but the first ten pages of the 861-page, third volume, for example, pertained to events after 1500, and while the split between ancient and modern history in the other two volumes was more even, both included material which dated from as late as 1597. Moreover, such antiquarian material as the works did contain comprised part of a chronological narrative. Significantly, Woolf himself claims that chronology is 'the *sine qua non* of history' and that it was omitted from antiquarian works such as the chorographies of Camden, Carew, Norden, and

---

<sup>59</sup> Woolf, *Idea of History*, 240. See also Barbara Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 34-62.

<sup>60</sup> Woolf, *Idea of History*, 19.

<sup>61</sup> Payne, 'Travel Books', 20.

<sup>62</sup> Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 51.

Lambard.<sup>63</sup> Yet Hakluyt is most insistent on this aspect of the organisation of his work, and for good reason, for in the international context of European colonisation of America, chronological narrative had important political implications.

As Anthony Pagden has made clear, European powers wishing to claim rights to new territories which would be mutually recognised had to go through a threefold process.<sup>64</sup> First the land they wished to acquire had to be deemed 'res nullius' - that is, 'empty'; secondly the colonising nation had to be the first discoverers of the land claimed, and thirdly they had to maintain a presence there. As Francis I told the Spanish Ambassador, 'to pass by and eye' did not constitute a valid claim to territory.<sup>65</sup> Jeffrey Knapp and Mary Fuller have both observed that English territorial claims did not reflect the reality on the ground, but they seem to me to miss the ideological point of Hakluyt's collection.<sup>66</sup> By drawing attention, for example, to occasions of English first discovery Hakluyt was doing a number of things. He was endeavouring to demonstrate that the English have achieved as much as the Spanish and Portuguese, but he was also laying the foundations for a claim to possession, should the opportunity occur. In this context, his desire that such discoveries be followed up explains his wish for the English to play their part. The claim to

---

<sup>63</sup> Woolf, *Idea of History*, 21. William Camden, *Britannia* (London: R. Newbery, 1586), Richard Carew, *The Survey of Cornwall* (London: John Jaggard, 1602), John Norden *Specvlvm Britanniae* (London, 1593) and William Lambard, *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: Ralph Newbery, 1576). For further discussions of antiquarianism in Tudor-Stuart England see Stuart Piggott, 'Antiquarian Thought in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in Fox, *English Historical Scholarship*, 93-114; Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*.

<sup>64</sup> Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>65</sup> Pagden, *Lords*, 81, citing Marcel Trudel, *The Beginnings of New France, 1524-1663*, trans. Patricia Claxton (Toronto: no publisher given, 1973), 38.

<sup>66</sup> Knapp, *Empire Nowhere*; Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

possession of the whole of North America on the basis of Cabot's discoveries is well known and was explicitly stated by Hakluyt in *Divers Voyages*:

I haue heare ... put downe the title which we haue to that part of America which is from Florida to 67. degrees northwarde, by the letters patentes graunted to Iohn Gabote and his three sonnes.<sup>67</sup>

In *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt reprinted these letters-patent and related documents. Once again the message is clear, but this time it is made in subtitles and marginalia. By a passage from Fabian's *Chronicle*, which Hakluyt entitled 'A note of Sebastian Cabots first discoverie of part of the Indies', he has added a marginal note: 'Cabots voyage from Bristol wherein he discovered Newfoundland, & the Northerne parts of that land, and from thence as farre almost as Florida'.<sup>68</sup> The importance of this aspect of *The Principal Navigations* is revealed by the map which accompanied the second edition, which also made a significant statement about English cartographic abilities.

The map that was incorporated into the 1589 edition of the work [figure 3] was based on one of Ortelius's world maps.<sup>69</sup> At the end of his address 'to the fauourable Reader' in that edition, Hakluyt referred to '*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*

---

<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sig. ¶3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 9.

<sup>69</sup> See R. A. Skelton, 'Hakluyt's Maps', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 48-73.



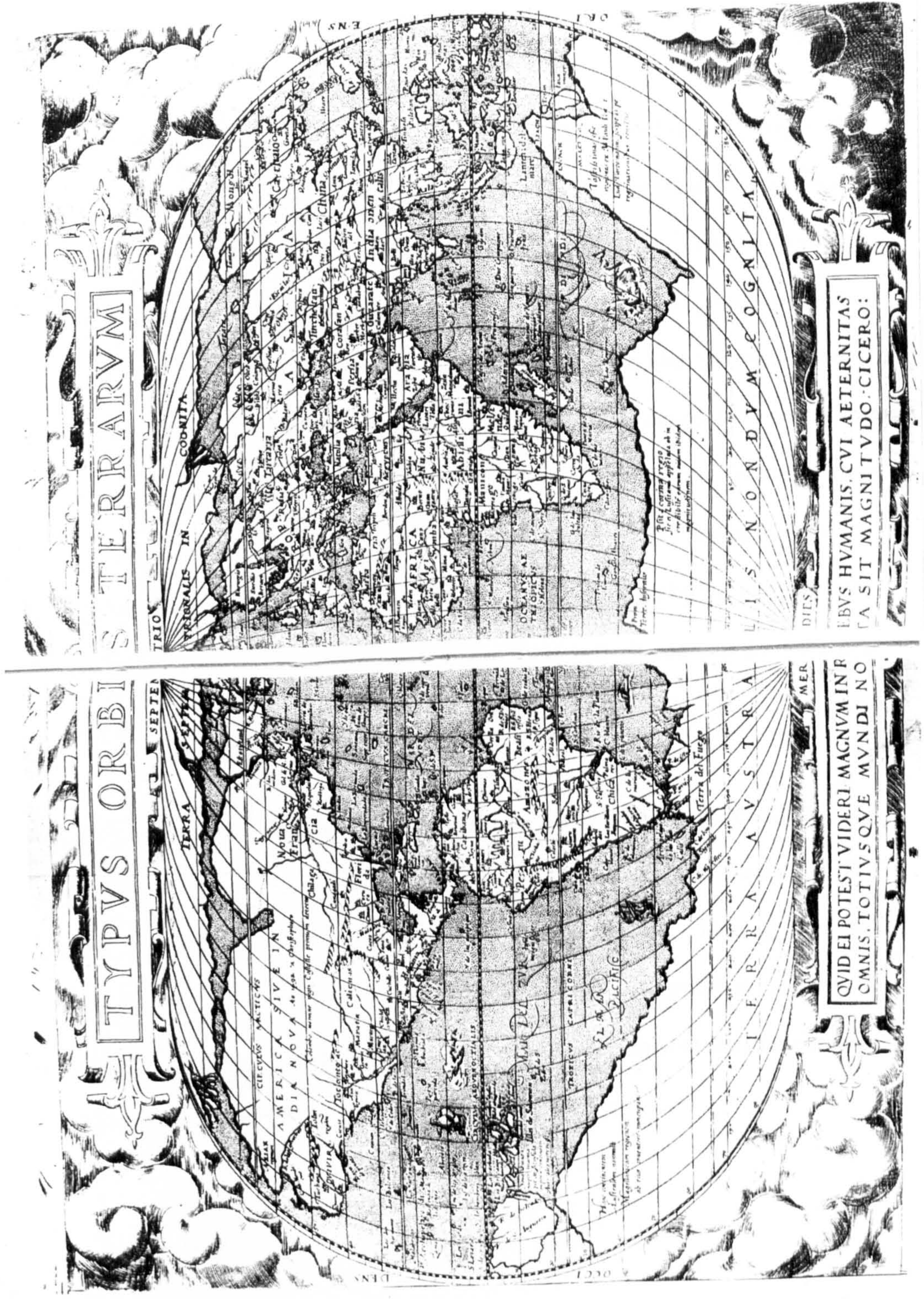


Figure 3: The world map (after Ortelius) from Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations* (1589).



Mollineux of Lambeth'.<sup>70</sup> It was from this globe, in a projection by Edward Wright, that Hakluyt took his map for the second edition [figure 4]. As Skelton observes, this was a map of quality, being both up-to-date and not indulging in conjecture.<sup>71</sup> Yet the work also made nationalistic claims. Helgerson has drawn attention to the use of insignia of royal power on English county maps in Norden's *Specvlvm Britanniae* and Saxton's *Atlas*.<sup>72</sup> The reproduction of the royal coat of arms on Wright's map seems designed to assert that this is the product of English expertise. That this is a 'national' map and located within the context of English discoveries in particular is revealed not by the cartouches, which give due credit to both English and foreign voyages of discovery, but by the claim printed in the centre of North America, which reads '*This land was discoverd by Iohn and Sebastian Cabot for King Henry ye 7<sup>th</sup>. 1497*' [figure 5].

That this concern with first discovery was a preeminent one for Hakluyt is revealed by his treatment of Thomas Nicholas's *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes, Called the Ilands of Canaria, vwith Their Straunge Fruits and Commodities*.<sup>73</sup> Hakluyt reprinted this tract almost verbatim but made some small but significant changes. For example, he added all the marginal notes, including the observation: 'English men at the first conquest of the Canaries'.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Skelton, 'Hakluyt's Maps', i. 67

<sup>72</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 114-18.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Nicholas, *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes, Called the Ilands of Canaria, vwith Their Straunge Fruits and Commodities* (London, 1583).

<sup>74</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 3.



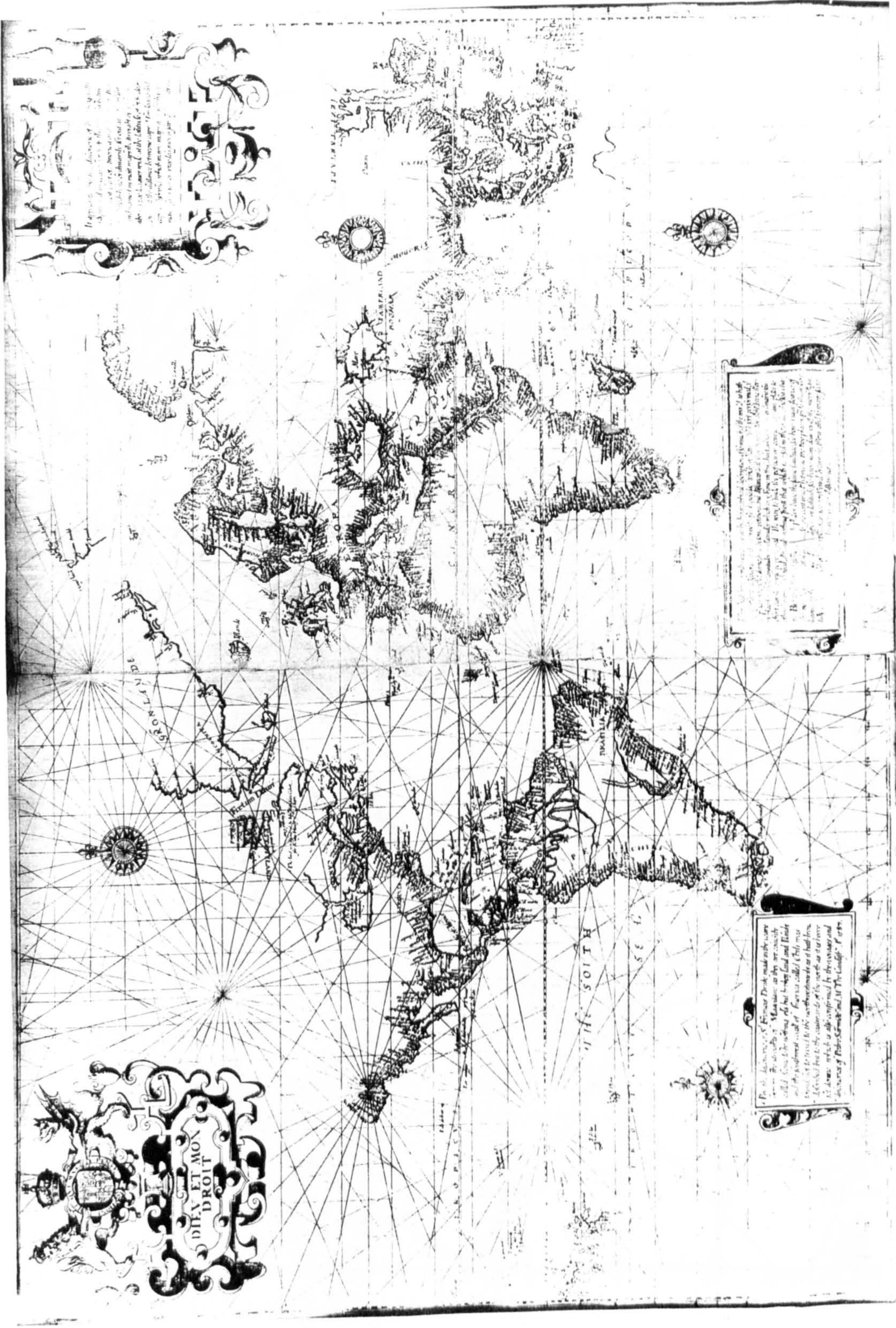


Figure 4: Edward Wright's world map from Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600).



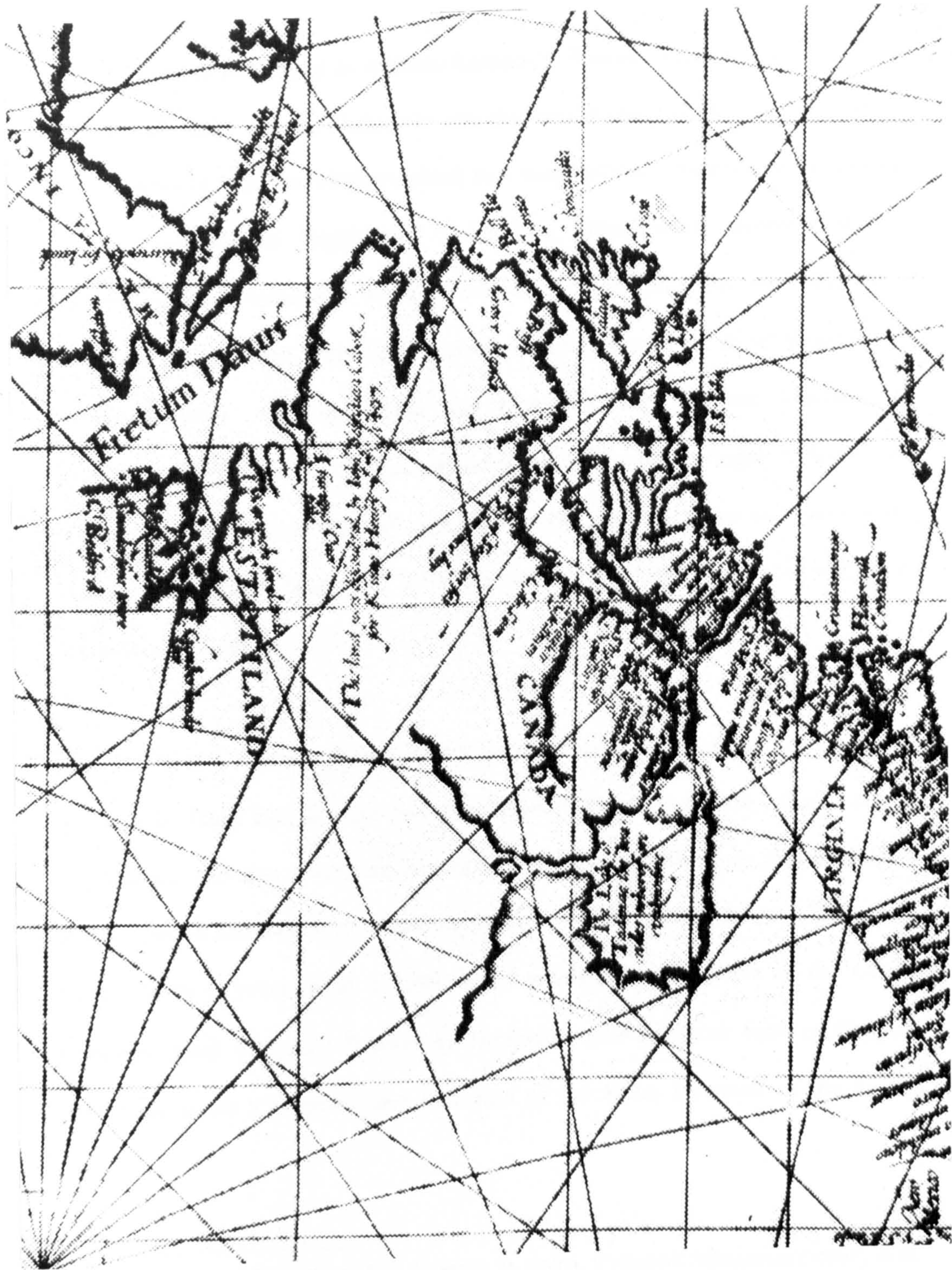


Figure 5: Close-up from the Wright world map showing the claim to first discovery of America by Cabot. 102



By a passage he had found in Antonio Galvano's *Tratado que compass a nobre & notauel capita[n]o Antonio Galua[n]o, dos diuersos & desuayrados caminhos* about the discovery of Madeira, Hakluyt added as a marginalium 'Madera first discovered by one Macham an Englishman'.<sup>75</sup> Hakluyt subsequently incorporated this information into Nicholas's work, to which it constitutes his most extensive alteration. He amended 'This Iland was discovered, conquered, & inhabited by y<sup>e</sup> Portingall nation' to 'This Island was first discovered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation'.<sup>76</sup> At another point in the text Hakluyt added a comment that the town and harbour on Madeira were called 'Machico', 'after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discovered the same'.<sup>77</sup>

The significance of the claims to the Canary Islands and Madeira can easily be overlooked. These islands were essential stopping-off points for the voyages across the Atlantic, and also a very convenient base for the English when they wished to attack Spanish treasure ships returning from South America.<sup>78</sup> English interest in these islands is revealed in a 1599 report entitled *The Conqvest of the Grand Canaries, Made This Last Summer by Threescore and Thirteene Saile of Shippes, Sent forth at the Command and Direction of the States Generall of the Vnited*

---

<sup>75</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 1. See D. B. Quinn, 'Principall Navigations (1589)', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 344.

<sup>76</sup> Nicholas, *Pleasant Description*, sig. D1<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 7.

<sup>78</sup> Hakluyt referred to the first factor when he noted that the Canary Islands were 'conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities'. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>r</sup>.



*Prouinces*.<sup>79</sup> So the temporal narrative frame that Hakluyt gave his collection had a contemporary political agenda, which Hakluyt reinforced by the use of marginalia and textual amendment. Paratext and text work in harmony to establish nationalist claims of precedence in an international context. Part of the ideological discourse is achieved by the narrative structure which emerges from the chronological organisation of the works, even if that arrangement is only an attempt to destabilise the claims of other nations, as opposed to asserting those of the English.

Hakluyt's use of narrative structure in this way seems to be quite unusual in Tudor and Stuart England. Far more common, thanks to humanist pedagogy, was the reading of history in an exemplary way, as a source for guidance about conduct. Timothy Hampton has shown how this humanist pedagogy accepted the Ciceronian adage about history as 'witness to the passing of the ages, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistress of life, and the ambassador of the past'.<sup>80</sup> He notes too that for humanists the 'central role of ancient history' was 'promoting ideals of public virtue' and he cites Petrarch's observation that 'Nothing moves me like the examples of famous men'.<sup>81</sup> That Hakluyt was keen for *The Principal Navigations* to be read in the same way is revealed by his comment that

---

<sup>79</sup> Anonymous, *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries, Made This Last Summer by Threescore and Thirteene Saile of Shippes, Sent forth at the Command and Direction of the States Generall of the Vnited Prouinces* (London: William Aspley, 1599).

<sup>80</sup> Timothy Hampton, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 6, citing Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.9.36 in the Loeb Classics edition trans. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>81</sup> Hampton, *Writing from History*, 4, citing Francesco Petrarca, *Le familiari*, ed. Vittorio Rossi (Florence: Sansoni, 1933-42), book VI, 4.

*these and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiualry, I haue ... set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors ...*

And he quotes from Sallust in Latin before offering a translation and comment:

*I haue often heard ... 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 neuer be quenched, vntill 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 haue 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.<sup>82</sup>*

As well as encouraging exemplary reading, Hakluyt also promoted pragmatic reading of the texts he published. In the Dedicatory Epistle of his translation of Laudonnière's narrative, he claimed that Raleigh accepted the dedication of the work so that those employed in the Virginia enterprise 'by others mishaps ... might learne to preuent and auoyde the like'.<sup>83</sup> In particular, Hakluyt sought to warn them against 'grosse negligence in prouiding of sufficiency of victuals, and securitie, disorders and mutinees'.<sup>84</sup> In general, however, this style of reading suggests that modern history as well as ancient history could be read in an exemplary way. The reference to 'vertue' in the passage from *The Principal Navigations* also links Hakluyt's desire for exemplary reading of his text to the discourses of civic virtue which formed the

---

<sup>82</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 301.

<sup>84</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 301.



basis of Dee's 'Synopsis'. I want now to look at the ways that Hakluyt used paratextual features to help shape these readings.

That paratextual features were important to Hakluyt is evident from his letter to Raleigh concerning the dedication of Peter Martyr's *De orbe nouo*:

Yf her majestie have of late advanced y<sup>or</sup>, [sic] 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 betimes.<sup>85</sup>

In the dedication itself, Hakluyt commented that he had

added in the margins, after a careful study of the chronology, the dates and certain other notes very necessary to the student, and ... included a full and accurate index for all the books.<sup>86</sup>

It is clear from this that Hakluyt was prepared to deploy marginalia to assist readers, and in his dedication to Raleigh of the Laudonnière narrative, the intended usefulness of the points highlighted is made clear:

Many speciall poynts concerning the commodities of [Florida], the accidents of the Frenchmens gouernment therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by theemie are ... quoted by me in the margents.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 355.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 365.

<sup>87</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 301.

In *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt also often deployed printed marginalia in this way, as we shall see. However, the use of paratextual devices to promote a nationalist idea could be compromised by other, competing agenda. This is evident from the first state of the title-page [figure 6] and the running-titles. In its main heading, the first state of the title-page emphasises both separateness and union:

THE / PRINCIPAL NAVI- / GATIONS, VOIAGES, / TRAFFIQVES AND DISCO- /  
ueries of the English Nation, made by Sea / or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest di- /  
stant quarters of the Earth, at any time within / the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided  
/ into three seuerall Volumes, according to the / positions of the Regions, whereunto / they  
were directed.

A series of individual efforts to far flung locations, spread temporally over 1500 years, are united under the term 'English Nation'. Notwithstanding the inevitably changing nature of that 'nation' over such an extensive time-scale, which Hakluyt was very much aware of, his title homogenises this disparate group of individual voyages.<sup>88</sup> What the undertakers of these individual accounts are deemed to have in common is their Englishness. As if to emphasise this, all subsequent states of the title-page, including the separate title-pages for volumes two and three, italicise the words 'English Nation'.<sup>89</sup> 'PRINCIPAL', of course, is also a key word. It suggests only the most important, and invites consideration of the nature of that importance, as well as supporting the claim about the extent of English navigation, implying that more could have been mentioned. The remainder of the title-page stresses matters of

---

<sup>88</sup> As the inclusion of works about Arthur's Britain, Edgar's Saxon and Richard I's Norman England, as well as material from Plantagenet and Tudor times, suggests. See also Chapter 4 below.

<sup>89</sup> For a full discussion of the various states of the title-pages to both editions of Hakluyt's works see D. B. Quinn, C. E. Armstrong, and R. A. Skelton, 'The Primary Hakluyt Bibliography', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 474-522.





THE

PRINCIPAL NAVI-

GATIONS, VOIAGES,  
TRAFFIQUES AND DISCO-

ueries of the English Nation, made by Sea  
or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest di-  
stant quarters of the Earth, at any time within  
the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided  
into three feuerall Volumes, according to the  
positions of the Regions, whercunto  
they were directed.

This first Volume containing the woorthy Discoueries,  
&c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by sea,  
as of *Lapland, Scrickfinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicolas, the Isles of Col-  
goicue, Vaigat, and Noua Zembla, toward the great riuer Ob,*  
with the mighty Empire of *Russia, the Caspian sea, Geor-  
gia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar in Baclria,*  
and diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria:*

Together with many notable monuments and testimo-  
nies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and  
other shipping of this realme of *England* in former ages.

Whereunto is annexed also a brieife *Commentarie of the true  
state of Island, and of the Northren Seas and  
lands situate that way.*

And lastly, the memorable *defcate of the Spanish huge  
Armada, Anno 1588. and the famous victorie  
atchieued at the citie of Cadix, 1596.*  
are described.

By *RICHARD HAKLVYT* Master of  
Artes, and sometime Student of Christ-  
Church in Oxford.



Imprinted at London by *GEORGE  
BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE  
and ROBERT BARKER.*  
1598.

Figure 6:

The first issue of the title-page of volume one of *The Principal Navigations* (1598).



honour, wealth and military strength. The references are to the 'woorthy Discoueries, &c. of the English' in the face of geographical unfamiliarity - revealed by the alienating list of names: '*Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicolas*, the Isles of *Colgoieue, Vaigatz*, and *Noua Zembla*' - and physical greatness - 'the great riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Russia*'. Further sections draw attention to 'the ancient forren trades' and the 'warrelike and other shipping of this realme of *England* in former ages', before alluding to more recent naval successes - '*the memorable defeate of the Spanish huge Armada, Anno 1588.* and the famous victorie atchieued at the citie of *Cadiz*, 1596'.

Yet while these aspects of the title-page clearly postulate a form of English nationhood which is multi-faceted, other imperatives could influence the formulation. Thus, the censorship which required removal from the title-page (and from the book) of any reference to the Cadiz raids necessitated a re-issue [figure 7]. Military strength was now highlighted only through the references to the 'warrelike shipping' and the defeat of the Armada. The opportunity was also taken to extend the time-frame of the work from '1500 yeres' to '1600 yeres'. Thus, pragmatic considerations influenced ideological initiatives. That these extended beyond issues of censorship and into questions of the book's marketability and the limits of available knowledge are also revealed by the title-pages. The first three states of the volume one title-page all draw attention not only to the activities of the English but also refer to '*a briefe Commentarie of the true / state of Island*'. This work is not about any form of English journey but a description of Iceland. Its inclusion on the





THE  
PRINCIPAL NAVI-  
GATIONS, VOYAGES,  
TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVE-

ries of the *English Nation*, made by Sea or ouer-  
land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the  
Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres:

Diuided into three feuerall Volumes, according to the  
positions of the Regions, whereunto they  
were directed.

The first Volume containeth the worthy Discoueries,  
&c. of the *English* toward the North and Northeast by Sea, as of  
*Lapland, Scikfinia, Corelia, the Baie of S. Nicolas, the Isles of Colgoicue, Vaigatz,*  
and *Nona Zembla*, toward the great Riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Russia*,  
the *Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar* in *Bactria*,  
and diuers kingdomes of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and testimonies  
of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other  
shipping of this Realme of *England* in former ages.

Whereunto is annexed a brieue Commentary of the true state of Island,  
and of the Northren Seas and lands situate that way: As also the  
memorable defeat of the *Spanish* huge *Armada*, Anno 1588.

¶ The second Volume comprehendeth the principall  
Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and discoueries of the *English*  
Nation made by Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east  
parts of the World, as well within as without the Streight of  
*Gibraltar*, at any time within the compasse of these 1600.  
yeres: Diuided into two feuerall parts, &c.

¶ By RICHARD HAKLVYT Preacher, and sometime Stu-  
dent of Christ-Church in Oxford.



¶ Imprinted at London by *George Bishop,*  
*Ralph Newberie,* and *Robert Barker.*  
ANNO 1599.

Figure 7: The second issue of the title-page for volumes one and two of *The Principal Navigations* (1599).



title-page is hard to reconcile with a nationalist agenda, and although, as I demonstrate in Chapter 4, Hakluyt may have thought of Iceland as a possible site of colonisation, the decision to incorporate a reference to the tract on the title-page probably owed more to the fact that he had received it just prior to publication, and deemed it to contain very up-to-date information, which he regarded as a selling-point, than to any ideological considerations.<sup>90</sup>

A clearer example of the opportunistic nature of Hakluyt's text is revealed by the title-page of the third volume which referred to the 'VOY / AGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAF- / fiques, and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, and in / some few places, where they haue not been, of strangers'. Suddenly, Hakluyt's work about the '*English Nation*' became a history of international travel. The effect seems to be to dissolve the nationalist element of the work. But as I show in Chapter 5, this is not the case. Rather, the title-page reveals two forms of nationalism in contention. On the one hand, Hakluyt promoted the achievements of the English and celebrated what they had done in the past. On the other, he wanted to encourage them to continue their 'VOYAGES, NAVIGATIONS, TRAF / fiques and Discoueries' and provided information to facilitate this purpose. Harley's suggestion that world maps were used in Tudor England for 'planning overseas discovery, exploration, colonisation and trade; [and] education' is another aspect of this practicality, which the cartouche on the map published with the second edition emphasises by drawing

---

<sup>90</sup> It is clear that the title-page had a role in the marketing of books, but for a discussion of the emergence of the title-page see Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development* (London: British Library, 2000), 22.



attention to the map's rhumb lines.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, there is undeniably tension which is further evidenced by the running-titles and typeface.

Richard Helgerson comments of the typeface of *The Principal Navigations* that,

by printing both poems and letters in the same collection and the same format – a handsome black-letter folio, with decorated capitals, marginal notes, contrasting type for titles and proper names: in short, the format Elizabethan printers used for their most prestigious books – he implicitly assigned comparably lofty status to each. Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland with its accompanying embarkation poem and the Newbery-Fitch voyage to the East Indies with its accompanying commercial letters appear as equivalent parts of a single expansionist project. Both are voyages of the English nation.<sup>92</sup>

The implication appears to be that the typeface dissolves class differences and creates a symbolic nationhood. It is tempting to agree with this analysis. Certainly the use of the same typeface throughout the three volumes (though excluding prefatory material) seems to imply some form of unity, although whether black-letter was really reserved for prestigious books seems debatable.<sup>93</sup> Likewise it is reductive to see the Newbery-Fitch and Gilbert's voyages as part of an 'expansionist' policy, although to suggest that they are both intended to highlight methods of English betterment is not unreasonable. However, the real problem with Helgerson's analysis is whether it can accommodate those texts which narrate the activities of foreigners.

---

<sup>91</sup> J. B. Harley, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography', in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Maps and Map-Making 1500-1650* (London: British Library, 1983), 31.

<sup>92</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 175.

<sup>93</sup> A check of the 15 ballads available on Early English Books Online for the period 1589-1610 indicates that 14 used black letter but only 2 employed marginalia. McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, 297 comments: 'by about 1580 the use of black letter in plays and the higher kinds of English verse, as well as in Latin books, had almost ceased, and there seems to have been a tendency to abandon it in scientific and theological literature also. Popular prose and ballads, however, continued to be printed in black letter'.

There are many of these in *The Principal Navigations*, and the problem they evoke is vividly played out in the running-titles.

On the verso, the running-titles in *The Principal Navigations* read:

The English Voyages, Nauigations M. *George Fenner*

and on the recto,

M. *George Fenner* Traffiques & Discoueries.<sup>94</sup>

The section in italics varies depending on the page but the rest usually remained the same.<sup>95</sup> This is a device which does not seem to be at all common in Tudor-Stuart books, combining as it does a static and a changeable factor.<sup>96</sup> It seems intended to locate each text within a context of nationhood, although it is not found in the other books which Helgerson, for example, sees as offering different forms of nationhood, such as those of Foxe, Speed, Camden or Holinshed. Yet the nationalist aspect of the running-titles comes under pressure when foreign accounts are included in the collection, for then the names of foreign individuals are included in the title, as in the case of Cartier's voyages, where the running-titles read:

---

<sup>94</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 60-1.

<sup>95</sup> The verso sometimes, and particularly in volume three, reads 'The English Voyages &c.' for 'The English Voyages, Nauigations'. This seems to be another example of the way that practical considerations impinged on any ideological considerations, although the overall intention is retained.

<sup>96</sup> It is used in Raleigh's *The History of the World*, where the section in italics denotes the book and chapter number, and the part in roman type is the title of the book.



The English Voyages &c. *Jaques Cartier. I.*

and on the recto,

*Jaques Cartier. I. Traffiques & Discoueries.*<sup>97</sup>

We have to acknowledge that there may be no nationalist intention in the use of running-titles, or that, if there is, it is not effectively carried out. Alternatively, there may have been good reasons for interrupting the arrangement. The explanation is to be found in Hakluyt's comment that he included tracts from other nations where 'our owne mens experience is defectiue'.<sup>98</sup> Thus, practical reasons overrode the ideological aspect of the running-titles. Hakluyt's decision does not invalidate or repudiate the nationalist intention, though it does compromise it somewhat. His desire to promote his nation was in active conflict with his desire to represent that nation as an achieved entity.

The importance of the practical element of *The Principal Navigations* is revealed in the emphasis given to pragmatic readings of the texts. As I suggested in Chapter 1, this centred on directing readings towards the four civic virtues of wisdom, fortitude, justice and temperance, combined with attention to wealth and strength. I want now to demonstrate that paratextual devices are deployed to drive forward the reader's engagement with the text.

---

<sup>97</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 204-5.

<sup>98</sup> Hakluyt *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

In the title which he gives the account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, Hakluyt refers to 'the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent and valiant lord, the L. *Charles Howard*'.<sup>99</sup> The reference to Howard's 'prudence' locates his actions under what Dee in his 'Synopsis' called 'Wisdom', where he observed that 'Prudencye' is the nearest thing to 'Wisdom Profound'.<sup>100</sup> As Lorna Hutson notes, referring to Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour*, 'Prudence involves circumspection, providence, opportunity and the ability to "beholde and foresee the successe of our enterprise"'.<sup>101</sup> In particular, in terms of humanist pedagogy:

'prudence' is really our clue to understanding the connection ... between the exemplary reading of histories, and the mind habitually concerned with the strategic 'emplotment' both of practical policy (courses of action) and of persuasive arguments to justify that policy (counsel).<sup>102</sup>

Given that Hakluyt wanted to inspire readers to action, it is not surprising that much of his material included advice about how to proceed in 'practical policy'. Titles, in particular, draw attention to this aspect of the collection.

When Hakluyt printed a letter requesting advice about how to kill whales he entitled the response: 'These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale'.<sup>103</sup> Advice was offered in *The Principal Navigations* for all sorts of enterprises, and in each case

---

<sup>99</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 591.

<sup>100</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

<sup>101</sup> Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994), 106, citing Elyot, *Governour*, 97.

<sup>102</sup> Hutson, *Usurer's Daughter*, 105-6.

<sup>103</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 414.



Hakluyt's titles drew attention to the usefulness of the documents for future participants:

Certain instructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556. for *Russia*, to every Purser and the rest of the seruants, taken for the voyage, which may serue as good and necessary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

Notes in writing, besides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton* ... to *M. Arthur Pet*, and to *M. Charles Iackman*, sent by the Merchants of the *Moscouie* companie for the discouery of the Northeast straight, not altogether vnfit for some other enterprises of discouery, hereafter to be taken in hand.

Notes framed by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of the middle Temple Esquire, giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with *M. Frobisher* in his Northwest discouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre vp considerations of these and of such other things, not vnmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter.<sup>104</sup>

Thus, at various points in the collection, Hakluyt provided ready-made lists of advice. On other occasions such information was buried within narratives. Consequently, subtitles and marginalia brought out such information.

The kind of practical information which Hakluyt highlighted was often geographic in nature. Thus, in a short section entitled 'The opinion of Master *William Borough* ... for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards *S. Nicholas* in *Russia*', there is only one marginal note, which reads: 'The Russian fleet best to be set forth in the beginning of May'.<sup>105</sup> William Barret's observations about Babylon, Balsara and the Indies included sub-headings on 'The times or seasonable windes called

---

<sup>104</sup> The passages are from Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 272, i. 437, iii. 45.

<sup>105</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 455.

*Monsons*, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East *Indies*'.<sup>106</sup> 'The Ambassage of M. *Giles Fletcher*', in which Hakluyt included sections of Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, opened with three chapters on Cosmography: 'Of the length and bredth of the countrey'; 'Of the soile and climate'; and 'Of the natiue commodities of the countrey'. The account then proceeded to '*a description of their policie*'. This section included sub-headings such as 'Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest', 'Of the Emperours customs & their reuenues, with the practises for the increase of them', and 'Of the maner of gouerning their prouinces or shires'.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, Thomas Fuller's notes on Cavendish's voyage are divided into a series of short sections whose nature is revealed by the title's reference to

the heights [sc. latitudes], soundings, lyings of lands, distances of places, the variation of the Compasse, the iust length of time spent in sayling betweene diuers places, and their abode in them, and the depths of the same, with the obseruation of the windes on seuerall coastes.<sup>108</sup>

Thus, although Hakluyt arranged his material chronologically, it was often geographic data that was deemed to be practical and it was often this aspect which the paratextual devices served to highlight.

Thus a wide range of information could be used prudently. Hakluyt repeatedly deployed marginalia to draw attention to information such as coastal features, 'the variation of the Compasse,' the direction of winds, and the depths of rivers. This

---

<sup>106</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 278.

<sup>107</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 474.

<sup>108</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 825.



could take the form of either listing them in the margin or by such comments as ‘a good admonition’ by a passage of text describing a ‘ledge of [submerged] rocks’.<sup>109</sup> Exemplary activity by foreigners could also be noted. Thus, Hakluyt included a marginal note which reads, ‘Marke what things the Spaniardes cary with them in newe discoueries’, and remarks ‘A witty policie to be used by the English in like cases’, when the Spanish deceive the native Indians.<sup>110</sup> Interestingly, this last observation goes against the grain of Hakluyt’s comments about deceit; on this occasion, the effectiveness of the deception clearly superseded any desire for virtuous behaviour. In *The Principal Navigations*, as we have seen, principles are often put under pressure by practical considerations.

As with examples of ‘prudence’, so the other three virtues – justice, fortitude and temperance – were also highlighted in marginalia, titles and sub-titles. In each case exemplary material could be either positive or negative. Justice, as Dee’s ‘Synopsis’ makes clear, included the due process of creating and implementing laws. In *The Principal Navigations*, charters, letters-patent and acts of parliament are all titled to indicate their legal form. However, writers of conduct tracts defined justice in very wide-ranging terms, and saw it as fundamental to society. A marginal note in volume three supports exactly this view when it summarises the main text: ‘Justice y<sup>e</sup> cause of ciuilitie’.<sup>111</sup> Thomas Floyd offered a negative definition, which he derived from Cicero. In the paragraph headed ‘Justice’ he commented that ‘it is a reproch, eyther to promise lightly without performing, or in firmly promising to

---

<sup>109</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 60.

<sup>110</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 437, 395.

<sup>111</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 468.

infringe and neglect it'.<sup>112</sup> James Cleland concurred, observing that 'faith is the band of al humane societie, and the foundation of al *Iustice*, and ... aboue al things it should be most religiouslie kept'.<sup>113</sup> Hakluyt's internal headings and marginalia show a repeated concern with 'treachery' and the breaking of faith. In the 'Catalogue', '*A letter of M. Martin Frobisher to certaine Englishmen, which were trecherously taken by the Saluages of Meta incognita in his first voyage*' refers to a section of text which in the original version, and in Hakluyt's reproduction of it, read only 'The forme of M. *Martin Frobishers* letter to the English captiues'.<sup>114</sup> So significant, in fact, did Hakluyt deem the breaking of trust that he offered it as the sole justification for a long tract on the invasion and taking of Nicosia and Famagusta by the Turks. This tract has nothing to do with English voyaging except in so far as the English were present at the time of the events. Although the narratives stress English fortitude, they are revived so '*that the posteritie may neuer forget what trust may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduauntage and is in his choler*'.<sup>115</sup>

It is tempting to see Hakluyt's attribution of treachery to the 'other' as a form of xenophobia, or racism. However, Hakluyt also included examples of English breaches of faith, but they are interestingly contextualised. In a fascinating article which traces the reputation of Sir Charles Chester – the loose-tongued, Elizabethan spy and merchant – for speaking out of turn, Matthew Steggle suggests that the

---

<sup>112</sup> Floyd, *Picture of a Perfit Commonwealth*, 205.

<sup>113</sup> Cleland, *Hero-paideia*, 199.

<sup>114</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A4<sup>v</sup> and 70, and *Best Trve Discovrse*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig.\*3<sup>r</sup>.



account of Andrew Barker's 1576 voyage includes 'Hakluyt's allegation that Chester informed [to the Spanish] upon his colleagues'.<sup>116</sup> Yet the text itself does not exactly support this analysis. It reads:

Henry Roberts [the captain of Barker's ship] ... was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleaging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisition[n] by Charles Chester.<sup>117</sup>

Hakluyt is careful not to say that Chester did betray Barker to the Spanish Inquisition, only that the Spanish said he did. The distinction is important not only because this is one of the very few texts that Hakluyt himself wrote, but also because it demonstrates how studious Hakluyt was not to make direct allegations of treachery against the English. Moreover, by its deliberate choice of the word 'alleaging' Hakluyt's passage seems intended to cast doubt on the historical accuracy of the claim. The remainder of the text - which shifts into first person narrative - fits into the exemplary tradition for, as Steggle rightly notes, the narrative 'becomes a parable of unity against the Spanish'.<sup>118</sup> In addition, it also reiterates divine justice, for although the Privy Council merely imprisoned the malefactors they still could 'not auoide the heauy iudgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselues faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and gouernours'.<sup>119</sup> This use of English malefaction to demonstrate justice is also evident in the letter from Elizabeth I to the Emperor of Morocco, which dealt with the punishment of one John Herman. It notes that the

---

<sup>116</sup> Steggle, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', 67.

<sup>117</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 528.

<sup>118</sup> Steggle, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', 77.

<sup>119</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 530.

Emperor will 'proceed in iustice' against Herman who 'hath grieuously offended us'. The text's only marginalium occurs at this point and reads, 'John Herman an English rebel'.<sup>120</sup> In Hakluyt's collection, Elizabeth's letter was, of course, devoid of its original context and hence meaningless as an action intended to pursue Herman. It served only as a symbol that English rebels would receive 'Iustice', and that they would receive it even in places as distant as Morocco.

If Hakluyt drew attention to English justice by providing active examples of it, he highlighted temperance by its opposite or absence. In Book II of *The Faerie Queene* Sir Guyon observes that temperance is 'Neither to melt in pleasures whot desire, / Nor fry in hartlesse grieffe and dolefull teene'.<sup>121</sup> In *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt echoed that language of indolence, enjoining the English gentry to give up 'those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie', and to turn their attention to colonisation.<sup>122</sup> Elsewhere he included examples of intemperate conduct leading to disaster. Captain Wyndham is described as 'not satisfied with the gold which he had'; ignoring advice to return to England, he became furious. The attendant marginalium aphoristically observes that 'furie admitteth no counsel'; the decision to continue leads to Wyndham's death through sickness.<sup>123</sup> Similarly, a marginal note refers to 'The foolish rashnes of Wil. Bats perswading the company to land unarmed' when they go ashore at Cape Verde.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 120.

<sup>121</sup> Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977) Book II, Canto i, 58, 4-5.

<sup>122</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*\*3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 12.

<sup>124</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 58.



The result is capture, torture and death. In the account of James Lancaster's 1591 voyage, which was 'written from the mouth of *Edmund Barker* ... by M. *Richard Hakluyt*', a marginal note observes: 'A miraculous effect of extreme feare or extreme ioy'. The comment relates to an Englishman who, having been left alone on an island for 18 months, meets Lancaster's company, refuses to sleep for eight days and subsequently dies.<sup>125</sup> Most famously, Humphrey Gilbert's decision to sail back across the Atlantic in his small frigate, rather than in the much larger 'Golden Hind', which leads to his death, is described as 'Wilfulness'.<sup>126</sup> Intemperance, therefore, is shown to be a damaging and dangerous vice.

If intemperance is a vice that is shown to lead to disaster for the English it is also, intriguingly, posited as a vice in others. The implication is that, by comparison, the English excel in temperance. Thus, we hear of the '*fond superstitions, ... bestiall liues, ... vicious maners, ... [and] disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie unto strangers*' of the Tartars.<sup>127</sup> The Spanish desire for gold and fame, though sated, is presented as excessive:

*a great number of them haue satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable vnto them.*<sup>128</sup>

Yet while others could be presented as intemperate, modest behaviour was also a cause for comment. The marginal note added to Best's account of the indigenous

---

<sup>125</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 102, 108.

<sup>126</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 159.

<sup>127</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>r</sup>.

Americans brought back to England by Frobisher emphasises 'The shamefastnes and chastity of those Sauage captiues', and later 'Their chastity'.<sup>129</sup> Raleigh of course also stressed his own temperate behaviour when he commented in the *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*: 'but that I might haue bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Maiesties future Honour, and riches'.<sup>130</sup> Temperance, then is commended, and posited as an English character trait. Other nations, particularly powerful and competing ones, are presented as intemperate in their behaviour and desires.

In most cases, temperance was discussed in relation to the conduct of individuals. This reflected Dee's observation that temperance was 'the necessary, decent, and lawfull using, of meat, drink, apparayle, wordes, and gesture of the body in all places and at all times'.<sup>131</sup> In some instances, however, Hakluyt described what we might now call 'institutional' intemperance. Thus, one title noted the 'manifold and tyrannicall oppressions of the Inquisition inflicted on our nation vpon most light and friuolous occasions'.<sup>132</sup> In one of the few sections of prefatory material from previously published works which Hakluyt reprinted, Laudonnière's criticism of the Roman Empire is couched in terms of an intemperate desire to attain 'universal monarchy':

---

<sup>129</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 69, 94.

<sup>130</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 628.

<sup>131</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39

<sup>132</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 498.



the Romans ... (being most curious to plant not onely their ensignes and victories, but also their lawes, customes, & religion in those prouinces which they had conquered by force of armes) haue oftentimes by the decree of their soveraigne Senate sent forth inhabitants, which they called Colonies, (thinking by this way to make their name immortall) euen to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same in her perfection: a thing which hindred them much more, then aduanced them to the possession of the vniuersal monarchy, whereunto their intention did aspire.<sup>133</sup>

That Hakluyt included this prefatory material within the main body of his text is more significant than it immediately appears.

Customarily, when reprinting narratives, Hakluyt omitted all such prefatory material, even when it might have seemed relevant. For example, Florio's dedication to his translation of Jacques Cartier's voyage to America, which was undertaken at Hakluyt's instigation, encourages colonisation by the English, asserts English claims of first discovery, and claims that it contains useful information for those engaged in such activity.<sup>134</sup> Hakluyt's version of George Peckham's tract *A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: by That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* omits the commendatory verses and dedicatory epistle, even though they encourage English colonisation.<sup>135</sup> In the light of such omissions, the inclusion of prefatory material from only seven of the twenty-nine previously-printed tracts Hakluyt reproduced *in extenso*, suggests that they were particularly significant for

---

<sup>133</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 304.

<sup>134</sup> Jacques Cartier, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Nauigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes Called Newe Fravnce*, trans. John Florio (London: Richard Hakluyt, 1580), sig. B1<sup>r</sup>-B2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> George Peckham, *A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: by That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* (London: John Hinde, 1583), sigs.\*3<sup>r</sup>- §4<sup>v</sup>.

him.<sup>136</sup> The main point of Henry Saville's very brief address '*To the courteous Reader*' is to repudiate '*diuerse vntruthes*' told by the Spanish in an effort to gain glory, and to offer his text as 'a token of [his] dutie and loue to [his] countrey and countrey-men'.<sup>137</sup> William Malim's dedication to the Earl of Leicester of *The True Report of the Siege and Taking of Famagusta* dilates at length on the role of history in preserving the past. It notes Leicester's honourable conduct in his daily life, his promotion of Protestantism and the infidelity of the Turks at Famagusta.<sup>138</sup> Caesar Frederick's address to the reader emphasises the rich commodities to be found in the East Indies.<sup>139</sup>

Hakluyt's decision to itemise separately in the 'Catalogue' the dedicatory epistles and addresses to the readers of the other three texts from which he included prefatory material suggests their importance, for Hakluyt thereby turned them from paratextual to textual material. Of course, they remained paratexts in relation to the narratives which they originally served, but by entering them in the 'Catalogues' as separate items, Hakluyt equated them with all the other texts that he published. This further helps to remove their marginality. Interestingly, they are all engaged in the discursive production of nationalism.

---

<sup>136</sup> For the identification of these tracts see D. B. Quinn, '*Principal Navigations (1598-1600)*', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 341-460. I exclude the large folio volumes from which Hakluyt made selections such as the works of Holinshed, Foxe, Bale, Ramusio, and Linschoten.

<sup>137</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 590.

<sup>138</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 117-19.

<sup>139</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 213.



As we have seen, Hakluyt's Dedicatory Epistle in his translation of the Laudonnière narrative stresses the practical usefulness of that work to Raleigh's colonists. It also emphasises the benefit the colony will bring 'to those of our nation there remaining, as [well as] to the merchants of *England* that shall trade hereafter thither'.<sup>140</sup> The dedication suggests further that Elizabeth will become actively involved when she sees Raleigh's success, and it offers an exemplary reading of the first English invasion of Ireland as a precedent for Raleigh's activity in Virginia. Raleigh's own prefatory material to *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevtifvl Empire of Gviana* stresses the wealth of the country and his honourable conduct. It claims that he undertook the voyage in an effort to 'seeke the profit and honour of her Maiestie, and the English nation'.<sup>141</sup> Finally, Keymis's 'aduertisement to the Reader' is not, in fact, prefatory material, but comprises the final section of his narrative. It explicates the Spanish failure to 'discouer and conquer' Guiana.<sup>142</sup> Apart from the problems posed by geographical difficulties, Keymis asserts three reasons: firstly the dissension among the Spanish, secondly their failure to exploit the wars among the indigenous tribes, and finally 'diuine prouidence', which has 'reserue[d] this empire' for the English.<sup>143</sup> Combined with the other paratextual material that Hakluyt preserved, these three passages locate English colonial activity within a national, state, and international context. They also unite rhetorical assertions about providence with exemplary readings of history, and observations about the practicalities of colonisation. As such they reveal the multi-dimensional aspect of

---

<sup>140</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 302.

<sup>141</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 631.

<sup>142</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 690.

<sup>143</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 692.

Hakluyt's collection which both stressed practical information and elaborated a distinctive nationalist rhetoric.

Hakluyt's exemplary reading of the first invasion of Ireland, which he provided in his Dedicatory Epistle for the Laudonnière narrative, stressed the fourth civic virtue in Dee's 'Synopsis', fortitude. William Blandy's *The Castle, or Picture of Pollicy*, stated that '*Fortitude resteth in an inuincible minde, attempting for the loue of some excellent thing, great, difficult, and daungerous actions*'.<sup>144</sup> In his preface, Hakluyt identified the commonwealth as the beneficiary of Raleigh's attempt at colonising Virginia and presented it in the context of England as a 'chosen' nation:

Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde sayd vnto *Josue*, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the land of promise, and remember that priuate men haue happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed vpon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our Common wealth wherein you liue.<sup>145</sup>

To some extent, Hakluyt's exhortations were incongruous. By 1600 Raleigh's attempts at colonisation in Virginia had failed, and the historical moment to which they directly pertained had passed. Yet that very failure made the comments more pertinent, for it was fortitude – the ability to persist in the face of great difficulties – which was needed by the English if they were to succeed in colonisation. Thus, a text which originally served a specific purpose (and to some extent retained its

---

<sup>144</sup> Blandy, *Castle, or Picture of Pollicy*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>145</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 302-3.



practical usefulness) now also took on a value as a sign. It became a symbol of the fortitude needed to achieve colonisation.

However, fortitude was requisite not just for colonial activity but also for voyages of trade and discovery, as Hakluyt's 'Preface to the Reader' in volume one emphasises. His extended commentary on the hardships endured by the English in their 'Northeasterly Nauigations' locates this virtue in the context of international competition:

*Albeit I cannot deny, that both [the Spanish and Portuguese] in their East and West Indian Nauigations have indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this I dare boldly affirme; ... that their first attempts ... were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast.*<sup>146</sup>

Hakluyt then lists at length the ways in which the Spanish and Portuguese voyages across the Atlantic were easier than English journeys in search of the North-East Passage. This discourse of adversity is invoked precisely because the English efforts have not been as successful as those of their competitors, a fact which Hakluyt himself acknowledged. The discourse of fortitude in *The Principal Navigations* is, therefore, associated with failure which it transforms into a virtue.

The adaptable nature of Hakluyt's reading is also apparent in another way, for he also emphasised the fame and wealth that had followed from English naval successes. In his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Charles Howard, he referred to the defeat

---

<sup>146</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>r</sup>.

of the Armada, for which 'posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations'.<sup>147</sup> The titles of narratives of English naval and military successes also stressed the financial benefit of such action. We hear, for example, of 'the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quicksiluer' and of 'the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago*'.<sup>148</sup> A similar concern with wealth is also manifested by an erroneous marginalium. Miles Phillips's narrative notes that John Hawkins feared that the Spanish fleet would be lost if he kept it out of the bay of St John de Ulloa, which he believed could not be allowed because of the Queen's 'indignation'.<sup>149</sup> The account claims that this fleet and its 'substance' 'amounted unto the value of one million and eight hundreth thousand pounds'.<sup>150</sup> Hakluyt adds a marginal comment: 'It is put downe 6. millions in Sir John Hawkins his relation'. However, at the reciprocal point in Hawkins's narrative we are told that the fleet 'amounted in value to sixe Millions [sc. pesos], which was in value of our money 1800000. li'.<sup>151</sup> The marginal note here confirms '1800thousand pound'. Whether the misreading of Hawkins's text as revealed in the marginalia added to Phillips's account is deliberate or accidental, it confirms Hakluyt's concern with material wealth which was only part of a much wider interest in improving the nation's financial status.

---

<sup>147</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>148</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 193, 192.

<sup>149</sup> Note that this event occurred in 1568 when Spain and England were not yet at war.

<sup>150</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 471.

<sup>151</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 523.



We have already seen that Hakluyt's titles often claimed that the texts they headed had a practical use for those engaged in 'projects'. As Joan Thirsk has pointed out, the main purpose of such enterprises was increased wealth, and this was customarily couched in terms of the benefit of the commonwealth, although in reality it often meant only the enrichment of the projectors.<sup>152</sup> This link between advice and the common-wealth is explicit in the heading Hakluyt gave to advice provided by his cousin to a visitor to Turkey:

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeauoured 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.<sup>153</sup>

Increasing the nation's wealth was a concern of both Hakluyts. In *The Principal Navigations* this was manifested in references to the fruitfulness of lands visited or colonised. There were, consequently, multiple marginalia of this kind. The products ranged enormously and depended on the location, but included 'morses teeth' (i.e. seal tusks), silver mines, pepper, cedars, grapes, mother of pearl, fish, and cochineal. The attention to tradable commodities shown by Hakluyt echoes Dee's concern in the 'Synopsis' that 'things necessary with theyr the (sic) most advantage from forrayn places [be] browght'.<sup>154</sup> Both Dee and Hakluyt saw this as the main way to bring wealth to the nation. They also shared the realisation that economic knowledge was essential for trading success. It is probably for this reason that Hakluyt used

---

<sup>152</sup> Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, Chapters 2-4.

<sup>153</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i.160.

<sup>154</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Charter XIII, article 39.

subtitles to emphasise 'The coines, weights and measures vsed in *Russia*' and 'The money and measures of *Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies*', and used marginalia such as 'what a batman is' or 'the value of a tumen' to highlight sections of text which gave exchange values.<sup>155</sup>

It was in the titles that he gave to narratives, however, that Hakluyt really drew attention to opportunities for increasing the nation's wealth, and he was prepared to retain rhetorical flourishes which made locations seem enticing. For example, he repeated Raleigh's reference to the 'LARGE, RICH and beautifull Empire of *Guiana* with a relation of the great and golden Citie of *Manoa*', and Caesar Fredericke's allusion to 'the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles and other iewels'.<sup>156</sup> Hakluyt also invented headings to emphasise wealth, such as 'A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of *Pegu*' or 'A relation of the commodities of *Noua Hispania*'.<sup>157</sup> By means of paratextual devices, Hakluyt persistently drew attention to the potential for increasing the nation's wealth throughout all three volumes of *The Principal Navigations*.

The final aspect of Dee's 'Synopsis' pertains to matters of national strength, particularly naval strength. Linda Colley has argued that in a slightly later period war was the prime instigator of English nationalism.<sup>158</sup> This was not just because of

---

<sup>155</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 256, II i. 271, i. 356.

<sup>156</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 627, II i. 213.

<sup>157</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 102, iii, 462.

<sup>158</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1857* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).



particular military victories, but also because of the effort and organisation that went into supporting the war effort. For Dee, 'Strength' was also about the availability and development of resources, and this is an area in which the 'Synopsis' and *The Principal Navigations* overlapped greatly. Dee argued both for the establishment of a Royal Navy and for the creation of the well-built harbours which he perceived as essential for their maintenance. Hakluyt shared this concern with navigation and in his prefatory material clarified its importance. He deems King Edgar to have been '*a most puissant prince*' because of his navy.<sup>159</sup> From the 'Chronicle of the Kings of Man' Hakluyt takes '*one principall note*', which is '*K. John passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes*'.<sup>160</sup> The unstated message appears to be that contemporary English troubles in Ireland would be resolved by a strong fleet. The full title that Hakluyt gave the 'Libel of English Policie' relates naval strength to national material benefit and honour:

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of *Englishe policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea*: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all English-men.<sup>161</sup>

The localised aspect of this nationalism – the narrow seas (i.e. the English Channel) – would be extended, Hakluyt believed, by the establishment of a lectureship in navigation which would bring national benefits, but from further-a-field:

---

<sup>159</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 187.

it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes.<sup>162</sup>

Hakluyt's attitude to the rationale for naval and military strength was typically ambiguous. On the one hand, as was the case with Henry V's victories, war could lead to the establishment of peace.<sup>163</sup> On the other hand, he argued that war would facilitate a much more Machiavellian approach to colonisation, as his comments preceding the Laudonnière narrative reveal. Not only did he propose that demobilised soldiers returning from the Dutch campaign should be used in Virginia 'against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Maiestie', but he also claimed, chillingly, that 'one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in *Virginia*, then one thousand were able then [i.e. in Henry II's time] to do in *Ireland*'.<sup>164</sup> This affirmation of the value of military strength to the colonialist chimes with his observation in the Preface to *The Principal Navigations* that, by means of his fleet, King Edgar 'was not onely soueraigne lord of all the *British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also ... brought under his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent*'.<sup>165</sup> Thus, paratextual material was used to disclose a variety of positions. On the one hand Hakluyt wanted to claim for the English the honour of peace (and in a comment on the Anglo-Spanish war carefully positioned Spain as the aggressor); and on the other he was also prepared to countenance military aggression by the English. The guiding

---

<sup>162</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>163</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.

<sup>165</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>.



principle appears to be whatever Hakluyt deemed to be in the best interests of the English nation.

If the Ciceronian notion of civic virtue, combined with the factors of strength and wealth, provides the intellectual framework for *The Principal Navigations*, paratextual devices were crucial in the communication of that architecture to the reader. Title-pages, internal titles, subtitles, 'Catalogues' and marginalia were all used to support a nationalist discourse, which is most frequently and explicitly stated in the prefatory material of the dedicatory epistles and the 'Address to the Reader'. Sometimes, these paratextual features became incorporated into the main body of the text, but, by contrast, nationalist meanings were also driven home by purely organisational features. The kind of pragmatic reading that Hakluyt desired was facilitated by locating *The Principal Navigations* within the genre of history. Yet the episodic and exemplary style of reading derived from humanist pedagogy did not preclude an attempt to deliver a nationalist message through the chronological and chorographic arrangement of the texts. Such duality and flexibility were typical of the readings Hakluyt required. Paratextual features demanded readings which were frequently inconsistent, as Hakluyt sought to select from texts the reading which in his view was most beneficial to the national interest. Thus, failure in the face of extreme hardship became the virtue of fortitude; other nations could be condemned for their infidelity, but when the outcome was effective such actions provided a lesson for the English; Spanish and Portuguese success was condemned as greedy and vainglorious, but increased wealth and prestige were precisely what Hakluyt

himself was attempting to promote in the English. Through paratexts, then, Hakluyt promoted his version of the English nation and what would advance it, and his actions display all the ingenuity, flexibility and, to some degree, myopia that single-minded dedication to a cause can bring.



## CHAPTER THREE

### **Texts and Contexts**

Among influential American critics a trend appears to be emerging of reading Tudor-Stuart literature as part of a liberal, anti-aristocratic tradition. Annabel Patterson, for example, has recently read Holinshed's *Chronicle* as 'proto-liberal', and Richard Helgerson claims that *The Principal Navigations* 'significantly redrew the parameters of social consciousness', and that it is a 'scene of ongoing struggle' between 'merchants and gentlemen'.<sup>1</sup> Discerning the origins of one's own cherished cultural values is always pleasing, but both writers fall prey to what Quentin Skinner has termed a 'form of non-history which is almost entirely given over to pointing out earlier "anticipations" of later doctrines'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, we should, I think, be wary of allocating proto-liberal views to works engaging in nationalist discourses. Not only might we detect a certain Whiggish-ness in such readings but, as Elie Kedourie has observed, 'nationalism and liberalism far from being twins are really antagonistic principles'.<sup>3</sup> Even where nationalism has emerged among intellectual liberal elites, and achieved its aim of a nation-state, the infrastructure, organisations and institutions of previous regimes have often been retained.<sup>4</sup> Such a train of events is

---

<sup>1</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 7; Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 176.

<sup>2</sup> Quentin Skinner, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 8 (1969), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 104.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 60-61.

more typical of nationalisms dating from the eighteenth century and beyond, and, as Anthony Smith has pointed out, sixteenth-century English nationalism was not of that ilk.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Kedourie's observation is a timely reminder that in the political agenda, at least, nationalism usually sits more to the right than the left. Examining how far Hakluyt's work was in the liberal tradition, if at all, is one of the purposes of this chapter.

Yet the liberalness, or otherwise, of Hakluyt's nationalism is only one aspect of this highly complex subject. Working from the paradigm that textual choices and alterations reveal something about the attitudes which created them, this chapter investigates Hakluyt's textual interventions for the light that they shed on his nationalism. The chapter is divided into three main parts. Firstly, I consider the network that Hakluyt accessed and in part forged to acquire his texts. Next, I examine his textual interventions. I consider a number of different aspects of this including his efforts to avoid the presentation of faction, his desire to establish his own and the texts' creditworthiness, and his textual interpolations. I conclude the chapter by considering a further important influence on his thinking which emerges from the texts he published. This is the Machiavellianism of his colonial policy, which is in stark contrast to the stress on Ciceronian virtues evident elsewhere. My analysis demonstrates the flexible nature of Hakluyt's editing and argues that rather than looking for an ideologically-inspired consistency, we should understand Hakluyt's nationalism as pragmatic – constantly seeking to present and deploy texts

---

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 192-230.



in the way most advantageous to the English. Firstly, however, we need to examine the network which supplied Hakluyt with his source material.

### 3.1. Textual Sources

An assessment of Hakluyt's nationalism would be greatly enhanced by an analysis of the works he omitted from *The Principal Navigations* as well as those he included. A detailed study of the material available to him might be made from his references to works and from his involvement in other publications, but the loss of his working papers and library means that such a study would probably only tell part of the story.<sup>6</sup> We will probably never know about the texts that Hakluyt excluded and the reasons for their non-appearance. Nevertheless, it is possible to build up a picture of some of Hakluyt's attitudes from significant absences. For example, with the exception of the medieval and anonymous tract, 'The Libel of English Policie', he did not publish any poetry in *The Principal Navigations* which had not previously been printed.<sup>7</sup> Whether this was because Hakluyt never saw such material, found nothing worth publishing in what he did see, or was sensitive to gentry attitudes to the 'stigma of print' remains unclear.<sup>8</sup> It is certain, however, that he also excluded

---

<sup>6</sup> The sources would be Taylor, *Writings*, and Payne, 'Travel Books'.

<sup>7</sup> The poems which appear are a section from Chaucer's Knight's Prologue; poems from George Turbeville's 'Epitaphs and Sonets' appended to George Turbeville, *Tragicall Tales* (London, 1587); a version of Parmenius's poem *De navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti* (London, 1582), and Chapman's *De Guiana Carmen*, originally published as part of Lawrence Keymis's narrative, *A Relation of The Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596). For the relevant sections see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 124, 384, iii. 138, 668.

<sup>8</sup> See for example, J. W. Saunders, "'The Stigma of Print': A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry", *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), 139-64, and Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-*

all the commendatory poems which prefaced the printed materials that he published. Many of these were panegyrics on the achievements of English navigators. Had Hakluyt only been interested in paeans of praise, it seems likely that he would have included them. Absences can, then, be informative, and although we cannot rebuild a complete picture of Hakluyt's decisions about the inclusion and exclusion of texts, we can make some progress towards understanding them. To pursue this line of enquiry it is helpful to separate our considerations of print and manuscript cultures.

Perhaps surprisingly, Hakluyt seems to have had few problems with printed copy. Although many of the printed materials he produced had been licensed in the Stationer's Register, he does not seem to have needed to transfer copyright. There are no entries in the Register for the re-assignment of copyright to Bishop, Barker, or Newberry (the printers), or to Hakluyt himself. This may be because, as Queen's printer, Bishop owned the patent for the printing of histories, and this, in turn, may explain Hakluyt's choice of printer. The re-printing of previously printed material without the transfer of copyright may be further evidence that Hakluyt was transmuting 'news' into 'history'. Three other reasons for the lack of evidence about the transfer of copyright suggest themselves. Firstly, the change of format and the conjunction with other material may have removed any requirement to obtain

---

*Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 126-34. Saunders's comments, of course, apply to poetry but Hakluyt may well have been aware of the displeasure that knowing the contents of private aristocratic letters could bring. When Philip Sidney believed that Emery Molineux (his father's secretary) had opened his letters to him, he threatened to 'thruste [his] Dagger into [him]' (cited in Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 215). Molyneux was known to Hakluyt who in the 1589 edition described him as 'a rare Gentleman in his profession' (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>). In this context, his 'profession' was that of globe-maker. He was the creator of the globes from which the map in Hakluyt's second edition was derived. Hakluyt himself had been secretary/minister to Stafford in Paris.



copyright permission. However, this seems unlikely since, by comparison, permission to reprint from the quartos was required for the Shakespeare First Folio.<sup>9</sup> The second possibility is that copyright may have been deemed to have lapsed. Certainly, much of the material was quite old, and where Hakluyt published very recent material he may have had personal approval. The most recent, previously published materials were Raleigh's *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevtifvl Empire of Gviana* (1596), and Keymis's account of the second voyage, also published in 1596, *A Relation of The Second Voyage to Guiana*. Keymis was working for Raleigh and we have already seen the close connection between Raleigh and Hakluyt. The third possible cause - about which it is only really possible to speculate - is that financial incentives were offered to induce some copyright-holders to relinquish their rights in texts. Hakluyt's reference to the 'great charges' of putting the book together might hint at this, but there are many other possible costs to which such a comment might refer. Moreover, such an arrangement would not routinely enable Hakluyt to enforce copyright since there was no subsequent entry in the Register. Whatever the reason for Hakluyt's failure to register texts the position with printed material, so far as we are able to tell, appears relatively straightforward. Hakluyt does not seem to have had difficulty in obtaining permission to reprint previously published texts, or in obtaining copies of them.

If the position vis-à-vis print is straightforward but unclear, the evidence about the manuscripts Hakluyt printed is both more complex and more revealing. Drawing on

---

<sup>9</sup> Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), i. 24-30.

the evidence of viol music, Harold Love has demonstrated that manuscript circulation often occurred within well-established and tight-knit communities.<sup>10</sup> More recently Jason Scott-Warren has complicated and extended our understanding of manuscript circulation, and argued that the open-ended notion of 'network' is a more meaningful paradigm than the closed community.<sup>11</sup> In particular, he demonstrated that the transmission of texts between communities depended on social environments, and that texts might cross class boundaries. Understandably his analysis does not extend to the suggestion that manuscript communities could be national in their extent, for as Benedict Anderson has argued it was only with print culture that the 'imagined community' of a nation could be established.<sup>12</sup> Drawing on Eisenstein's work he argues that the reproduceable nature of print made possible a national community which he describes as 'imagined' because 'the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them'.<sup>13</sup> Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* brings together the spheres of manuscript and print culture in interesting ways. It reveals the establishment of a manuscript network which cut across class boundaries but also suggests that this network was created specifically with publication in the national interest in mind.

Clearly this differs from the type of manuscript circulation considered by Love,

---

<sup>10</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*, 23-34.

<sup>11</sup> Jason-Scott Warren, 'Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: The Textual Transactions of Sir Stephen Powle', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 18-37. Compare Scott-Warren's cogent explanation of why 'network' is the most appropriate term for manuscript transmission with Judith Herz's (dare I say 'circular') description of 'circles which are not circles' in 'Of Circles, Friendship, and the Imperatives of Literary History', in Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds.), *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 10-23.

<sup>12</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37-46.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).



Woudhuysen, and Marotti and Bristol.<sup>14</sup> The distinction lies in the type and purpose of the manuscript. Materials which were predominantly factual or administrative in their original purpose seem to have circulated more freely between social classes than those which emanated from the imagination, whether written in poetry or prose. Social mores do not seem to have interfered with the printing of, for example, official documents. Indeed, turning them into print, even though the original authorising purpose no longer obtained, can be seen as a reassertion of their validity, since the framework within which they were published was approbatory. Despite this, there does seem to have been a certain amount of resistance to Hakluyt's project.

In the first edition, Hakluyt complained that,

these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals.<sup>15</sup>

He clearly needed to persuade a number of individuals of the validity of his cause. The 'stigma of print', the fact that manuscripts transferred to print still presented authors, (as well as printers and publishers) with a possible source of petty income, the costs of copying manuscripts, and the restrictions of censorship, may all have influenced the availability of personal manuscripts. Hakluyt made clear, however,

---

<sup>14</sup> Love, *Scribal Publication*; Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); id. *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); id. with Michael D. Bristol (eds.), *Print, Manuscript, Performance: The Changing Relations of Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000); Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney*.

<sup>15</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

that the contents of *The Principal Navigations* were legitimated by those in positions of authority. In 1582, for example, Sir Francis Walsingham, then Principal Secretary, wrote to Hakluyt to encourage him in the 'study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries' because they were 'like to turne ... to the publike benefite of this Realme'.<sup>16</sup> Hakluyt clearly prized this letter. He cited it and Walsingham's support as the reasons for dedicating *The Principall Navigations* to him. Having kept the letter for eighteen years, he then published it in the third volume of the second edition. In the 'Dedicatorie Epistle' of the second volume of that edition Hakluyt also noted that Sir Robert Cecil '*with [his] most fauourable letters did warrant, and with extra-ordinarie commendation did approue and allow [Hakluyt's] labours, and desire to publish the same*'.<sup>17</sup> The comments suggest that Cecil smoothed the way for Hakluyt's project, and this alignment of *The Principal Navigations* with the two Principal Secretaries points to a desire to present the work as in some way state-sponsored and authorised, as does the use of the royal printers. Although it does not automatically follow that such an alignment meant the work was itself nationalist, in this case the connection with the state was an aspect of Hakluyt's nationalism. Yet the textual aspect of Hakluyt's nationalism extended beyond connections with offices of state, for the community that provided the contents of *The Principal Navigations* was itself national in scope.

Notwithstanding Hakluyt's complaint about the difficulty he had in obtaining materials, it is clear from his own acknowledgements that he, in fact, received a

---

<sup>16</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 181.

<sup>17</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>.



great deal of help. Walsingham and Cecil were not the only members of the aristocracy to facilitate his work. He thanked Anthony Watson, ‘*Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes [he] had free accesse vnto ... L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts [the Carpini and Rubruck narratives] and some others also*’.<sup>18</sup> The first edition thanked Edward Dyer for making both Hakluyt and his intentions known to those ‘*who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded [him]*’.<sup>19</sup> They included the merchants Richard Staper and Anthony Jenkinson; William Burrows, Clerk of the Queen’s navy; and two admirals, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as Hakluyt’s cousin and namesake. Much of the material they supplied seems to have been manuscript in form, whether narrative or documentary.<sup>20</sup> It seems likely that Raleigh’s narratives were specifically made available with a view to publication. As we have seen, he claimed in *The History of the World* to have provided Hakluyt with other material for publication, and in the preface to Martyr’s *De orbe nouo*, which he dedicated to Raleigh, Hakluyt had already declared his intention to gather and publish material to benefit the commonwealth. In Raleigh’s case (and possibly that of others), it would be naïve to ignore the element of self-publicity that making material available entailed. However, he does appear to have recognised the nationalist nature of Hakluyt’s

---

<sup>18</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>. The ‘others’ included Richard Chancellor’s account of his voyage to Russia. This is at Hakluyt *Principal Navigations*, i. 237-42, and is probably the now missing item 990:h from the manuscript in the Lumley Catalogue entitled ‘Bookes of diuers matters manuscript all bounde together’. (Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (eds.), *The Lumley Library Catalogue of 1609* (London: British Museum, 1956), 126).

<sup>19</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> D. B. Quinn, ‘*Principal Navigations, (1598-1600)*’, in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 341-460.

project and to have supported it.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in the same way that national identity can be carried in conjunction with other more local identities, so Raleigh's self-promotion does not invalidate his nationalist sentiments.<sup>22</sup>

However, it was not only great merchants and the aristocracy who made material available to Hakluyt. We do not know whether the personal letters that Hakluyt published were given to him for that purpose, but it is clear that Hakluyt was willing to include documents emanating from all levels of society, as the two narratives he authored from oral reports by 'John Williamson, Cooper and citizen of London', and the narrative of Winter's voyage, 'Written by Edward Cliffe Mariner', testify.<sup>23</sup> Miles Philips seems to have been one of the ordinary mariners put ashore by Hawkins following the incident at the Bay of St John de Ulloa.<sup>24</sup> Job Hortop suffered the same fate and although his narrative had been previously printed, his description of himself as 'pouder-maker' (i.e. gun-powder maker) suggests his low social class.<sup>25</sup> Further up the social scale, Andrew Barker must have been a

---

<sup>21</sup> A number of Hakluyt's contemporaries spoke of him and his project in terms of the good he had done the nation. Jones described Hakluyt as '*A man ... of speciall carefulnesse for the good of our Nation*', in Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>. Anthony Linton enjoined his readers to 'Reade: M. Hakluyte (who hath excellentlie well deserued of our whole Nation, in his wortheie works of our English Voiages)', *Newes of the Complement of the Art of Navigation, and of the Mightie Empire of Cataia* (London, 1609), sig. B1<sup>r</sup>. See also Ralph Handson's comment 'Mr. Richard Hakluit ... who hath deserued well of our Nation', in Bartholomew Pitiscus, *Trigonometry, or The Doctrine of Triangles*, trans. Ra[lph] Handson (London: John Tappe, 1614), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>; Edward Wright referred to '*my learned friend and most earnest and effectuall furtherer of Nauigation for the common good of his countrey, M. Richard Hackluit*', in his translation of Simon Stevin, *The Haven-finding Art* (London: R. B[arker], 1599), sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> On the question of multiple identities, Hobsbawm comments, 'a man might have no problem about feeling himself to be the son of an Irishman, the husband of a German woman, a member of the mining community, a worker, a supporter of Barnsley Football Club, a liberal, a Primitive Methodist, a patriotic Englishman, possibly a Republican, and a supporter of the British Empire' (*Nations and Nationalism*, 123).

<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations* II i. 98, iii. 748.

<sup>24</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 469-87.

<sup>25</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 487.



moderately well-off merchant, since he could afford to send a ship to Spain, but he does not seem to have been working on a grand scale. The account of his voyage of 1576 was written ‘out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt’.<sup>26</sup> Since Barker was based in Bristol, the notes demonstrate something of the geographical scope of Hakluyt’s work, which, although it was dominated by voyages departing from London, was not restricted to the capital. Hakluyt’s own trip of ‘200 miles’ in order to obtain the narrative of Thomas Butts – the sole survivor of a journey made in 1536 – also indicates that Hakluyt’s collection was not location specific.<sup>27</sup> Significantly, all these accounts were derived from eye-witnesses and participants, and the low social status of some of them enables us to bring forward to an earlier period Barbara Shapiro’s observations about the social bases of credit. Her claim that ‘knowledge and experience counted for more than social status’ in terms of the credibility of travel narratives is perhaps overstated, but we can see that for Hakluyt they were at least as important.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Hakluyt created a complex network of correspondents. In some instances contacts were made for the sole purpose of producing or acquiring a manuscript, often with the additional purpose of publication.<sup>29</sup> That network and the documents he published reveal that

---

<sup>26</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 528-30.

<sup>27</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 131.

<sup>28</sup> Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 118. Shapiro talks at this point mainly in terms of the Restoration, and in particular of the attitudes of the Royal Society. She is challenging Steven Shapin’s claim, developed in relation to Robert Boyle, that gentlemanly status was sufficient to guarantee credibility. See Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). See also Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

<sup>29</sup> In the Dedication to the first edition Hakluyt comments ‘by reason principally of my insight in this study [of cosmography/geography] I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation’, (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2’). However, he also complains, with reference to the narrative of Drake’s circumnavigation which he included in the 1589 edition at the last minute, that he had been ‘seriously dealt withall’ and did not print the account because he did not wish to ‘anticipate or preuent another mans paines and

Hakluyt's vision was national. There were no social or geographical barriers to inclusion even if, in practice, the majority of accounts derived from those who lived in the southern part of England. The imagined community of providers of material for *The Principal Navigations* was a national one.

### 3.2. Textual Editing

So the sources of Hakluyt's collection demonstrate the broad-based nature of his network. Yet it is also clear that some selection of texts did occur. Not only were thematic considerations a factor, but they were further modified by issues of tone, reliability, and the availability of material. I want now to look at the texts which Hakluyt did publish and his editorial treatment of them.

The caveats which I gave in Chapter 1 about the limits of our knowledge of the creation of *The Principal Navigations* are further complicated by the difficulty, exacerbated in the case of works printed from manuscripts, of identifying Hakluyt's copy-texts.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, whereas paratextual material often incorporates some

---

*charges in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight [sic] into one volume*' (sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>). Wallis observes that 'Drake may have been intending to publish, or to sponsor the publication of an account of his voyage, and then cancelled or postponed his plans.' (Helen Wallis, 'The Pacific', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 226, citing Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, xxii). It is possible that the objections stemmed from either Thomas Hacket or William Ponsonby, for both had paid for entries in the Stationers' Register to publish accounts of Drake's 1585 expedition to the West Indies, and may have been trying to gather other Drake material; Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 472, 505. The edition printed by Field in 1589 may well have been paid for by Ponsonby, who used Field, for example, for the edition of Lipsius's *Politickes* (see Chapter 1 n.129 above).

<sup>30</sup> All of the printer's copy used for *The Principal Navigations* seems to have been destroyed in the printing process.



element of authorial comment, changes to texts are usually made silently. Consequently they often require contextualisation. Nevertheless, the endeavour of assessing Hakluyt's editorship is not a fruitless one. Printed and manuscript versions of texts he published do survive and they provide some insight into his decision-making. My examination of his textual interventions locates them within the quasi-Ciceronian model which I outlined in the first two chapters, but in this chapter I also want to move away from that paradigm, systematic repetition of which seems unnecessary. Indeed, it would be unwise, I think, to suggest that all the changes made by Hakluyt should be read in the light of nationalist sentiment. Nevertheless, what becomes still clearer from this investigation is that Hakluyt's reading was remarkably flexible, not to say inconsistent. Consequently, a surprisingly diverse range of texts are made to offer up readings which either rhetorically or practically might benefit the nation. In the sections that follow, I endeavour to demonstrate some of the aspects of Hakluyt's nationalism which emerge from these wide-ranging textual interventions.

In his *Six Books of Politickes*, Justus Lipsius lamented faction, which he defined as '*the confederacie of a few, or many, amongst themselues, and their discord with others*'.<sup>31</sup> He attributed it to ambition and judged that it stemmed from 'private or publicke hatred of families'. He noted especially that '*Factions haue alwaies ben, and will be euer the destruction of many nations*'.<sup>32</sup> This was a sentiment that was shared by Richard Beacon, and by the author of *A Discourse of the Commonweal of*

---

<sup>31</sup> Lipsius, *Six Bookes of Politickes*, sig. 2B4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Lipsius, *Six Bookes of Politickes*, sig. 2B4<sup>v</sup>.

*This Realm of England*, who observed that ‘Every kingdom divided in itself shall be desolate’.<sup>33</sup> Although the extent to which faction played a part in the politics of the 1590s is contested, it is clear that the 1596 Cadiz raid was a great cause of factional strife.<sup>34</sup> The raid had been conducted under the joint command of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, and Charles Howard, Admiral of the Navy, and resulted in dispute and disagreement as the two leaders tried to follow different plans. After the event, this factionalism manifested itself in the circulation of manuscript accounts of the raid. Essex attempted to publish ‘A true relacion of the action of Calez’ and also circulated ‘The omissions of the Cadiz voyage’ of which six copies survive.<sup>35</sup> Another version of events, ‘The advantage Her Majesty hath gotten by that which passed at Cadiz’ is anonymous but ‘exudes a distinctly Essexian odour’.<sup>36</sup> On the other side, Dr Roger Marbeck, Howard’s physician, wrote the account on which Hakluyt’s narrative is based, and of which at least three manuscript copies survive.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Beacon, *Solon His Follie*, 68; Dewar, *Discourse*, 122.

<sup>34</sup> See Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarization of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); ‘Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596’, *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 621-42; and ‘Patronage at Court, Faction and the Earl of Essex’, in John Guy (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 65-86. See also, Guy, *Tudor England*, 437-58.

<sup>35</sup> Hammer, ‘Myth-making’, 635.

<sup>36</sup> Hammer, ‘Myth-making’, 635.

<sup>37</sup> Hammer, ‘Myth-making’, 632 refers to two: British Library, Stowe MS 159 fos. 353<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>v</sup>, and British Library Sloane MS 226. However, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D. 124 is a third manuscript, which appears to be a presentation copy since it is a beautifully written fair copy on pages which are double ruled in red, and bound in vellum with gold-leaf decoration on the front. The Sloane and Stowe manuscripts include a paragraph at the end of the text which is not included in the Rawlinson MS, but is included in Hakluyt, suggesting that either of the first two, may have been the basis for Hakluyt’s copy-text. The Rawlinson MS also seems to have been a copy intended to be copied or perhaps printed. At fo. 2<sup>r</sup> it reads ‘Note heere that if it shall be so thought good in this place the Originall of her Ma[jes]ties declaration, as also their l[ordshi]ps. whole decrees may at large be sett downe verbatim, as they weare published abroad by themselves’.



Despite Armstrong's article about the Cadiz narrative, Hakluyt's account has been insufficiently explained.<sup>38</sup> As Hammer points out, the government ban on publications relating to the Cadiz raid was still in force in 1598, but Hakluyt nevertheless managed to secure a copy, clearly adding it to *The Principal Navigations* at the very last minute.<sup>39</sup> We might speculate that he was able to do this because of his connections with the Howard faction. The first volume, which was dedicated to Charles Howard, noted that Hakluyt's brother had tutored William Howard for four years.<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt also spoke of the 'bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady *Sheffield*, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse'.<sup>41</sup> She was the wife of Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador to Paris whom Hakluyt served as secretary/minister between 1584 and 1589. She was also patron of the living of Wetheringsett, which she gave to Hakluyt in 1590.<sup>42</sup> If Hakluyt was disposed to be partial, this was his opportunity to show it. Yet the account that he published, although derived from Marbeck's, makes studious efforts to remove material critical of Essex, and also any evidence of faction between the two parties.

Although it is not clear which manuscript (if it still exists) was Hakluyt's source, his efforts at neutrality are clear enough. Complimentary references to Lord William Howard are suppressed, including one which commends his bravery for being in 'the

---

<sup>38</sup> Charles E. Armstrong, 'The "Voyage to Cadiz" in the Second Edition of Hakluyt's "Voyages"', *Bibliographical Society of America Papers*, 49 (1955), 254-62.

<sup>39</sup> Hammer, *Polarization of Elizabethan Politics*, 252.

<sup>40</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> D. B. and A. M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 300, 303.

very hottest [sc. part] of the batell'.<sup>43</sup> Praise for Charles Howard's 'deepe insightes and rare Discreations' is omitted, as are comments about his religious devotion.<sup>44</sup> Conversely, a reference to Essex's 'most infinite honourable vertues' is amended to 'infinite princely vertues' while the succeeding allusion to Howard as 'most renowned and victor[i]ous' is converted merely into 'most honourable'. However, the most noticeable, and one of the most extended, omissions relates to a passage of text which relates to the factionalism of the voyage. This section of Marbeck's account is frank about the tension during the expedition and afterwards:

But even now at the very first tyme of their settinge out, there fell a certain great strife and contention betweene the two LL: generals. And albeit it appeared somewhat manifestlie while their L[ordshi]ps weare a shoare, yet did it nowe beginne more apparantlie to Budd, and to shoue it sealf, while they weare a ship board yea and increased more and more, till they weare fully returned into England, and as farre as I can see or conjecture is like ynough allwaies to continue.<sup>45</sup>

The account goes on to observe that the animosity amongst the aristocracy spread to lower ranks. Hakluyt's decision to omit this section can clearly be read in the light of the ban on publications, and the politically sensitive nature of the material. Yet it also reflects a more widespread trend in *The Principal Navigations*, of omitting material which might recall dissension.

Hakluyt had a long-lasting friendship with Michael Lok, the Treasurer of the Cathay Company which backed Frobisher's voyages. In *Divers Voyages* Hakluyt spoke of him as a man 'able to doe his countrey good, and worthie in my iudgement, for the

---

<sup>43</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D. 124, fo. 13<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D. 124, fos. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D. 124, fo. 3<sup>f</sup>.



manifolde good partes in him, of good reputation and better fortune'.<sup>46</sup> The work also included Lok's map of North America, while the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* published personal letters of Lok's.<sup>47</sup> In 1612, with Hakluyt's encouragement, Lok translated the Latin edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe nouo* which Hakluyt had published in 1587. Hakluyt's comment in *Divers Voyages* that Lok deserved better fortune was probably a reference to his unhappy time as treasurer to Frobisher's enterprise, and its consequences. The unwillingness of subscribers to Frobisher's ventures of 1576-78 to provide capital, and the failure of the ore Frobisher brought home to produce the expected gold led to well-publicised disputes between Frobisher and Lok.<sup>48</sup> Eventually, the latter was bankrupted and consequently imprisoned. In his defence he wrote a damning tract entitled 'The doynge of Captayne Furbusher'.<sup>49</sup> Yet, despite his friendship with Lok, Hakluyt did not criticise Frobisher and went so far in the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* as to include the most favourable account of the voyages, that published by George Best. This account was an addition to the material he had already published in the 1589 edition.

Yet if Hakluyt was happy to include as positive a narrative of Frobisher's ventures as he could, he was not averse to removing references to the cause of the dispute,

---

<sup>46</sup> Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sig. ¶ 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 114-16, II ii. 7-8.

<sup>48</sup> James McDermott, *Martin Frobisher, Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 120-256 considers these three voyages and the financial background. For more extensive analysis see his unpublished M. Phil. thesis, 'The Account Book of Michael Lok, Relating to the North-west Voyages of Martin Frobisher, 1576-78: Text and Analysis' (University of Hull, 1984).

<sup>49</sup> This document is British Library, Lansdowne MS 100, item 1. It is printed in James McDermott (ed.), *The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island 1578* (London: Hakluyt Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 6, 2001), 71-104.

which was the ore found on the first voyage. This was believed to contain gold, and the second voyage was undertaken to recover large quantities of it. So optimistic was Frobisher that he had a furnace built on the Thames to receive the ore. Yet Hakluyt excludes from Best's account the 'Articles' Frobisher issued for the whole fleet to return to 'Dartford creeke in ye River of Thames' where this furnace was being built.<sup>50</sup> He also excised the text's final comment that the discovery of the ore 'wyll make our Countrie both rich and happye'.<sup>51</sup> A suggestion that the ore will be 'of farre greater price' than the 'barrels of meale, pease, griste and sundrie other good things' which were discarded to make room for it is also omitted.<sup>52</sup> From Dionyse Settle's account, a reference to Frobisher's loading of 'such store of Golde ore as he thought him selfe satisfied withall' is subtly transmuted so that 'store of golde' becomes 'store of supposed golde', and a further reference to 'Stone or Gold minerall' becomes 'Stone or supposed Gold minerall'.<sup>53</sup> Settle's claim that the 'venturers ... mightbe satisfied' by the discovery of the ore is also left out by Hakluyt, as is a claim that Frobisher has 'to his everlasting praise found out that which is like to yeelde an innumerable benefite to his Prince & countrie'.<sup>54</sup>

What emerges from these changes is Hakluyt's concern to ensure that intimations of wealth in America were not founded on error. Yet the fact that Hakluyt omitted these references, as opposed to using marginalia to show that they were mistaken -

---

<sup>50</sup> Best, *Trve Discovrse*, sig. M3<sup>r</sup>-M4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Best, *Trve Discovrse*, sig. O2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> Best, *Trve Discovrse*, sig. M2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Dionyse Settle, *A True Reporte of the Last Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions* (London, 1577), sig. B7<sup>r</sup>, and Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 35; Settle, *A True Reporte*, sig. C2<sup>r</sup> and Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 36.

<sup>54</sup> Settle, *A True Reporte*, sig. C2<sup>r</sup>, sig. D3<sup>r</sup>.



as he did in Gilbert's tract which argued for the existence of the North-West Passage - suggests that he was concerned to suppress material which had led to contention.<sup>55</sup>

Further evidence of this trait is to be found in Helen Wallis's observations about the narrative of Drake's circumnavigation. She noted that this was drawn up by Hakluyt from a variety of sources, and that the main source 'was critical of Drake's behaviour to Thomas Doughty, but Hakluyt omits the sections which refer to the quarrel between the two men.'<sup>56</sup> Omissions, then, suppressed evidence of faction and served to create the impression of unity which belied the reality of events.

Given Hakluyt's desire to conceal disputes and to emphasise national unity, it would be surprising if his work promoted social upheaval. His decision to include narratives from all levels of society has however be seen by Helgerson as evidence of an 'anti-imperialist and anti-aristocratic logic of mercantile nationalism'.<sup>57</sup> I will consider the question of empire in relation to Hakluyt's work in the next chapter, but now I want to examine what Hakluyt's textual interventions tell us about his attitude to the social structure of the nation he envisaged. It seems to me that in offering a much-needed corrective to criticism which stresses the colonial aspects of *The Principal Navigations*, Helgerson has in fact over-emphasised the importance of its mercantile elements. His analysis seems to me to be flawed in two ways. Firstly, his reading of the Laudonnière text stops short of a key passage in that text; secondly,

---

<sup>55</sup> In 'A Discourse Written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, to proue a passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies' which is printed at Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 11-29, a marginal note is added at iii. 17 which reads, 'This fift reason by later experience is proued vtterly vntrue'. This note reveals Hakluyt's willingness to historicize his information by updating it with later knowledge.

<sup>56</sup> Helen Wallis, 'The Pacific', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 227.

<sup>57</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 187.

detailed examination of Hakluyt's editing suggests that it endorsed the established social hierarchy. His view can, I believe, be regarded as something akin to Ulysses's observation that 'when degree is shaken / ... / The enterprise is sick!'<sup>58</sup>

Although Helgerson seems to me mistaken in his liberal reading of *The Principal Navigations*, he is right to argue that the Laudonnière text which Hakluyt published three times is of great importance in understanding Hakluyt's attitude.<sup>59</sup> Helgerson reads Laudonnière's preface to the narration in the light of its comments about colonialism. He concludes that Hakluyt is 'approaching an argument ... that would set trade and nation *against* conquest, settlement and imperial dynasty'. Helgerson's view seems to parallel Brotton's observation that there was a shift in late sixteenth-century Europe brought about by the 'aggressive mercantile power of the Dutch and English East India Companies'.<sup>60</sup> Yet there is a significant difference between Brotton's and Helgerson's analysis, and the difference is the part of the world to which it is applied. For, whereas Brotton's argument pertains to India, the Moluccas and the trade to the East Indies, and seems sustainable, Helgerson applies his theory to North America. Although he does demonstrate that Laudonnière's preface distinguishes between Roman imperialism, which the Frenchman claims was motivated by 'tyrannical ambition', and a more benevolent kind which sought 'by

---

<sup>58</sup> William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 1.3.100-102.

<sup>59</sup> The three versions were i) René Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride stivee es Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere* (Paris: Richard Hakluyt, 1586); ii) Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages*; iii) the version contained in the 1598-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations* at iii. 301-61 which is a reprint of Hakluyt's earlier translation. This information is taken from Payne, 'Travel Books', 34-5.

<sup>60</sup> Jerry Brotton, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 181.



trafficke and ciuill conuersations, as also by military vertues and force of arms' to make the 'savages ... yield unto the endeavors so much tending to their profit', Helgerson's claim that there is a genuine distinction between the two kinds of colonisation based on the idea of 'profit' is mistaken.<sup>61</sup> In particular, his reading omits an important qualifying factor mentioned by Laudonnière. This is the eagerness with which the Romans undertook colonial projects 'even to the vnfurnishing of their own Countrey of the forces which should haue preserued the same'.<sup>62</sup> It is this factor which turns out to be the crucial difference that Laudonnière is proposing:

sometimes it is good, yea very expedient to send forth men to discouer the pleasure and commoditie of strange Countreys: But so, that the Countrey out of which these companies are to passe remaine not weakned, nor deprived of her forces.<sup>63</sup>

The passage is promoting a more organic form of expansion than the example set by Rome. To be sure the preface includes an emphasis on trade – 'trafficke and ciuill conuersations' - but it also stresses 'military vertues and force of armes'. Profit is not a differentiating factor. Rather, Laudonnière is proposing only that it should be tried first. Trade and settlement are not 'set *against*' conquest and settlement, but supplement them. Moreover, as I show in the next chapter, the proposed dichotomy of 'trade and nation' and 'imperial dynasty' is a false one, for both are important elements in Hakluyt's nationalist enterprise. Yet Helgerson's reading seems to me problematic not only because of its sins of omission vis-à-vis Laudonnière's preface,

---

<sup>61</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 186, citing Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 304.

<sup>62</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 304.

<sup>63</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 304

but also because of its unwise emphasis on one document in a collection as large as *The Principal Navigations*. A look at other texts demonstrates that Hakluyt's work is definitely not 'anti-aristocratic'.

The joint-stock arrangement for financing many trading ventures such as the Muscovy Company opened them up to anyone who could afford to pay in a way that the letters patent awarded to Gilbert and Raleigh did not.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, as Rabb, in particular, has pointed out, aristocratic involvement in trading ventures remained considerable. Indeed, to stand any chance of success both trading and colonial ventures required support and involvement from across the social spectrum. However, in his treatment of the Muscovy Company charter granted by Philip and Mary, Hakluyt limited the list of investors to the aristocracy. In the version of the same charter which exists in Sir Robert Cotton's hand, the list of investors stretches to two full folio pages, and extends down the social scale.<sup>65</sup> Hakluyt's version excluded those from the lower levels of society and instead emphasised aristocratic involvement:

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counsailors, William Marques of Winchester, Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our householde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Howard of

---

<sup>64</sup> See Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*; William R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-12), and R. Brenner 'The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion 1550-1650', *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972), 361-84. Louis B. Wright observes that the 1617 East India Company joint-stock subscribers included 15 dukes and earls, 13 countesses and other titled ladies, 82 knights, 18 widows and maiden ladies, 26 clergymen & physicians, 318 merchants, 214 tradesmen, 25 merchant strangers and 248 'others'. See Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London: Methuen, 1964), 10.

<sup>65</sup> British Library, Lansdowne MS 141, fos. 263<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>.



Effingham Lorde high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their own aduerture costs and charges ...<sup>66</sup>

The '&c' conceals both the extent of the investors and their wide disparities in social scale, and the effect is to attribute the project almost entirely to members of the Privy Council. It would be going too far to suggest that this connection is used to imply that the company was state-sponsored, but the fact that this is a royal charter, combined with Hakluyt's comment elsewhere that Elizabeth 'vseth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for her marchants in [the Emperor of China's] dominions', suggests that he wanted to emphasise the connections between the upper levels of society and trade.<sup>67</sup> Marginalia to the effect that the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Russia were both merchants strengthen that suggestion.<sup>68</sup>

Other evidence of Hakluyt's concern with the maintenance of hierarchical order comes from minor corrections made to individuals' titles, and his wish to emphasise them. Thus, Raleigh's account of the defeat of Grenville's ship 'The Revenge', was published anonymously in 1591.<sup>69</sup> In *The Principal Navigations*, however, Hakluyt adds to the title 'Penned by the honourable *Sir Water Raleigh*, knight'.<sup>70</sup> Although he included a short passage about Thomas Stukeley's 1578 voyage to Barbary, Hakluyt

---

<sup>66</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 267-68.

<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>. For the increasingly positive view of merchants in literary and dramatic culture see Wright, *Middle-Class Culture*.

<sup>68</sup> For the Russian Tsar see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 257; 'The Emperor of Moscovie is a merchant himself'. For the Shah of Persia see Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 359; 'The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities'.

<sup>69</sup> [Sir Walter Raleigh], *A Report of the Trvth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores, This Last Sommer* (London: William Ponsonby, 1591).

<sup>70</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 169.

ensured that readers were aware that the reference to him as 'Marques of Ireland' was erroneous. Not only did the title refer to '*Thomas Stukeley*, wrongfully called Marques of *Ireland*', but Hakluyt added a marginal note which, very unusually in *The Principal Navigations*, was keyed by an asterisk to a section of the text. It read 'Thomas Stukeley was wrongfully indued with this title'.<sup>71</sup> Hakluyt's concern over due titles is also revealed in the heading he gave to the narrative supplied by Dudley. It begins 'A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. *Robert Duddeley*, now knight, ...'.<sup>72</sup> That this emphasis on titles was not a foible is suggested by the changes Hakluyt made to Job Hortop's narrative *The Trauailes of an Englishman*. Here reference to 'Sir Frauncis Drake' is changed to 'Captaine Drake, now Sir Francis Drake' while subsequent references in Hortop's narrative to 'Sir Francis' become 'M. Francis'.<sup>73</sup> Hakluyt made these changes despite his 'incredible deuotion' towards Drake whom he had persuaded to provide £40 for the lectureship in navigation that he wanted to establish.<sup>74</sup> As we have seen this was something Hakluyt believed would be very much in the national interest; yet Drake's promised contribution was insufficient to earn him a backdated knighthood in Hakluyt's collections.

The picture that emerges, then, is of a nationalism that far from being proto-democratic, was socially very conservative, in that it respected and endorsed the social hierarchy. It would appear that, insofar as he made any comment about the

---

<sup>71</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 67.

<sup>72</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 574.

<sup>73</sup> Job Hortop, *The Trauailes of an English Man* (London: William Wright, 1591), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 487.

<sup>74</sup> Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; and Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sig. ¶3<sup>v</sup>.



social order, Hakluyt supported the *status quo*. Indeed, even the relatively new and extremely risky activities of colonisation in the Americas and the development of long-distance trade which *The Principal Navigations* promoted, can be seen as socially conservative. One of the ideological bases for such activity was the belief that they would bring financial, and other, improvements to the nation as a whole, while colonisation was seen by Hakluyt as an opportunity to resolve social problems at home. This desire for improvement of the English also manifested itself in other ways, and one of the hardest aspects of Hakluyt's nationalism to understand is its inclusion of criticism of the English. It is important then, to understand how such material could be perceived as nationalist.

Firstly, criticism could be exemplary either of the need for virtue, or of the need for a practical improvement. P. E. H. Hair has shown that, in his treatment of Wyndham's voyage to Guinea, Hakluyt followed Willes's account rather than Eden's and that in doing so he omitted material critical of Wyndham.<sup>75</sup> Yet Willes's narrative did not exonerate Wyndham, or present a white-wash, and Hakluyt retained Willes's criticism of Wyndham's intemperance. These sections of text seem designed to act as comments about the dangers of intemperance, and to fit the Ciceronian scheme I have previously outlined. On the other hand, the account of 'The casting away of the Tobie' asks to be read in the light of Hakluyt's desire to

---

<sup>75</sup> P. E. H. Hair, 'Guinea', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 199. The books were Peter Martyr, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*, trans. Richard Eden (London: R. Jug, 1555) and Richard Willes (ed.), *The History of Trauayle in the VWest and East Indies*, trans. Richard Eden (London, 1577).

establish a lectureship in navigation. The short account of the Toby is unusual in its outspoken criticism of the ship's master:

George Goodlay, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge before for those parts, [i.e. the waters near the Strait of Gibraltar], was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company.<sup>76</sup>

Goodlay mistakes their position and runs the ship aground. He is indecisive about whether to cut away the main mast, and the text concludes 'Thus of fiftie persons through the rashnesse of an vnskilfull Master ten onely suruiued of us'.<sup>77</sup> The text locates the fault in a lack of navigational skill and 'rashnesse', and the incident is exemplary evidence of the need for a lectureship in navigation as well as a need for temperance. The text, of course, undermined the claim made by Hakluyt in relation to English voyagers to Russia that the navigational achievements of the English exceeded those of other nations. Thus, material was exploited by Hakluyt in different ways to argue for different aspects of his nationalist agenda. When they are juxtaposed the inconsistencies become clear.

Hakluyt's treatment of the last fight of 'The Revenge' is equally pragmatic. He included Raleigh's *A Report of the Trvth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores*, which partly exonerated Raleigh's kinsman Richard Grenville.<sup>78</sup> However, he also printed a

---

<sup>76</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 201.

<sup>77</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 203.

<sup>78</sup> [Raleigh], *Trvth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores*. For discussion of the debate about Grenville's action see A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (Bedford Historical Series, 9; London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), 300-36, and Edward Arber (ed.), *The Last Fight of 'The Revenge' at Sea* (London: Constable, 1912) which contains Sir William Monson's account (5) which talks of Grenville's 'wilful Rashness' and describes him as 'head-strong' and 'rash'. On the other



section from *John Hvyghen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies* which portrayed Grenville in a less flattering light.<sup>79</sup> Indeed, Linschoten's narrative was uncompromising in its comments. In *Pierces Supererogation*, Harvey commented that Grenville 'most vigorously & impetuously attempted the extreamist possibilities of valour and fury', and Linschoten's version confirms Grenville as a man of violent conduct: '[he was] a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; he had performed many valiant acts, and was ... of nature very seuerer, so that his own people hated him for his fiercenesse'.<sup>80</sup> Linschoten's testimony seems to be included in order to balance Raleigh's account. It certainly cannot be claimed that in making the text available in *The Principal Navigations* Hakluyt was printing an otherwise unavailable work, for in 1598 he himself had helped to publish the complete version of Linschoten's work.

Yet this is not the end of this story. A. L. Rowse notes that in the two English versions with which Hakluyt was associated, Grenville's dying comment excludes his final damning verdict of his colleagues. Rowse's translation of Linschoten's version reveals just how outspoken this criticism was:

Here die I Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have fought for this country, Queen, religion, honour, whereby my soul most joyful departeth out of this body, and shall always leave behind it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier that hath done his duty, as he was bound to do. But the others of my company have done as traitors

---

hand, see Gervase Markham, *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grimuile, Knight* (London: Richard Smith, 1595), a laudatory poem also included in Arber's edition. For the most recent account of this event see Peter Earle, *The Last Fight of the Revenge* (London: Collins and Brown, 1992).

<sup>79</sup> Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *John Hvyghen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies*, trans. William Phillip (London: John Wolfe, 1598). Hakluyt provided the Dutch version to Phillip and encouraged publication. See Payne, 'Travel Books', 35.

<sup>80</sup> Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, sig. G<sup>2</sup>, and Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 185.

and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives and leave a shameful name for ever.<sup>81</sup>

So Hakluyt's treatment of Grenville includes both Raleigh's relatively positive account and the more critical narrative of a foreigner. The latter in particular draws attention to Grenville's imprudence and intemperance and as such fits within the Ciceronian framework. Yet the omission of Grenville's final comment moves us into more familiar nationalist territory, demonstrating an unwillingness to criticise those of one's own nation. This was not the only occasion on which Hakluyt suppressed criticism of the English. As G. D. Ramsay notes, criticism of Sir Jerome Horsey by Tsar Fedor Ivanovich was also omitted.<sup>82</sup> While Hakluyt may not have suppressed all criticism of the English, he was certainly not prepared either to indulge in unprofitable invective, or to emphasise internal division among his own countrymen.

So Hakluyt both included and excluded criticism of the English, but usually did so for a discernable purpose. Often his decisions involved small changes; the omission of the final sentence from Grenville's comment is typical of some of the minor alterations that Hakluyt made to his texts, often with an overtly nationalist intention. In the Settle narrative, a marginal note is expanded from 'Capteine Frobisher his speciall care' to read 'Captaine Frobisher his speciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey'.<sup>83</sup> In Humfrey Mote's *The Primrose of London* the remark 'such was their courage in defence of their owne liues' becomes 'such

---

<sup>81</sup> Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville*, 315.

<sup>82</sup> G. D. Ramsay, 'Russia', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 166.

<sup>83</sup> Settle, *A True Reporte*, sig. B5'; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 33.



was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues.'<sup>84</sup> Where Marbeck's account declares that it 'befitteth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitive after Princes actions ... which ... they shall for our good determine upon', Hakluyt's adds the phrase 'and the care of the common wealth', after 'our good'.<sup>85</sup> In that same account, a reference to putting out a flag specifies that this was the flag 'of Saint George'.<sup>86</sup> In both omitting and adding text, then, Hakluyt demonstrated a wonderfully inconsistent attitude, and took each case on its merits. Some of these changes were overtly nationalist but others bowed to more local pressures and particular concerns.

Many of the changes I have listed thus far have concerned commentary rather than facts. As Anna Beer has pointed out, Hakluyt sometimes made factual changes which apparently countered his generally patriotic drift.<sup>87</sup> On inspection, that opposition turns out to be illusory, since Hakluyt's concern with factual accuracy was part of a wider concern about credibility which was essential to his nationalist claims. As Muldrew has demonstrated, the emphasis on trustworthiness was a particularly humanist concern, and in particular it lay behind notions of justice and the ideal state.<sup>88</sup> So important was the issue of credibility to Hakluyt's project that he took a number of measures to establish the authority of his texts.

---

<sup>84</sup> Humfrey Mote, *The Primrose of London, with Her Valiant Aduenture on the Spanish Coast* (London, 1585), sig. A3<sup>r</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 113.

<sup>85</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 619.

<sup>86</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 609.

<sup>87</sup> [Raleigh], *Trvth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 169. Anna R. Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 6.

<sup>88</sup> Muldrew, *Economy of Obligation*, 132-47.

In the first place, Hakluyt made changes which appear to have been motivated by a desire to get things right. Raleigh's patronage of Hakluyt did not prevent the latter from altering the aristocrat's claims about the size of the Spanish Armada Fleet. He reduced the size of the Spanish Armada from '240. saile of shippes' in Raleigh's account to '140.' As Beer observes, 'Hakluyt, often seen as an unscrupulous propagandist, but here seemingly concerned with accuracy, would reduce them to their correct amount'.<sup>89</sup> It is not impossible, of course, that scribal or compositorial error created this discrepancy, but Hakluyt's willingness to make changes of a similar nature elsewhere supports Beer's observation. In Hortop's account, for example, a reference to a Spanish 'great Hulke, a ship of nine hundred [sc. tonne]' is converted to 'a ship of six hundred'.<sup>90</sup> A similar change is made in the narrative which was originally published as *The Valiant and Most Laudable Fight Performed in the Straights by the Centurion of London against Fiue Spanish Gallies*.<sup>91</sup> There, a claim that 'in every of the [Spanish] Gallies there was about fiue or six hundereth souldiours' is reduced to '200 souldiers'.<sup>92</sup> Even where Hakluyt might have been expected to adulterate information in support of his own beliefs, he did not do so. Thomas Harriot's claim that the voyage to Virginia 'thither to and fro ... [may be performed] thrise a year' is emended by Hakluyt to 'twise a yeere'. An alteration to Peckham's account of Gilbert's voyage shows that this was not a compositor's

---

<sup>89</sup> Beer, *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Readers*, 6.

<sup>90</sup> Hortop, *Trauailes*, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 490.

<sup>91</sup> Anonymous, *The Valiant and Most Laudable Fight Performed in the Straights, by the Centurion of London, against Fiue Spanish Gallies* (London, 1591).

<sup>92</sup> Anonymous, *The Valiant and Most Laudable Fight*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 169.



error.<sup>93</sup> There Peckham asserted that the trip to America can be done in ‘sixteene or twenty dayes at the most’, but Hakluyt emended this to ‘twenty or foure and twentie dayes’.<sup>94</sup> Hakluyt’s own desire to encourage colonisation and investment in it, as evidenced by his own subsequent investment in the Virginia Company in 1606, might have led him to at least leave the original statements as they stood. It would seem that Hakluyt thought that the best way to promote English activity was to provide information which was as accurate as possible. In part, this can be seen as a strategy of authorisation.

Throughout its three volumes, *The Principal Navigations* betrays great concern about the authority of the texts it contains. Not surprisingly, Hakluyt frequently endorses his texts, but his authorial comments are deployed in a complex way to establish not only the trustworthiness of the accounts he published, but also his own credibility. Sometimes these two aims were in direct conflict, but both were fundamental to his nationalist agenda.

Barbara Shapiro has identified that, for both historical and travel literature,

First-hand observation was considered the most important type of evidence. Most historians not only emphasised first-hand witnessing in establishing historical “matters of fact”, but, following classical historiography, continued to insist that the best history was written by participant observers.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Thomas Hariot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (London, 1588) sig. F3<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 280.

<sup>94</sup> Peckham, *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession Taken*, sig. F4<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 175.

<sup>95</sup> Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 47.

In the case of literature derived from travellers, there was an additional burden to be overcome, which involved dispelling scepticism about the lies that they were deemed habitually to tell.<sup>96</sup> As Shapiro puts it: 'The believability of the travel account ... relied on the credibility of the narrator and the plausibility of the account'.<sup>97</sup> In these circumstances it is not surprising that *The Principal Navigations* persistently reiterates its authors' involvement in the events they describe. To look only at the first volume of the second edition: a marginal note added to Willoughby's narrative affirms, 'Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his owne hand'; the title to one of Anthony Jenkinson's journeys states that it was 'written by himselfe', as does Thomas Randolfe's account of his embassy; and the heading to Turberville's poetry about Russia affirms that he 'went as Secretarie thither with Master *Tho. Randolph.*'<sup>98</sup>

Yet travel narratives were not the only type of text in *The Principal Navigations*, and affirmation was also needed for historians. Thus, Hakluyt praised Camden's good judgement, calling him '*the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden*'; he highlighted Lambard's social status and knowledge, referring to him as '*the learned Gentleman M. Lambert*'; and in the case of 'Citizen' Stow he commended his industry; Stow was 'a diligent preseruer of Antiquities'.<sup>99</sup> Less plausibly, Hakluyt claimed to be '*credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis*' about the exploits

---

<sup>96</sup> See Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

<sup>97</sup> Shapiro, *Culture of Fact*, 70.

<sup>98</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 237, 324, 376, 384.

<sup>99</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*2<sup>r</sup> and iii. 9.



of King Arthur.<sup>100</sup> In the case of narrative accounts which were not *per se* travel narratives, the eye-witness nature and gentlemanly status of the reporter were emphasised. Thus, the report on the Cadiz raid is described as ‘iudically set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye wnesse in all that action ... wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly depriued no man of his right’.<sup>101</sup> Thus, a variety of devices demonstrate the truth of Shapiro’s observation. Hakluyt’s paratextual materials mark an interesting variation on Kevin Dunn’s comment that ‘Self-authorization has always been part of the prefatory project’, for Hakluyt was engaged not in ‘self’ authorisation, but the authorisation of those whose works he published.<sup>102</sup>

Yet although the immediate objects of Hakluyt’s praise were the authors that he commended, Dunn’s observation about self-authorization is still pertinent to *The Principal Navigations*. Firstly, Hakluyt deployed some of the usual tropes of the preface, such as the ‘modesty topos’, as he asserted his unwillingness to publish, and played up the idea that he was merely serving the commonwealth. More unusually, Hakluyt also located himself in the same position as the readers of *The Principal Navigations*. Like them he was dependent on the credibility of his original authors, and although he frequently sought to stress each individual’s trustworthiness, he also denied that he did so. In the ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ of the third volume he stated that his authors were left to stand on their own credibility:

---

<sup>100</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> Hakluyt *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> Kevin Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 19.

I haue brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoueries and serches of the same, giuing vnto every man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his owne credit.<sup>103</sup>

Hakluyt thus distanced himself from the truthfulness of the reports he reprinted, at the same time as he attempted to authorise them. This was part of a complex process of acquiring authority for himself and his text.

The question of the credibility of the accounts Hakluyt published had already been broached in the 'Preface to the Reader' of the first volume of the second edition. When discussing the relations of John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, Hakluyt cast doubt on the reliability of historians in general. He justified these two authors' inclusion of what some might regard as 'incredible' material on the grounds that

*they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther, imagine that they did auouch 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, euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between the[m] both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) wherof we are precisely bound to beleue ech word and syllable.<sup>104</sup>*

Since Hakluyt himself was engaged in reporting the works of others, this is a very destabilising claim. Indeed, it appears to undermine both the credibility of the accounts themselves and Hakluyt's project. Ultimately, however, this scepticism is

---

<sup>103</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>r</sup>.



used to bolster the reliability of the collection. The ‘Dedicatorie Epistle’ of the third volume (which was the second that had been dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil) begins:

Right honourable, your fauourable acceptance of my second volume of *The English voyages* ... your perusing of the same at your conuenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my trauailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe me good ... encouraged me to present vnto your prudent censure this my third and last volume.<sup>105</sup>

Here Hakluyt asserted the creditworthiness of his own ‘travailes’ in the book. The credit he had established from the publication of previous volumes was now brought to bear: the work had become his and significantly is now titled ‘*the English voyages*’. The nationalist element of his shortened title is not a one-off, for Hakluyt reiterated it when he commented ‘my worke do[es] carry the title of *The English voyages*’.<sup>106</sup> He concluded the preface with an exemplary anecdote about his own creditworthiness, noting that he had intended to include a tract,

touching *The curing of hot diseases incident to traueilers in long and Southerne voyages*, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one *M. George Wateson* ... But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, [he] shewed it to [his] worshipfull friend *M. doctour Gilbert*, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chiefest secrets of Mathematicks ... then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured [Hakluyt] ... that it was very defectiue and vnperfect.<sup>107</sup>

By demonstrating his own judicious method of proceeding, and his careful omission of material which is ‘defectiue and vnperfect’ Hakluyt bolstered his own creditworthiness and that of the book. The implication is that the other texts in the

---

<sup>105</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r-v</sup>.

collection have passed Hakluyt's scrutiny, and where his knowledge was lacking, the specialist judgement of experts. Thus, the prefatory material both distanced Hakluyt from the credibility of the authors he had included and sought to assert his own creditworthiness. The commendation of his 'trauailes' in previous volumes by a senior member of state was employed to further endorse this good judgement. At the same time, the work which had become Hakluyt's was also identified as '*the English voyages*'. The 'authorising' strategies which are evident throughout the three volumes thus promote the nationalist project which is Hakluyt's volume itself.

As well as making direct comments to assert the authority of his work, Hakluyt made a number of textual interventions which seem aimed at maintaining its tone. Like his concern with establishing facts, even when to have left the text unaltered would have produced a more patriotic reading, some of the alterations do not appear to be nationalistic. Such a view, however, mistakes the detail for the big picture. Credibility was essential to Hakluyt's project and he seems to have deliberately excluded episodes and comments which he thought were insufficiently serious, even if they were only minor.

Hakluyt's treatment of Job Hortop's account shows this aspect of his editorship particularly clearly. At various stages of his narrative Hortop includes short couplets, such as

*Heere we left the Ethoype land,*



*And tooke the Indian voiage in hand.*<sup>108</sup>

These moments of 'light relief', are either turned into prose by Hakluyt or omitted from the narrative altogether. In this case, Hakluyt's version reads 'Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.'<sup>109</sup>

As well as converting light-hearted poetry to po-faced prose, Hakluyt was also not averse to omitting entertaining, if sometimes bizarre anecdotes. Thus he omitted from his version of Hortop's narrative the following passage about the way that indigenous Africans kill elephants:

they seeke out their ha[u]nts where they rest in the night, which is against a tree, that they saw three partes in sunder, so that when the Elephant leaneth and stretch himselfe against it, the tree falleth, & he with it, then he roareth, whereby the Negros know he is fallen, then they come vpon him and kill him.<sup>110</sup>

A similarly colourful and amusing, if extraordinary, anecdote is also omitted from John Chilton's account of his voyage to the West Indies.<sup>111</sup> Travelling through 'Guatimala', Chilton found himself in company with 'two spaniardes and a negro'.<sup>112</sup> Starving, the four set about a rather bizarre ruse to obtain food from the indigenous population. The natives are impressed by the traveller's beards, and so

---

<sup>108</sup> Hortop, *Trauailles*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 487.

<sup>110</sup> Hortop, *Trauailles*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Two manuscript versions of Chilton's narrative survive in British Library, Additional MS 22904, and British Library, Sloane MS 42. The relationship between the three versions is difficult to determine, not least because British Library, Sloane MS 42 appears to have been revised. One of the revisions is the inclusion of this anecdote in abbreviated form.

<sup>112</sup> British Library, Additional MS 22904, fo. 8<sup>v</sup>.

the latter pretend that the 'negro' is a 'Doctor of phisick'. The four pretend that the power to grow a long beard derives from a special 'medicine' or treatment and they offer this to the natives in return for 'two Gynnye cockes ... rosted, w[i]th breed and suet'.<sup>113</sup> The deal is agreed, and the remarkably simple 'medicine' applied:

The negro took a pecce of a pitcht bagg wherein he hadd carried his wine and having heatt it, he cutt a hole thorowe propotionably to his lippes, and Carred yt to the Kinges face. Another noble man of his retinue liking this devise, desired to have the like made him, wch he hadd, and we received for yt likewise two other Gynnye cockes.<sup>114</sup>

Nor did Hakluyt's desire to retain an elevated tone in his collection stop at the excision of humorous anecdotes. It can also be seen in his failure to publish any ballads. Many such popular songs about people and events whose activities were recorded by Hakluyt were entered in the Stationer's Register. There are entries for ballads about Thomas Stukeley, John Foxe, the 'Primrose' of London, Cavendish's circumnavigation, and Frobisher's voyages, but Hakluyt included none of them in his collection, although he printed narratives on all of these subjects.<sup>115</sup> Nor did he re-issue the account of Mandeville's *Travels*, which he had printed, in Latin only, and with reservations, in the first edition.<sup>116</sup> All these features point to a desire to establish the credibility of what Hakluyt perceived as the English achievement, which his volume records.

---

<sup>113</sup> British Library, Additional MS 22904, fo. 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> British Library, Additional MS 22904, fos. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Arber, *Transcript*, ii. 213, 359, 454, 505, 327.

<sup>116</sup> Mandeville's *Travels* is printed at *Principall Navigations*, 23-77.



Hakluyt's interventions to establish and maintain the credibility of his texts then were complex. They constituted an important facet of his editorship, but were sometimes not obviously nationalistic. Much more straightforward in this respect were Hakluyt's additions to the texts he published. Again, however, the ways in which they promoted nationalism were diverse.

When Chilton's narrative tells of his arrival in 'New Biscay' in California (named after Diego de Guiara, a 'Biscaine'), Hakluyt, impersonating the authorial voice, adds: 'Where I solde my merchandise for exchange of siluer, for there were there certaine rich mines discovered by the aforesayd Biskaine.'<sup>117</sup> Such an interpolation might not seem especially significant, but we should remember that, in his circumnavigation, Drake had landed at 'Nova Albion' (admittedly a good way up the American west coast, between 38 and 43 degrees) and 'taken possession'. Or rather, as two adjacent marginalia read: 'the king resign[ed] his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake. Great riches in Noua Albion'.<sup>118</sup> The comment might well have been designed to call to mind the silver mines that the Spanish had found at Potosi which had been a significant source of the wealth they derived from the New World. The point was that the Spanish were spreading northwards along the Californian coast and that this area was another contested and contestable one. Stressing the potential wealth of the as-yet uncolonised area is typical of Hakluyt's method of attempting to entice interest in such a project.

---

<sup>117</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 457.

<sup>118</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 442.

A narrative relating to another of Drake's voyages reveals a further interpolation by Hakluyt. This time, however, he contributes examples of temperance and prudence, and an emphasis on the benefits to be derived from them by the common soldier and sailor. Hakluyt's account of Drake's 1585 West Indian voyage was based on a version of Walter Bigges's *A Summarie and True Discovrse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage* (1589).<sup>119</sup> In her detailed collation of the accounts of this voyage, Mary Keeler notes that Hakluyt's is the only one to include the section entitled 'A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken'.<sup>120</sup> She comments that 'they had appeared in no previous edition of the narrative, omitted perhaps because they revealed Drake's weakness at that stage of the expedition'.<sup>121</sup> It is not clear how Hakluyt obtained this passage of text, but it seems to me unlikely that Hakluyt would publish something which he perceived as detrimental to a one-time patron. While (as we have seen in the case of the Cadiz narrative) Hakluyt may not have printed all material which commended close associates, he was not in the business of damaging their reputations. Nor does it seem to me that the text justifies Keeler's analysis. What actually emerges is creditworthy in all respects. The section shows Drake making decisions by consensus, studiously avoiding the suggestion that Drake acted unilaterally. After successful raids on Cartagena and other West Indian towns, Drake is presented as consulting his military officers about the next course of action - he 'demaund[ed] the opinions of his Captaines'. The four Captains (who include Carleill) reiterate that

---

<sup>119</sup> Walter Bigges, *A Summarie and True Discovrse of Sir Frances Drakes West Indian Voyage* (London, 1589).

<sup>120</sup> Mary Frear Keeler (ed.), *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage 1585-6* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 148, 1981).

<sup>121</sup> Keeler, *Drake's West Indian Voyage*, 304.



they have taken ‘three notable townes’, and they show that they are not intemperate in wanting a ransom of £100,000 for the town of Cartagena, but will settle for the original offer of £27,000 or £28,000 (still, of course, enormous amounts). They are able to show their concern for their troops by offering to give their portion to ‘the poore men, who haue remained with us in the Voyage, meaning as well the Saylor as the Souldier’.<sup>122</sup> The impression created is one of temperance, achievement and consideration for the common soldiers and sailors.

If temperance and prudence reflected one aspect of the humanist ideal, other interpolations stressed the lasting nature of glory. An alteration to Marbeck’s account transforms a reference to the participants: the ‘triumphant Renowne of their honorable names’ becomes the ‘triumphant renowne of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity’.<sup>123</sup> Honour was also the spur for another addition made by Hakluyt, in this case to William Malim’s translation, *The True Report of All the Successe of Famagosta*. In that work Malim stated that Cyprus ‘was a long time subiecte vnto the Romaines, after, to the Persians, and to the Souldan of Ægypt. And last of all the Venetians have enioyed it’.<sup>124</sup> However, Hakluyt made an interpolation which equated the English with these other once great empires. After the word ‘Egypt’ he inserted:

The selfsame Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king *Richard* the first, in his voyage to *Hierusalem* in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as *Polydore* writeth in his

---

<sup>122</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 544.

<sup>123</sup> Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS D. 124, fo. 3<sup>r</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 608.

<sup>124</sup> Count Nestore Martinengo, *The True Report of All the Successe of Famagosta*, trans. William Malim (London, 1572), sig. B2<sup>r</sup>.

fourteenth booke of our English historie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriuall there, inuaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to *Ptolemyda*: who afterward exchanged the same with *Guy of Lusignan*, that was the last christened king of *Hierusalem*, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of *England* were long time after called kings of *Hierusalem*.<sup>125</sup>

The interpolation is indeed based on Polydor Vergil's *Vrbinitis Anglicae historiae libri XXVI*, but Hakluyt omits the fact that Richard was forced to land there by a storm.<sup>126</sup> It also reveals something of Hakluyt's attitude to colonisation; refusal of permission to land is reasonable grounds for aggression. Richard is also shown to be an exemplary coloniser by keeping sufficient forces to retain control and possession of his new colony.

The tension which arises because of different nationalist agendas is also evident in Hakluyt's treatment of Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*. Hakluyt clearly knew of this work before it was published in 1591, for in the 1589 edition he listed its chapter headings. On publication, the work was called in at the request of the Muscovy Company.<sup>127</sup> The merchants wrote to Burghley complaining that it contained material offensive to the Tsar, and fearing that 'the revenge thereof will light on their [the company's] people and goodes remayning in Russia, and utterlie overthrowe the trade for ever'.<sup>128</sup> As Berry and Crummey point out, the merchants

---

<sup>125</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 120.

<sup>126</sup> Polydor Vergil, *Vrbinitis Anglicae historiae libri XXVI* (Basle, 1534), sig. X3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>127</sup> A description of events is to be found in Willan, *Early History of the Russia Company*, 177-78. E. A. Bond (ed.), *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1<sup>st</sup> series, 20, 1856) reprints the letter from the Muscovy Company at 352-55. See also Lloyd E. Berry and R. O. Crummey (eds.), *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 107 and Lloyd E. Berry (ed.), *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 135-306.

<sup>128</sup> Bond, *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, 352.



made general complaints about the unflattering tone of the book; its criticism of the Czar's despotism; its claims about the immorality of the people; and its reference to Ivan IV's murder of his son, and the allusions to his surviving son's physical weakness.<sup>129</sup> Yet the letter only asked for a number of phrases and sentences to be removed, not for the whole edition to be destroyed.

When Hakluyt published the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*, he reproduced *ad litteram* the passage from the 1589 edition which listed all the chapter headings. That page continued to suggest that Fletcher's work was still available: 'The said Ambassador M. Giles Fletcher, as I understand, hath drawn a booke intituled, Of the Russe Commonwealth'.<sup>130</sup> After the chapter headings Hakluyt printed a number of the chapters themselves, under a general heading which did not make it clear that these were in fact chapters from Fletcher's work. Significantly, Hakluyt's version omitted all these sections of which the Muscovy Company had complained and some additional chapters. What remained were a geographic description of Russia, an account of the gathering, payment, training and equipping of the Russian army, an analysis 'Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest', a description of church rites, and comments on 'the priuate behaiour and maner of the Russe people'.<sup>131</sup>

We do not know whether Hakluyt's connections with the Muscovy Company or with Burghley caused him to respect the company's wishes. In practice it does not matter,

---

<sup>129</sup> Berry and Crummy, *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom*, 107.

<sup>130</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 474.

<sup>131</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 474.

although the answer to this question might give us a further indication of the degree to which *The Principal Navigations* was state-sponsored. What is important is the realisation that different nationalist agendas were in conflict. On the one hand, Hakluyt clearly thought the full version to be of importance, and on the other he was unwilling to risk an important trade link. The episode makes clear that, as Clegg suggests, far from being driven by ideology or religious motivations, censorship was ‘a pragmatic situational response to an extraordinary variety of particular events’.<sup>132</sup> The pragmatic nature of censorship paralleled the pragmatic nature of Hakluyt’s nationalism. What is unusual in this case is that, although enacted by the state, it was initially motivated not by the state but by merchants.<sup>133</sup> The episode also implies that the Muscovy Company expected knowledge of *Of the Russe Common Wealth* to reach the Russian Tsar’s ears, and this locates the need for censorship in an international, rather than a narrowly local context.

### 3.3. Method

The pragmatic nature of Hakluyt’s nationalism which emerges from these issues around censorship is indicative of the many competing and contradictory impulses which shaped *The Principal Navigations*. In many cases, although the nationalist aspects of the work are diverse - ranging from respect for specific mercantile

---

<sup>132</sup> Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 5.

<sup>133</sup> However, the Muscovy Company’s role in providing materials essential to the maintenance of the Navy, such as Russian cordage, suggests that the state too had an interest in continuing the trade. See Willan, *Early Years of the Russia Company*, 55-56.



interests to the desire to claim land in North America - they are also relatively obvious. Yet not all texts in the collection so readily lend themselves to a nationalist reading. Although I will consider some of these in Chapter 5, I want here, briefly, to consider some of those texts which do not appear to have been edited to reflect other national interests, or circumscribed by them. By doing so I hope to shed further light on the way Hakluyt intended these diverse texts to be read.

In 1584 Hakluyt sent a letter to Walsingham encouraging him to establish a lectureship in navigation. With it he sent a copy of Ramus's *Commendatio professionis mathematicae* (1580) which he had received from Nicholas Bergeron, the work's editor, and the executor of Ramus's estate.<sup>134</sup> Hakluyt spoke highly of Ramus's efforts to establish a lectureship in Mathematics and it is tempting to see Hakluyt's emphasis on 'method' in *The Principal Navigations* as reflecting Ramus's influence. Whether this is true or not, it is certainly the case that Hakluyt was interested in method. At his suggestion, Philip Jones dedicated his translation of Albert Meierus's *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, &c. Employed in Seruices Abroad* to Sir Francis Drake.<sup>135</sup> Hakluyt's promotion of the 'method of travel' reflects the belated English contribution to this discourse, which Justin Stagl has ably reviewed.<sup>136</sup> He notes for example, that there were some 300 treatises belonging to this genre published in the sixteenth century, and it was clearly an important subset of travel writing in this period. Meierus's work is important with regard to *The Principal*

---

<sup>134</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, i. 208.

<sup>135</sup> Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>136</sup> Stagl, 'Methodising of Travel'.

*Navigations*, because it gives a clear indication of the sort of information that a traveller would be expected to note.

Meierus's work comprised twelve chapters, each composed of a list of numbered points. The areas of interest were very diverse. The first five chapters were '*Cosmographie*', '*Astronomie*', '*Geographie*', '*Chorographie*', and '*Topographie*'. These were followed by '*Husbandrie*', '*Navigation*', '*The Politicall State*', '*The Ecclesiasticall State*', '*Literature*', '*Histories*', and '*Chronicles*'.<sup>137</sup> The breadth of information required can be gauged from the chapter on '*Historie*'. It had the fewest number of sub-headings, with only thirteen areas to be reported on. However, they were sufficient in themselves to make a book for every country visited. The traveller was to record everything from '*The Antiquitie, and originall of the cittie, towne, and kingdome, when it was first erected, first built, with the parts, portions, and chiefest places thereof*', to '*The chiefest men of pollicie, and good gouvernement, both in court and citie, for peace, warre, and all occurrences*'.<sup>138</sup> Between these two points in history the traveller was also to note down '*The fortitude, magnanimitie, behaiour, discipline, disposition, welth, and fame of the ancient nobilitie*', '*The affinities old and late, alliances, and intermariages of honorable personages & families, at home or abroad*', and '*The wars of their ancesters, and what acts and exploits worthie of honor, and remembrance haue beene done by them*'.<sup>139</sup> In short, it was the traveller's responsibility to note down almost anything that might be useful to almost anyone in almost any possible circumstances.

---

<sup>137</sup> Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>138</sup> Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>, D2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> Meierus, *Briefe, and Speciall Instructions*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>.



It is this capacious attitude which helps, I think, to explain the diversity of information contained in Hakluyt's collection. This is true not only of the material pertaining to foreign countries, such as Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, but also of records pertaining to England. We can see this if we consider the materials relating to the Anglo-Prussian exchanges undertaken in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV.<sup>140</sup> These documents detail the agreement of a trade treaty between the two countries, the subsequent dissolution of that league, and its re-agreement. The documents include the complaint of the Hanse merchants about maltreatment by the English, and conclude with a new treaty agreed between Henry IV and the Prussian Grand Master, in which reparations are made to the Hanse merchants. The documents do not cast the English in a particularly good light, and it is not immediately obvious why Hakluyt included them. His comments on these texts, however, help to clarify his decisions and attempt to shape the reader's response. In the 'Preface to the Reader', Hakluyt commented that from this set of documents:

*You may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered 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, ... together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse.*<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 153-84.

<sup>141</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>r</sup>.

His comments reveal his concern with a vast array of incommensurable details: the ‘prudence’ of the ambassadors; the wealth and strength of the two countries; the nature of their trading links; and the deceitfulness of other nations – this last providing an interesting gloss on the English reparations to the Hanse merchants.

Other texts pick up on similar themes. Those about ‘The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports’ are part of a body of material which relates to ‘ancient shipping.’ Clearly, part of the purpose is to stress the historic tradition of English naval strength. The Cinque Ports received special privileges in return for guarantees about services to the English kings, and Hakluyt was interested in the details. He drew attention to ‘*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 vse; and lastly, what great exploits they performed*’.<sup>142</sup> The emphasis on military strength is again evident, but so, too, is the sense of achievement. These however, were not Hakluyt’s only concerns.

Hakluyt’s publication of the ‘Chronicle of the Kings of Man’ was motivated in part by his belief that it provided up-to-date information. Although he confirmed that it contained the ‘*tragical and dolefull historie of those partes*’, he published it mainly because

---

<sup>142</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*2<sup>r</sup>.



*most of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanely skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland.*<sup>143</sup>

He concluded that if English sailors found themselves in that part of the ocean they would find that the Chronicle revealed the most ‘*ordinarie and accustomed nauigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe.*’ Thus, what to the modern eye is a chronicle history was to Hakluyt a source of practical information, and an example of the way that English shipping had declined. Two styles of reading the same text were promoted: one exemplary and one practical. Nor should we exclude the possibility that Hakluyt was hinting at an attempt by the English to sail to the northern part of Ireland, in support of their colonising efforts.

### **3.4. Machiavellianism**

There was, then, great variety in Hakluyt’s approach. As I have shown much of the material published in *The Principal Navigations* could be located within the framework suggested by Dee’s ‘Synopsis’, with its emphasis on the four cardinal virtues, ‘Strength’ and ‘Welth’. However, that framework itself contained its own contradictions. In particular, the emphasis on strength could be in conflict with the cardinal virtues. In concluding this chapter, I want to suggest that the intellectual framework which lies behind *The Principal Navigations* goes beyond the Ciceronian

---

<sup>143</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>.

ideal of virtue to include a Machiavellian notion of *virtù*. Although Hakluyt's name has never been linked with the Florentine's it is well established that both Sidney and Harvey were familiar with Machiavelli's work.<sup>144</sup> The influence on Hakluyt may have been direct, for the 'Discourse of Western Planting' shows Hakluyt's ability both to read and write in Italian, or indirect, through such works as William Thomas's *The Historie of Italie*.<sup>145</sup> Hakluyt does not directly allude to Machiavelli but this is not surprising given his calling as a priest, which would have made public endorsement of the Florentine's policies at best indiscreet. Yet the influence of Machiavelli's views on Hakluyt is, I think, clear.

The connections are most obvious in the 'Discourse of Western Planting' but are also evident in *The Principal Navigations*, particularly in regard to colonisation. Laudonnière's narrative displayed Machiavellian touches when it suggested that colonisation should not weaken the colonising state. More explicitly Machiavellian sentiments, however, are found in the desire for military expansion and the subsequent glory that it brought. Both were stressed by Machiavelli, who observed: 'The wish to acquire more is admittedly a very natural and common thing; and when

---

<sup>144</sup> Harvey's allusion to the widespread reading of Machiavelli at Cambridge is well known. In a letter to Spenser, he comments that 'Sum good fellows amongst us being nowe to be prettily wel acquayntid with a certayne parlous booke called, ... Il Principe di Niccolo Macchiavelli, and I can peradventure name you an odd crewe or tooe that ar as cuninge in his Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Livio, in his Historia Fiorentina, and in his Dialogues della Arte della Guerra tooe.' See Scott, *Gabriel Harvey*, 79. See also William R. Drennan, 'Sidney's Debt to Machiavelli: A New Look', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 7 (1986), 83-96, and Felix Rabb, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500-1700* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 1-76.

<sup>145</sup> Shrank notes that Thomas's *The Historie of Italie* (1549) 'acknowledges its debt to Machiavelli's *History of Florence*'. See Shrank, 'English Humanism', 119. Shrank - citing Jardine and Grafton, 'How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', 49-51 - draws attention to the fact that Thomas's *Historie of Italie* was one of those works closely read by Harvey during a 'politically-motivated reading project'. Shrank, 'English Humanism', 123. For Hakluyt's Italian see Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 20, 27.



men succeed in this they are always praised rather than condemned'.<sup>146</sup> Just such a sentiment is found in Robert Thorne's letter to Henry VIII, which Hakluyt published both in *Divers Voyages* and *The Principal Navigations*. It opens: 'Experience proveth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes'.<sup>147</sup>

There is then, at least, a shared attitude between Hakluyt and Machiavelli, but the link also extends to the method of colonisation. Machiavelli observed that if a prince did not wish to live in a newly conquered territory he should 'establish settlements in one or two places' and establish forts to do this.<sup>148</sup> He concluded that even when they are won by a prince's abilities or good fortune, colonies must be secured by arms since 'all armed prophets have conquered and unarmed prophets have come to grief'.<sup>149</sup> We have already seen how in *The Principal Navigations*, King John is presented as a successful coloniser of Famagusta on the basis of military might. In the dedication to the Laudonnière text Hakluyt also stated that he thought the troops returning from the Dutch wars should be sent to Virginia 'against such stubborne Sauages as shal refuse obedience to her Majestie'.<sup>150</sup> The fact that Hakluyt thought colonisers should be involved in 'the sauing of the soules of the poore and blinded infidels' at the same time as he proposed the use of force, calls to mind the attitude found in William Thomas's *Peregrine, or a Defence of Henry VIII*. As Shrank observes,

---

<sup>146</sup> N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981), 42.

<sup>147</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 212.

<sup>148</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 37.

<sup>149</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 52.

<sup>150</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.

For Thomas, the imposition of English rule is not an act of aggression, 'for desire of Domination, or for avarice of Revenue', but of civilization, with 'these wyld men' brought 'from rude, beastly, ignoraunt, cruel, and unruly Infidels to the state of civil, reasonable, patient, humble, and well-governed Christians.'<sup>151</sup>

The preface to Hakluyt's 1609 volume *Virginia Richly Valued* reiterated this belief most explicitly:

*to handle [the indigenous population] gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerors and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands.*<sup>152</sup>

The amount of force needed was the subject of Laudonnière's own preface to his narrative which, *pace* Helgerson, promoted colonisation, as his comment that 'the company sent forth [should] be of so iust & sufficient number, that it may not be defeited by strangers' demonstrates.<sup>153</sup> This itself echoed Machiavelli's observation that the prince who colonises should 'take precautions to check an invasion of the province by a foreigner as powerful as himself'.<sup>154</sup> Laudonnière's preface, as we saw, also condemned over-extension by the colonising power, and this policy may also have been influenced by Machiavelli's comment that colonisers who 'want to acquire more at all costs ... deserve condemnation for their mistakes'.<sup>155</sup> Similar

---

<sup>151</sup> Shrank, 'English Humanism', 103.

<sup>152</sup> A Gentleman of Elvas, *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbour*, trans. R. Hakluyt (London: Matthew Lownes, 1609), sig. A4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>153</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 304.

<sup>154</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 38.

<sup>155</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 42.



sentiments are to be found in the 'Discourse of Western Planting' where fortification and planting are listed as the first thing that must be done to establish a colony.<sup>156</sup>

The connection between Machiavelli and Hakluyt is particularly clear in that tract. As well as stressing the need for a military force, Hakluyt also reiterated Machiavellian pronouncements on strategy. Machiavelli asserted that 'anyone in a country which differs from his own ... should make himself the leader and protector of the smaller neighbouring powers, and he should endeavour to weaken those which are strong'.<sup>157</sup> In the 'Discourse', Hakluyt recommended that forts should be established immediately on arrival and that the English colonists should 'enter into league wth the petite princes their neighboures that have always lightly warres one wth an other, and so entringe league nowe wth the one, and then wth the other wee shall purchase our owne safetie and make ourselves Lordes of the whole'.<sup>158</sup> Such sentiments are not to be found directly in *The Principal Navigations*, but they are the flip side of the policy of internal union, which Hakluyt's editing clearly revealed. However, neither Machiavelli nor Hakluyt were only concerned with military force. They would have shared the view, expressed by Machiavelli, that the prince,

must encourage his citizens so that they can go peaceably about their business, whether it be trade or agriculture or any other human occupation ... [and] should be ready to reward men who want to do these things and those who endeavour in any way to increase the prosperity of their city or their state.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 70-77.

<sup>157</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 38.

<sup>158</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 72.

<sup>159</sup> Machiavelli, *The Prince*, 123.

This sentiment, as I have argued thus far, reflects Hakluyt's general belief that those who fulfilled their place in society in the attempt to increase the wealth of themselves and their nation were pursuing a worthwhile course. In a surprisingly diverse number of ways, then, Hakluyt's work reflected Machiavellian policies. This is further evidence that no rigid intellectual framework will adequately account for Hakluyt's editorial policy or completely explain the influences on him.

### 3.5. Conclusion

I hope to have demonstrated that Hakluyt's work was national in its scope, and that his drive to obtain materials for *The Principal Navigations* cut across traditional, class-structured manuscript networks. Indeed, the support that Hakluyt obtained suggests that his work was to some extent seen as a project which benefited the commonwealth. Yet despite the juxtaposition of texts whose authors came from a wide variety of social classes, and the emphasis on mercantile as well as aristocratic interests, it does not seem to me that the work, as Helgerson claims, has an anti-aristocratic drive. Instead, detailed textual analysis suggests that Hakluyt's bias was to support the hierarchical differentiations within society, while at the same time calling for collective efforts in both trade and colonisation. His support of the class-structure is of a piece with his willingness to align *The Principal Navigations* with the state. This was a matter both of gaining the support of important office-holders, and of prioritising state requirements about censorship over other nationalist



interests. Hakluyt even emended texts to promote unity and obscure references to causes of dissension. This was just one of the ways that his selection and handling of texts demonstrated his nationalist agenda. Amendments were made which stressed prudence and temperance. Others prioritised wealth and naval strength. However, these were not the only nationalist motivations behind Hakluyt's editing. Interpolations were made in an effort to establish English parity with other great empires or to assert claims of first discovery. Nor was Cicero the only influence on *The Principal Navigations*. In relation to colonisation Hakluyt displayed a remarkably pragmatic and Machiavellian willingness to use force, particularly in the interests of the colonising state. It is this advocacy of colonialism which has caused *The Principal Navigations* to be perceived as a work which promotes imperialism. In the chapter which follows I want to consider the extent to which that is true, by investigating the relationship between empire and nation, and the scope of the imperial vision.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Empire and Nationalism

As James VI of Scotland found on his accession to the English throne, turning nations into empires was far from straightforward. His desire to turn England and Scotland into the legal entity of the 'Empire of Great Britain' foundered on English parliamentary resistance which forced him to implement the concept by royal proclamation.<sup>1</sup> Despite the failure of James's legal fashioning, Jacobean propagandists disseminated their master's desired terminology.<sup>2</sup> Jonson, Speed and Taylor were only some of the better-known apologists, and they were supported by the King himself.<sup>3</sup> Their efforts were the literary manifestation of what historians have come to regard as 'The British Question'.<sup>4</sup> One facet of this was the tension between the reality of the legal position and the 'spin' with which James's

---

<sup>1</sup> S. T. Bindoff, 'The Stuarts and their Style', *English Historical Review*, 60 (1945), 192-216.

<sup>2</sup> John Gordon, in particular, took up this theme in the following tracts: *A Panegyrique of Congratulation for the Concord of the Realmes of Great Britaine in Vnitie of Religion, and vnder One King*, trans. E[dward] G[rimestone] (London: Geoffrey Chorlton, 1603); *England and Scotlands Happinesse* (London: William Aspley, 1604); *The Vnion of Great Britaine* (London: William Aspley, 1604). Other panegyrists included Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques. The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beavtie. Personated by the Most Magnificent of Queenes Anne Queene of Great Britaine &c.* (London: Thomas Thorp, 1608); John Speed, *The History of Great Britaine, under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes & Normans* (London, 1611), and his *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1612); and John Taylor, *Great Britaine, All in Blacke* (London: I. Wright, 1612).

<sup>3</sup> James I, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c.* (London: James, Bishop of Winton, 1616).

<sup>4</sup> There is an enormous range of literature in this field. The following four items are a useful introduction: Bradshaw and Roberts, *British Consciousness and Identity*; Burgess, *New British History*; Alex Garganigo, 'Coriolanus, the Union Controversy, and Access to the Royal Person', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 42 (2002), 335-59; the series of articles in the 'AHR Forum: The New British History in Atlantic Perspective', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 426-500. I am grateful to Bill Sherman for this last reference.



supporters presented it. Yet, the willingness of Jacobean culture-manufacturers to link the monarch on the English throne with an empire continued a trend which had found its apotheosis for the Tudor regime in Elizabeth I. In that reign too, there were tensions between the claims that were made for empire and the reality.<sup>5</sup>

Roy Strong and Frances Yates have shown the diverse range of arts which helped shape the royal image of the last Tudor monarch, including that of Elizabeth as empress. Strong reads the famous Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth [figure 8] in the light of the 1590 Accession Day tilts, and cites George Peele's lines:

Elizabeth, great empress of the world,  
Britannia's Atlas, star of England's globe,  
That sways the mighty sceptre of her land,  
And holds the royal reigns of Albion...<sup>6</sup>

He then describes the Temple of the Roman Vestal Virgins which was established in the Whitehall Tiltyard for that event. On a pillar of one of its palaces 'hung a Latin prayer, ecstatic in its Eliza worship, stating that the Queen had moved one of the pillars of Hercules and that now her mighty empire stretched into the New World'.<sup>7</sup>

The reality behind such blatant hyperbole made it rattle like the proverbial empty can. Despite the naval success of the Spanish Armada, English territorial expansion

---

<sup>5</sup> Roy Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*: see also his *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973); Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975; repr. Pimlico, 1993).

<sup>6</sup> Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 154, citing George Peele, *Polyhymnia*, in A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of George Peele*, i. 333, (London, 1888).

<sup>7</sup> Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth*, 154.





Figure 8: Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1592?). The Ditchley Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I.



had in practice, even by 1600, hardly begun, or rather, had stalled.<sup>8</sup> Crispin van de Passe's 1596 portrait of Elizabeth [figure 9], which echoed Peele's hyperbole but contextualized it in relation to the defeat of the Spanish Armada, reveals this disparity. As Strong commented,

In direct reference to Charles V [of Spain] [Elizabeth] is depicted, in the after-math of the defeat of the mighty Armada, standing triumphant between the columns of the old imperial device.<sup>9</sup>

The accompanying legend makes extensive territorial claims:

ELIZABETA D.G. ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, HIBERNIAE, ET VERGINIAE REGINA  
CHRISTIANAE FIDEI VNICVM PROPVGNACVLVM

(Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, Ireland and Virginia [and] sole defender of the Christian faith)

The legend makes no use of the term *imperator* or its feminine equivalent *imperatrix*, and seems to represent a standard version of the royal title.<sup>10</sup> Thus, under the term *Regina*, and against an imperial background, a claim is made to as full an

---

<sup>8</sup> See D. B. Quinn, (ed.), *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 104-105, 1955); Knapp, *Empire Nowhere*; and Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960).

<sup>9</sup> Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 115.

<sup>10</sup> It is, however, difficult to prove that this is so. There is no entry, for example, in P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (eds.), *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) relating to rule over Virginia. Similarly, Andrew Hadfield asserts that 'Elizabeth's title usually included Virginia as well as Ireland among her kingdoms from the 1590s', but he supplies no evidence to support his claim. See Andrew Hadfield, 'Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism, and the Fear of the Apocalypse', *Reformation*, 3 (1998), 315.





ELIZABETA D. G. ANGLIÆ. FRANCIAÆ. HIBERNIAÆ. ET VERGINIAE  
 REGINA CHRISTIANAE FIDEI VNICVM PROPVGNAVLVM .

*Immortalis honos Regum, cui non tulit ætas  
 Vlla prior, veniens nec feret vlla parem,  
 Sospite quò nunquam terras habitare Britannas  
 Desinet alma Quies, Iustitia atque Fides,*

*Quis ipsa tantum superant reliqua omnia regna,  
 Quantum tu maior Regibus es reliquis,  
 Viue precor felix tanti in moderamine regni,  
 Dum tibi Rex Regum cælica regna pareat.*

In honorem serenissime sue Maiestatis hanc effigiem fieri curabat Ioanne Wilschius Telas . Anno 1596

Figure 9:

Crispin van de Passe (1596). Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, showing the claim to the title of Virginia.



extent of territory as was ever officially claimed by the Tudor monarchy.<sup>11</sup> As near, if you will, to one understanding of empire – ‘supreme military and legislative power over widespread and diverse territories’ – as the Tudor house ever got.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the omission of imperial terminology reflected the lacuna between the claim for power and its reality. In England the state could exert its influence with some assuredness throughout the kingdom (perhaps with the exception of the extremities, and usually only through the magistracy), but in Ireland, as Essex’s ill-fated sojourn was shortly to prove, this was not the case. In Virginia, attempts to establish a colony had failed as early as 1590, and the English presence in France was equally non-existent.<sup>13</sup> The last stronghold, Le Havre, had been lost in 1563, and Calais was ceded the following year. So the claim to power in the four countries, whether under the title ‘empress’ or ‘queen’, was a combination of reality and fiction, with the latter reflecting different temporal perspectives. In France the vision was retrospective, claiming a *status quo ante bellum* which had little prospect of renewal; in Ireland it was contemporaneous, with a very real attempt at enforcement; and in Virginia it was proleptic, but with an at best half-hearted royal commitment. In its multi-temporal perspective, the royal title paralleled Hakluyt’s collection, which likewise invoked the claims of the past, asserted contemporary realities and fictions, and urged action in the future.

---

<sup>11</sup> Dee’s claims, which I discuss below, do not ever seem to have represented an official position. Indeed, as Sherman has shown, few people were willing to take up his ideas. See Sherman, *John Dee*, 192.

<sup>12</sup> Pagden, *Lords*, 15.

<sup>13</sup> See Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, 75, and Guy, *Tudor England*, 268.

The indeterminacy of the royal titles was further complicated by the semi-official nature of the territorial acquisitions made by Drake, Gilbert and Raleigh.<sup>14</sup> The letters patent granted to Gilbert and Raleigh gave some degree of royal sanction to the activities of Gilbert and Raleigh, but they remained private enterprises. Meanwhile John Dee made a series of claims for Elizabeth both to Scotland and the islands surrounding England, Scotland and Wales, in addition to some locations 'joined' to the home countries by sea, such as Iceland, and Norway.<sup>15</sup> In some cases the physical extent of the claimed territories was surmised rather than known, or, in the case of Raleigh's 'Guiana', almost certainly obscured deliberately.<sup>16</sup> The boundaries were as insubstantial as those of Spenser's 'land of Faery' in *The Faerie Queene* which offered another perspective on the notion of empire.<sup>17</sup> At the time of Hakluyt's second edition of 1598-1600, then, the geographical reach of English domains was ambivalent, and ambiguity also existed about the extent to which *imperium* was exercised in them.<sup>18</sup> This fluidity was further complicated by the polyvalence of the term 'empire'.

Modern understanding of that term has, of course, been coloured by events, and Hakluyt's works did indeed have an integral role in the ideological and practical

---

<sup>14</sup> For Drake, see 'The famous voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577' in Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 730-42; for Gilbert see Quinn, *Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*; for Raleigh see *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtiful Empire of Gviana* (London, 1596).

<sup>15</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, Chapter 7.

<sup>16</sup> I am grateful to Pat Palmer for this observation regarding 'Guiana'.

<sup>17</sup> Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, Proem of Book II, stanzas 1-5.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the notion of '*imperium*' and its use in Henry VIII's 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals, see Walter Ullman, 'This Realm of England is an Empire', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 175-203.



take-up of the British Empire. However, as Barthes observed, appropriations do not always reflect authorial statements, never mind intentions, and it is my contention that Hakluyt's notion of empire as revealed in *The Principal Navigations* has a complex, and arguably inconsistent, relationship with his concept of nationhood.<sup>19</sup> I will argue that the submergence of the English nation into the 'Empire of Great Britain' proposed by James I was the antithesis of Hakluyt's conception of that relationship. In short, the usual relationship between empire and nation needs to be stood on its head if we are to understand Hakluyt's concept of empire.

The differing views that modern commentators hold about early modern notions of empire can be seen by juxtaposing two observations. In his important exploration of the relationship between Protestantism and the ideological origins of the British Empire, David Armitage has commented,

A British Empire – let alone *the* British Empire – was inconceivable for Hakluyt ... his conception of the English nation was at root Thomist and neo-Aristotelian, a *societas perfecta*, or even a self-sufficient *polis*, not a composite monarchy or the metropolis of an expansive territorial *imperium* on the late Roman model.<sup>20</sup>

In contrast, Sherman regards John Dee's "Brytish discovery and recovery enterprise", outlined in his *General and Rare Memorials*, as an argument for empire:

---

<sup>19</sup> Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', trans. Stephen Heath, in id. (ed.), *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), 142-48.

<sup>20</sup> Armitage, *Ideological Origins*. In another significant work, Armitage reasserts the claim that 'the impress of Empire upon English literature in the early modern period was minimal and mostly critical where it was discernable at all'. See David Armitage, 'Literature and Empire' in Nicholas Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of The British Empire, i: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 102.

Dee offered the queen ... an “imperial formula” ... [which] might be represented as: domestic and international security + territorial expansion = an “Incomparable *Ilandish Monarchy*,” this “BRYTISH IMPIRE.”<sup>21</sup>

The importance of this notion in relation to Hakluyt stems in part from the fact that Dee and Hakluyt were engaged in similar projects, although their method of presenting their material differed. Whereas Dee tended to produce manuscripts urging Elizabeth and her senior ministers to consider her title to parts of the ‘BRYTISH IMPIRE’, Hakluyt published some of the same material in *The Principal Navigations*, ostensibly a less didactic work.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, in his careful selection of material from Dee’s *General and Rare Memorials*, which was in fact published, Hakluyt would appear to have endorsed Dee’s views about Empire and its geographical extent, particularly since the extract he reprinted included the marginalium ‘Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire’.<sup>23</sup> As we shall see, this was, in fact, also a claim to large expanses of territory. Thus, it is hard to see how, on the one hand, as Armitage claims, Hakluyt can have had no notion of a British Empire, especially not ‘an expansive territorial *imperium* on the late Roman model’, but could also apparently have endorsed Dee’s notion, alluded to in *General and Rare Memorials*, that

---

<sup>21</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 150.

<sup>22</sup> However, although it is true that much of Dee’s most important work remained in manuscript and Hakluyt’s was printed, it would be wrong to suggest that they exclusively used one form of circulation. For a discussion of Dee’s manuscripts pertaining to matters of empire, see Sherman, *John Dee*, Chapter 7. For an indication of the extensive material written by Dee see James Crossley (ed.), *Chetham Miscellanies Volume 1: The Autobiographical Tracts of Dr John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester* (Chetham: Chetham Society, 24, 1851). For a full list of publications with which Hakluyt was associated see Payne, ‘Travel Books’. Most of Hakluyt’s manuscript works are published in Taylor, *Writings*.

<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 9.



Elizabeth had a claim to 'very large Forrein Dominions'.<sup>24</sup> There seems to be a need to explain both the terms 'British' and 'Empire'.

Richard Koebner and Anthony Pagden have both shown that 'empire' was a complexly polysemous notion in the early modern period.<sup>25</sup> As Pagden has put it, 'the word 'empire' is itself an elusive one, whose signification, and the contexts in which it could be employed, shifted constantly'.<sup>26</sup> For our purposes three meanings stand out. Firstly, there was the notion contained in the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals, which asserted that 'this Realm of England is an Empire'. Henceforth the English monarch as '*rex imperator in regno suo*' owed authority to no other ruler in either temporal or spiritual matters. Secondly, 'empire' could explain the relationship between metropolitan states and their colonies, particularly when it was 'a pattern of political relationships which held together groups of peoples in "an extended system ... the terms of whose association were not permanently established"'.<sup>27</sup> The third significant meaning referred to 'supreme military and legislative power over widespread and diverse territories'.<sup>28</sup> In addition to offering these definitions, Pagden also asserts that in the early modern period only the head of the Holy Roman Empire and the ruler of Turkey were routinely regarded and referred to as Emperors. This last point is a useful place to begin our consideration of Hakluyt's notion of empire.

---

<sup>24</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 155.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Koebner, *Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); Pagden, *Lords*.

<sup>26</sup> Pagden, *Lords*, 12.

<sup>27</sup> Pagden, *Lords*, 13, citing J. G. A. Pocock, 'States, Republics and Empires: The American Founding in Early Modern Perspective', in Terence Bull and J. G. A. Pocock (eds.), *Conceptual Change and the Constitution* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1988), 68.

<sup>28</sup> Pagden, *Lords*, 15.

The words 'Emperor' and 'Empire' appear on a number of occasions in Hakluyt's work and frequently refer to a wider range of rulers than Pagden allows for. There are references to the Emperors of Persia, China, the Tartars and Muscovy.<sup>29</sup> It is not clear whether these titles reflected Hakluyt's belief in the political organisation of these entities, but it is noticeable that all four were rulers of lands which were copious in extent, contained a multiplicity of peoples and appeared to have formidable military power. Francis Bacon observed in his *Essays* that 'for empire and greatness, it importeth most that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study and occupation', and his view echoes that of *The Principal Navigations*.<sup>30</sup> Hakluyt referred to the 'huge and over-spreading' empire of the Tartars and 'their manifold warres and bloody conquests', to the 'huge Empire' of the Russians, and the large empire of China although this was under attack by the monarch of Japan.<sup>31</sup> In a separate venture, Hakluyt had persuaded Robert Parke to translate, and John Wolfe to publish, Juan Gonzales de Mendoza's *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China* (1588).<sup>32</sup> As we have already seen, Armitage is wrong to claim that the phrase 'British Empire' occurs nowhere in *The Principal Navigations*, and in fact Hakluyt engaged with ideas of empire both British and foreign.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>r-v</sup>, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>r</sup>, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>, and *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> Francis Bacon, *A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 401.

<sup>31</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*5<sup>v</sup>, sig. \*\*1<sup>r</sup>, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China*, trans. R. Parke (London: Edward White, 1588). See also Payne, 'Travel Books', 35.

<sup>33</sup> Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 81.



Of Pagden's three definitions of empire, the first is the most easily considered. In his *Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie*, the gentleman and place-seeker Charles Merbury asserted:

It is no small comferte vnto an English Gentleman, finding him selfe in a farre countrey, when he may boldly shew his face, and his forehead vnto any forren Nation: sit side by side with the proudest Spagniard: cheek by cheeke with the stoutest Germane: set foote to foote with the forwardest Frenchma[n]: knowing that his most Royall Prince (her Maiesties highnesse) is no whitte subiecte, nor inferiour vnto any of theirs. But that shee may also (if shee please) challenge the superioritie both ouer some of them, and ouer many other kinges, and Princes more ... shee may iustly call her selfe LADY, and EMPERES of all the Northe Ilandes.<sup>34</sup>

Hakluyt is never as explicit as Merbury, but he seems to have shared the belief in England's parity with other imperial nations. In *Divers Voyages* (1582), he rather optimistically asserted,

when I consider that there is a time for all men, and see the Portingales time to be out of date, & that the nakednesse of the spaniards, and their long hidden secretes are nowe at length espied, whereby they went about to delude the worlde, I conceiue great hope, that the time approcheth and nowe is, that we of England may share and part stakes (if wee will our selues) both with the spaniarde and the Portingale in part of America, and other regions as yet vndiscovered.<sup>35</sup>

By 1589, in the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, this equality had become a claim to have excelled the practical achievements of these nations:

---

<sup>34</sup> Merbury, *Briefe Discourse*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>. Also cited in Sherman, *John Dee*, 150.

<sup>35</sup> Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, sig. ¶1<sup>r</sup>.

in this most famous and peerlesse gouvernement of her most excellent Maiesty, her subiects 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, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth.<sup>36</sup>

Although this vaunt does not explicitly relate to the geographical extent of Elizabeth's *imperium*, the comparison with Rome is soon made:

*Lucius Florus* ... 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 moued with the fame of the maiesty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the *Moluccaes*, and *Iava maior*, haue desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? ... For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnto vs and them: to them especially, vnto whose doores I doubt but not in time shalbe by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, vvhile vve vse and exercise common trade with their marchants.<sup>37</sup>

Hakluyt, then, could envisage a Roman model of empire, and it included the notion that Elizabeth was '*regina imperatrix in regno sua*'. Significantly, however, in this instance it did not incorporate the notion of territorial acquisition. Hakluyt did not suggest that the English would gain administrative power over the Moluccas and Java Major, but rather that Christianity might spread on the back of trade. However, this was not the only early modern understanding of the term 'empire' which is evident in Hakluyt's writings.

---

<sup>36</sup> Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>. That the imperial comparison drawn by Hakluyt was not lost on Tudor-Stuart readers is revealed by a marginal note in a copy owned by the merchant Robert Nicolson. He became a member of the Muscovy Company in 1588, and in 1590 signed his copy of the 1589 *Principall Navigations*. He became an Assistant to the Court of the Company in 1598. By the section of text quoted above he wrote 'The Emperess of En[g]land comparable w[ith] the Emperour of Ro[me] for fame of maiesti[e] wher[e] in she is much more admirable'. See the copy of the 1589 edition in New York Public Library, shelfmark \*KC+ 1589 copy 1. It seems likely that Nicolson was a member of the family which Rabb identified as investing in various trading companies in the first two decades of the seventeenth century; *Enterprise and Empire*, 349.



We have already seen that Laudonnière's narrative and preface included a discussion of colonial policy. That passage itself disproves Armitage's claim that Hakluyt had no notion of an empire based on a Roman model. Indeed, arguably, Laudonnière's preface is specifically an attempt to differentiate the colonisation he was engaged in from the Roman model. Hakluyt's concern with the establishment of a colony by force of arms, which that narrative and his own preface to it reveal, demonstrates his own engagement with the idea of empire as 'supreme military and legislative power over widespread and diverse territories'. That he was also aware of another kind of attitude to empire – that of territories whose relationship 'was not permanently established' – is to be found in a tract of his written c.1580.

'A discourse of the Commoditie of the taking of the straight of Magellanus' discussed the advantages of controlling the Magellan Straits.<sup>38</sup> It proposed the diaspora of a local tribe to enforce control of the area under English rule. English convicts would be sent to strengthen the colony. The aim was to capture foreign – mainly Spanish – ships so that the wealth of South America could be appropriated to English use. The tract concluded with the suggestion that the colonists would ultimately want self-rule. Revealing a post-colonial attitude *avant la lettre*, Hakluyt declared that an independent and sympathetic nation was preferable to one controlled by a dangerous enemy, the crucial sphere of influence being Europe:

---

<sup>38</sup> A transcript of this document is available in Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 151-56.

*For the Symerones a people detesting the prowde gou[ernance] of the Spaniardes will easely be transported by Drake [or] others of o[u]r nation to the straights and there may be [planted] by hundreds and thowsandes as many as we shal require [And] these shall easely be induced to live subiect to the gentle [go]uernment of the Englishe and to be planted there for the defence of the straights. And plantinge over them a fewe go[od] English Cap[t]ens and mainteyninge in the bayes of the straig[hts] a good nauie there is no doute but y<sup>t</sup> we shall make subiecte to England all the golden mines of Peru and all the Coste and tract of that firme of America vpon the sea of Sur yet not fortiefied And worke the like effect on the hither side of y<sup>t</sup> firme ... To these Symerons we may add condemned englishemen and women in whom there may be founde hope of amendment ... But admitt y<sup>t</sup> we could not enioye the same long but y<sup>t</sup> the Englishe there would aspire to gouernemente of themselues yet were it better y<sup>t</sup> it sholde be soe then y<sup>t</sup> the spanyard shold withe the treasure of y<sup>t</sup> cuntrie torment all the Cuntries of Europe with wars and practises as he hathe and will doe if it be not foreseen in time But we myght keepe the Cuntrie as well as the spaniardes doe and vse trafficke with them.<sup>39</sup>*

Clearly Hakluyt had thought through the idea of colonies and their relationship with the colonising country. It would be surprising therefore if he had not given some thought to the idea and terminology of empire, even though the term itself does not appear in the ‘Discourse’. Nor does the Magellan Straits project which Hakluyt advocated in manuscript find its way into either edition of *The Principal Navigations*. How then can we discern Hakluyt’s attitude to empire in that work? I believe the answer is to be found in Dee’s notion of the concept.

I noted in Chapter 1 some of Dee’s and Hakluyt’s mutual acquaintances. To that coterie should be added Burghley. He was an avid collector of maps, including one by Dee, and seems to have taken a strong interest in Dee’s work about Elizabeth’s title to new territories, from which he made notes.<sup>40</sup> Burghley’s interest is an

---

<sup>39</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 153-54.

<sup>40</sup> Burghley’s summary is British Library, MS Lansdowne 94, article 51. In “‘Brytanici Imperii Limites’”, MacMillan argues that this was taken from the 1593 manuscript of that name. For Burghley’s map collection see Sarah Tyacke, *Before Empire: The English World Picture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001), 5.



indication of how potentially important Dee's argument was. It was contained in the four tracts written over the period of twenty years: *General and Rare Memorials* (1576/7), 'Of Famous and Rich Discoveries' (1577), '*Brytanici Imperii Limites*' (1578), and 'Thalattokratia Brettaniki' (1597).<sup>41</sup> The last of these, commissioned by Dyer and written only a year before the second edition of *The Principal Navigations* was published, rehearsed many of the arguments made in the earlier works. It is evidence that, despite Peter Robert's assertion that the British Empire idea was a lost cause by 1584, the matter was very much alive.<sup>42</sup> Most significantly with regard to Hakluyt, it described the process of acquiring an Empire as 'this Brytish discovery and recovery enterprise'.<sup>43</sup> The 'discovery' element comprised the search for a route via a North-East or North-West Passage to China and the Molucca Islands. The 'recovery' element was more complicated. Firstly, it incorporated a wider than usual understanding of the term 'British'. Dee not only included England, Wales and Ireland, but also Scotland, because he insisted that Scottish kings, especially James I, had paid homage to the English crown.<sup>44</sup> Secondly, it was based on what Dee claimed was historical precedent, particularly the alleged precursors King Arthur and Prince Madoc.<sup>45</sup> Their achievements permitted and set an example for territorial acquisition (or 'recovery') across the 'Northern Iles, & Regions Septentrionall'. According to Dee, these lands were 'fully appertinent to the Crown of this Brytish

---

<sup>41</sup> This section draws heavily on Sherman's work (*John Dee*, 148-200) which is the best analysis of these tracts. For the date of '*Brytanici Imperii Limites*' see MacMillan, "'Brytanici Imperii Limites'".

<sup>42</sup> Peter Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, National Identity and the British Inheritance', in Bradshaw and Roberts, *British Consciousness*, 8-42.

<sup>43</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 151.

<sup>44</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 196.

<sup>45</sup> For an interesting comparison of the approaches of Dee and Spenser to the material about Arthur see Charlotte Artese, 'King Arthur in America: Making Space in History for *The Faerie Queene* and John Dee's *Brytanici Imperii Limites*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003), 125-41.

Empire'.<sup>46</sup> The geographical extent of this claim was enormous. Dee claimed Elizabeth's title was to:

all the Coasts, and Ilands beginning at or about *Terra Florida*, and so alongst, or neer, unto *Atlantis* [North America], goinge Northerly: and then to all the most Northen Ilands great and small, And so compassinge about *Groenland*, Eastward and Northen Boundes of the Duke of Moscovie his dominions ...<sup>47</sup>

As if this was not enough, Dee's final claim was that 'the entire North Sea fell under British Sea sovereignty'.<sup>48</sup>

If that was Dee's opinion, how much of it found its way into *The Principal Navigations*? One obvious difference concerned Dee's and Hakluyt's definition of the term 'British'. So far as can be deduced from *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's view was much more orthodox since it did not incorporate Scotland. Nowhere in the collection is there any suggestion that Scotland owes allegiance to England, and Hakluyt's more conservative view seems to reflect crown policy more closely. By 1598 discussion of Elizabeth's successor was prohibited, and Elizabeth's tacit support for James VI of Scotland meant that no claim was made to the Scottish throne. 'British' for Hakluyt, meant the late Elizabethan notion of 'England, Wales and Ireland'. The submergence of Britain into England is suggested by Hakluyt's own comment on the King Arthur and King Malgo passages he included in *The Principal Navigations* and which I cited earlier.<sup>49</sup> Arthur and Malgo, two 'British

---

<sup>46</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 181.

<sup>47</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 187.

<sup>48</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 197.

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 1, page 42.



Kings' are part of the history of the *English* nation. It is perhaps the use of the same terminology for different entities which causes much of the confusion about notions of a British Empire, for by Victorian times – indeed, from the start of the eighteenth century – Britain without Scotland was unthinkable.

Although their understandings of the term 'British' differed, Dee and Hakluyt had similar notions of 'empire'. The key to this lies in the claims made about Arthur and Madoc, and the English Crown's title to the islands of the northern seas, and America. It is a significant but often overlooked fact that each volume of the second edition of Hakluyt's work begins with passages which stress both imperial rule and the spread of Christianity. In volume one these texts pertain to King Arthur, in volume two to Constantine, and in volume three to Madoc.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps, then, we should not make too much of the fact that Hakluyt rearranged the order of the material in the second edition, so that the sections on Arthur began the work. Nevertheless, they represent the most extensive material of the three, and it seems that Hakluyt changed the order specifically to stress the Arthurian sections.

In the context of events in Ireland in the 1590s, the work's opening sentence appears to be an endorsement of English policy:

---

<sup>50</sup> Sherman expounds the implications of Arthur and Madoc, but see also Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). For Constantine see Richard Koebner, "The Imperial Crown of this Realm": Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 26 (1953), 29-52. See, too, Michael S. Pucci, 'Reforming Roman Emperors: John Foxe's Characterization of Constantine in the *Actes and Monuments*', in Loades, *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, 29-51.

In the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, having subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof under his subiection.<sup>51</sup>

This is followed by a series of passages which note the extent of Arthur's empire and the tribute paid to him by the kings of surrounding territories. Although Dee's text is more explicit, Hakluyt also promotes the idea that the English can claim a wide extent of land:

This kingdome was too little for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are appertaining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, euen unto Russia (in which Lapland, he placed the Easterly bounds of his British Empire).<sup>52</sup>

Whether Hakluyt believed these myths, as we saw, he was prepared to vouch for the credibility of their source by claiming to be 'reliably informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis' about the 'noble actes of Arthur'.<sup>53</sup> However, the most telling aspect of the passage is Hakluyt's translation of the word '*regni*'. This is usually translated as 'kingdom', but Hakluyt renders it as 'empire', and this suggests that Hakluyt did indeed perceive the extensive territories subdued by Arthur as constituting an 'Empire'. That this is not accidental is suggested by a similar move made in a passage pertaining to King Malgo which Hakluyt renders:

---

<sup>51</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 1. Hakluyt, in fact, gives the Latin original first, before offering this translation.

<sup>52</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*1<sup>v</sup>. For a discussion of seventeenth-century attitudes to the material about Arthur see Chapter 6 below.



This king also obtained the government of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.<sup>54</sup>

The phrase '*potestati suae*' which Hakluyt translated as 'to his Empire' in fact means only 'to his power'. Hakluyt's use of a capital letter for 'Empire' seems to suggest a physical entity and administration, as opposed to merely '*imperium*' or 'rule'. This is a further indication that Hakluyt did indeed have a notion of a 'British Empire', and reveals something of the subtle way in which he put forward the idea. However, to what extent did Hakluyt believe that the 'British Empire' existed in his own time? As the subsequent sections of *The Principal Navigations* make clear, and as Armitage suggests, the empire of Arthur and Malgo soon disintegrated.<sup>55</sup> Even Dee claimed that Arthur acted as legitimation for a 'recovery' enterprise. To explore these issues we need to consider the example of King Arthur in relation to Ireland, and Ireland in relation to America.

The suggestion that English experience in Ireland constituted the basis for the approach to colonisation in North America was made long ago by Nicholas Canny.<sup>56</sup>

In Hakluyt's dedication to Raleigh of the Laudonnière text we can see this being

---

<sup>54</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 3.

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 4-16; Armitage, *Ideological Origins*, 80-81.

<sup>56</sup> Nicholas Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 30 (1973), 575-98; and for the overlap in personalities involved in the colonisation of Ireland and America, see D. B. Quinn, 'Ireland and Sixteenth-Century European Expansion', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies*, 1 (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), 21-32. See also his 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 89 (1945), 543-60; and Howard Mumford Jones, 'Origins of the Colonial Idea in England', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 85 (1942), 448-65. Armitage also provides a useful summary of the original argument in *Ideological Origins*, Chapter 2.

played out. There Hakluyt drew on historical precedent to promote military action as a means of colonisation:

Remember I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of *Ireland* newly dedicated vnto your selfe. Read you not that *Richard Strangbow* the decayed earle of *Chepstow* in Monmuthshire, being in no great fauour of his soueraigne, passed ouer into that Island in the yere 1171. and accompanied only with certain of his priuate friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that he opened the way for King *Henry* the second to the speedy subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of *England*?<sup>57</sup>

Although *The Principal Navigations* does not contain the extract from Holinshed's *Chronicle* that Hakluyt referred to, other works which allude to the event itself are included. The 'History of the Kings of Man' notes, 'In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin, with a great part of Irland.'<sup>58</sup> Peckham's *Trve Reporte* also cites Strangbow's experience in Ireland as a precedent for America:

may it not much encourage us to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henry the second) by name *Strangbow*, then earle of *Chepstow* in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at their owne proper charges passed ouer into *Ireland*, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong.<sup>59</sup>

Military conquest of Ireland was the grounds for English possession, and when we recall that the first sentence of the first English extract in *The Principal Navigations* relates that Arthur 'subdued all parts of Ireland', we can see how he could be

---

<sup>57</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.

<sup>58</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 178.



regarded as a proto-type for English military colonisation in areas which would form the basis of an Empire. That Hakluyt perceived possession acquired by force as an essential element in conferring rights of possession to the English crown is confirmed by his analysis in the 'Discourse of Western Planting':

*The Popes say they gaue Ireland to kinge Henry the seconde and his successors, and in deede they have don it in wordes: But when gaue they yt vnto him forsoothe after he had faste footing in it, and when Dermutius the Kinge 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 helpe himselfe the Popes donation had stode 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 against the Crowne of England.<sup>60</sup>*

King Arthur is noticeably absent from the realpolitik of the 'Discourse'. In the more expansive, public, and less overtly didactic *Principal Navigations* Hakluyt could include the historically doubtful Arthur, in the hope that it would satisfy readers with an antiquarian interest and inspire some to accept the principle of precedent. Thus, by his careful selection of Arthurian material, and his juxtaposition of it with genuine historical documents, and personal travel narratives, Hakluyt gave additional weight to his claim that these sources were 'authentic'.

Colonisers in America were encouraged to think of precedents in Ireland. In Hakluyt's collection these include the explicit example of Strongbow, and the implicit one of Arthur. If it seems strange that *The Principal Navigations* should work in part at least as an attempt to promote future colonisation, we should remember that such activities had largely stalled, so the work can be seen as an

---

<sup>60</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 100.

attempt to raise the general level of awareness among the better-educated and wealthier classes of society about the potential for American colonisation. The precedent of King Arthur was part of a wider attempt to promote conquest of all the islands surrounding England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, to form the basis of a 'British Empire'. While it would be mistaken, I think, to regard the stipulation in Raleigh's letters patent for Virginia that the 'fift part of all the oare of golde and siluer' should be returned to the Crown as replication of the tribute paid to Arthur, the effect was the same.<sup>61</sup> The home country was to be enriched by the conquest of new territories. Thus, in *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt seems to present the English relationship to Ireland as the one that should be pursued in America, and although, as his tract about the Magellan Straits revealed, he was able to perceive that distant colonies might want their independence, he did not allow that perception to emerge in his published work. Indeed, his attitude shared something of the ruthlessness expressed in Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland*, although Hakluyt does seem to have opposed the idea of laying the country waste.<sup>62</sup> Like the van de Passe portrait, Hakluyt's text works by implication. An explicit claim for the existence of a contemporary empire is never made, because, as far as Hakluyt was concerned, it was unachieved. Like Dee, Hakluyt was involved in a 'recovery and discovery' enterprise. When we understand this, we can begin to account for the inclusion in *The Principal Navigations* of such texts as Arngrimas Jonas's *Brevis commentarius de Islandia*.

---

<sup>61</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 243.

<sup>62</sup> Spenser's text was written sometime before 1598, but not published until 1633 in an edited version. The edition by Hadfield and Maley prints the 1633 edition but helpfully includes the omissions from it as an appendix. See Edmund Spenser, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).



At first sight it is hard to fathom why a work which is not about travel and involves no element of English voyaging is included in a work entitled *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Indeed, it seems to have been added at the last minute. The final line of page 514 in volume one is followed by a printer's ornament. The Latin version of the Iceland tract starts on a new page, and is followed by the accounts of the Spanish Armada and the 1596 Cadiz raid, which Hakluyt tells us he added as an afterthought. In the 'Preface to the Reader', he drew attention to the accuracy of geographical information contained in Jonas's tract, and it seems to have been intended to refute the entertaining but erroneous views propounded by Gones Peerse's verse description of Iceland published in 1561.<sup>63</sup> While Hakluyt's decision to include the tract can be seen as part of a general desire to make available up-to-date information which corrected the errors of '*none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers*', it also needs to be seen in a sixteenth-century English context.<sup>64</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages, Iceland had been an important source of fishing and trade for the English, as 'The Libel of English Policie' published in the collection suggests.<sup>65</sup> As Edward Cheney has shown, English fishing rights off Iceland remained a bone of contention in Anglo-Danish relations into the 1590s.<sup>66</sup> He has

---

<sup>63</sup> Stefán Einarsson, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York: Johns Hopkins Press for the American Scandinavian Foundation, 1957), 180.

<sup>64</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*\*2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 187-208.

<sup>66</sup> Edward Cheney, 'England and Denmark in the Latter Days of Queen Elizabeth', *Journal of Modern History*, 1 (1929), 8-39.

suggested that although relations were amicable, they were stretched to the limit by this issue. Earlier in the Tudor period, Iceland had seemed a possible site of English colonisation, but in the 1560s William Cecil acknowledged that English claims were defunct because of Denmark's annexation of the island. Sixteenth-century Iceland, then, was a potentially contested space. Its appeal lay both in the fishing off its coast and in its strategic position with regard to both the North-East and North-West Passages. As Sidney noted in a letter to Languet of 1577 in which he discussed the voyages of Frobisher,

It is therefore at this time under debate ... by what means these our labours can still be carried on in safety against the attacks of other nations among whom the ... Danes seem especially to be considered: ... being more northerly and therefore nearer: and relying on their possession of Iceland they are better provided with the means of undertaking this voyage.<sup>67</sup>

It is impossible to know whether Hakluyt was trying to re-awaken the idea of the colonisation of Iceland by publishing Jonas's tract, or merely highlighting what the English had missed. If he was trying to suggest acquisition, then he failed to understand that good relations with Denmark were more important than possession of Iceland. Alternatively, perhaps he thought he was making available information which might be relevant should an opportunity arise. This notion is not as illogical as it sounds, for although Hakluyt's ideas were often contingent on circumstances, paradoxically, they were not necessarily therefore practical, as the Magellan Straits 'Discourse' makes clear. In these circumstances we cannot rule out the possibility that Hakluyt was advocating taking possession of Iceland as part of a British Empire.

---

<sup>67</sup> Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 261.



Much the same holds true also for other works included in the collection pertaining to the islands surrounding England, Wales and Ireland, such as ‘the conquest of the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man* by *Edwin*’, the details of Arthur’s tribute from the Orkney Kings, or Edwin’s subduing ‘vnto the crowne of England ... the Hebrides’.<sup>68</sup> That such claims were not entirely preposterous is suggested by Elizabeth’s title, which in a proclamation of 1559 referred to her as ‘most worthy Empress from the Orkney Isles to the Mountains Pyrenees’.<sup>69</sup>

So Hakluyt and Dee both seem to have envisaged a British Empire which comprised North America, the islands surrounding modern day Great Britain, and larger and more distant lands in the northern seas. The extent of their vision was enormous; it was also in some instances politically impractical. However, despite its scope, this was not a vision of global empire. In this it differed markedly from its Victorian and Edwardian successors. Hakluyt’s awareness of other empires, such as the Holy Roman, Turkish, Muscovite, and Chinese examples, meant that he was aware of the impossibility in his own time of extending English colonial rule beyond the nearest territories. Although, too, he believed that the British Empire he was proposing offered opportunities for both trade and colonisation, he did not believe that colonisation must follow trade, as his attitude to the Far East reveals.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 3-4.

<sup>69</sup> Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ii. 103.

<sup>70</sup> For Hakluyt’s belief that colonization of America would open up opportunities for trade, see Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 29-33, 80-87.

Trade with China and the establishment of a trade route via a North-East or North-West Passage were lifelong concerns for Hakluyt. He regarded Coray, formerly a kingdom paying tribute to China but recently conquered by the Japanese, as the place most likely to provide ‘the best vtterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth’.<sup>71</sup> He also supported the Muscovy Company in its trade to Muscovy and in its voyages of exploration. The latter reflected his hope that access to Coray, China and Japan via a northern route would enable the English to access the East Indies without having to sail through Spanish waters. Yet although Hakluyt envisaged trade with these countries, and hoped for the spread of Christianity to them, at no time did he suggest in *The Principal Navigations* that they could be conquered. This is the fundamental difference between ‘the British Empire’ as it subsequently evolved and which Armitage rightly says Hakluyt could not imagine, and the British Empire, which, as I have shown, Hakluyt very much could and did imagine. Although he believed that colonial activity in America and the islands of the northern seas should comprise both acquisition of territory and promotion of trade, he did not believe that, when it came to engaging with existing large powers, trading interests should or could lead to territorial acquisition. This may have been ideologically inspired by the belief that imperial rulers were ‘*reges imperatores in regni sui*’, but more likely the sheer impracticalities of such a project meant either that the thought never arose, or that it was quickly dismissed. After all, it would not be until the twentieth century

---

<sup>71</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.



that a ship could forge a way through the ice of the North-west Passage, and the East India Company was not to establish a trading settlement in Japan until 1613.<sup>72</sup>

So *The Principal Navigations* reveals that Hakluyt could indeed imagine a 'British Empire' but only within a limited, though extensive, geographical area and always involving the acquisition of land which would be ruled by an administration from England, and which it would enrich. Consequently, the idea of empire represented only one aspect of Hakluyt's nationalism. True, these new acquisitions would serve both to extend the territories of the English crown and stimulate trade. They would also, Hakluyt believed, solve a number of domestic social problems, including overcrowding, vagrancy and unemployment, as well as providing opportunities to attack Spanish treasure fleets. Yet they did not comprise an empire which was an over-arching entity to which all other bodies must become subservient. Equally important to Hakluyt was the promotion of trade, and this was only incidentally related to his ideas about empire. It is important to realise that, for Hakluyt, one of the aims of colonisation was to further the search for the route to Cathay, and the search for a route to Cathay was not a search for lands in which to establish an empire. Hakluyt did not envisage a Victorian-style empire, in which reasons of mercantile interest justified military intervention with a view to establishing administrative control in a country which already had its own strong military force. The purpose of accessing the Far East was not to establish an empire through colonisation, but to enrich England and the English through the sale of wool and

---

<sup>72</sup> See Anthony Farrington, *The English in Japan, 1613-1623* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993). Extensive records of the East India Company's factory in Japan are to be found in Anthony Farrington (ed.), *The English Factory in Japan*, 2 vols. (London: British Library, 1991).

other commodities, and by the acquisition of valuable commodities such as spices. Ironically, only twelve years after the publication of *The Principal Navigations*, and within Hakluyt's lifetime, the Jacobean government considered a move which did foreshadow a Victorian notion of empire, in which mercantile interests caused military intervention and an attempt to establish administrative control. To protect trading interests in Russia in the 'Time of Troubles', the English crown gave serious consideration to attempting an invasion and conquest of northern Russia, and 'for a brief period of time King James I actually dreamed of adding part of Muscovy to his "empire"'.<sup>73</sup> Coming so soon after the publication of Hakluyt's work this episode reminds us that in the late Tudor and early Stuart periods, notions of empire, its practical reality, and its sphere of influence were rapidly changing.

---

<sup>73</sup> See Chester Dunning, 'James I, the Russia Company, and the Plan to Establish a Protectorate over North Russia', *Albion*, 21 (1988), 206. See also Madame Lubimenko, 'A Project for the Acquisition of Russia by James I', *English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), 246-56.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### Others

In 1594, Hakluyt wrote to the Dutch geographer Emanuel van Meteren promising to provide information about the North-East Passage to support a Dutch attempt to find that route to the Far East. He demanded twenty marks for making available 'all [his] secrets' and claimed that he would not 'conceal anything that will serve for the furtherance of such most Christian, profitable and noble enterprises'. He also enjoined van Meteren to secrecy. Eleven years later, on the Thursday before 5 November 1605, Hakluyt dined at the Mitre Tavern with,

the Lord Mordaunt, Sir Jocelin Percy, Sir William Mounson, Sir Mark Ive, Mr Robert Catsby, Dr. Tailor [and] ... Mr Pickering Esquire.<sup>1</sup>

It is not possible to identify all of these individuals, but three are particularly notable. Sir William Monson was the admiral in charge of protecting 'the narrow seas' and in 1615 was charged with Catholicism as part of investigations into the Overbury murder.<sup>2</sup> 'Lord Mordaunt' was Henry Mordaunt, 'a strict Roman Catholic' who was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of involvement in the Gunpowder

---

<sup>1</sup> Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols. (London: HMSO, 1883-1976), xvii. 522.

<sup>2</sup> For Monson see M. Oppenheim (ed.), *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, 6 vols., *The Navy Records Society*, 22 (1902), vol. i. pp. xxxiv-v.

plot.<sup>3</sup> Catsby, of course, was also a Catholic and one of the prime movers of the Gunpowder Plot.<sup>4</sup>

These two moments from Hakluyt's life raise a number of interesting questions. Why was Hakluyt, the English nationalist, assisting the country that within the next few years would become England's main maritime competitor? Why was Hakluyt, the supposedly staunch Protestant, dining with at least one of the Gunpowder plotters? How do Hakluyt's notions of secrecy fit with his active involvement in publishing? Answering these questions will help us to contextualise the English nationalism of *The Principal Navigations*. They do this by providing a basis from which to investigate notions of otherness within that collection. For, while material relating to and written by foreign nationals obviously contained a degree of otherness, so, too, did Catholicism. As Alison Shell puts it: 'In most parts of Elizabethan and Stuart England being a Catholic necessitated membership of an alternative community'.<sup>5</sup> In this chapter I want to examine these two concepts of 'otherness' and their implications for our understanding of the nationalism of *The Principal Navigations*. For simplicity, I distinguish between international and religious otherness, although these categories are inevitably an over-simplification, but I begin with some general observations common to both aspects of the idea of otherness.

---

<sup>3</sup> For Lord Mordaunt see *DNB*, s.v. 'Mordaunt Henry, second Earl of Peterborough'.

<sup>4</sup> See Hugh Ross Williamson, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 70-74.

<sup>5</sup> Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 107.



According to Richard Helgerson, 'Hakluyt's England defines itself in opposition to Spanish tyranny, Spanish cruelty, and Spanish ambition'.<sup>6</sup> Claims for anti-Spanish sentiment in *The Principal Navigations* have long been made, and, combined with assertions that the work is 'staunchly Protestant', constitute one of the most widely-held beliefs about it.<sup>7</sup> Both views interact with notions of otherness, but in disparate ways: anti-Spanish sentiment intimates an 'other' against which English nationalism was defined; assertions of the work's Protestantism seek to establish a central strand of that nationalism and posit competing religions as 'other'. The idea of the 'other' has long been recognized as fundamental to identity-formation, and nationalist identities are no exception.<sup>8</sup> Greenfeld, for example, has reminded us that the word 'natio' had as one of its earliest meanings 'a group of foreigners' at medieval universities.<sup>9</sup> Kedourie has drawn attention to the variety of forms that this notion of otherness can take.<sup>10</sup> It becomes clear, indeed, that the very concept of 'nation' is as much about exclusion as inclusion. An understanding of ideas of otherness as they relate to *The Principal Navigations* is, therefore, essential if we are to understand the nature of the work's nationalism. As we shall see, and despite Helgerson's claims about the formation of English identity, ideas of the 'other' are far more than mere attempts to establish identity by highlighting one's differences from the malefaction of an 'other'. Paradoxically, foreignness is often invoked by Hakluyt not to condemn

---

<sup>6</sup> Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 185.

<sup>7</sup> For exponents of the view that *The Principal Navigations* is anti-Spanish, see Maltby, *Black Legend*; Maria Kostaridou, 'England's Travel: Empire and Experience in Hakluyt's "Voyages"', D. Phil. thesis (University of York, 1998), Chapter 2. For the work as 'staunchly Protestant' see Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*, 65-7.

<sup>9</sup> Greenfeld *Nationalism Five Roads to Modernity*, 4. Greenfeld notes, too, that 'students had a national identity only in their status as students (that is in most cases, while residing abroad); this identity was immediately shed when their studies were completed and they returned home'.

<sup>10</sup> Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 56-86.

that otherness but to posit it as something to be replicated. Thus, the view that *The Principal Navigations* is anti-Spanish, though not inaccurate, is inadequate in two ways: it over-simplifies the presentation of Spain in *The Principal Navigations*; and it excludes ideas of otherness which derive from English interactions with nations other than Spain. Similarly, depictions of the work as anti-Catholic grossly oversimplify the work's presentation of matters of religion.

Foreign influence on the design and content of *The Principal Navigations* has long been recognised.<sup>11</sup> Most noticeably, Ramusio's extensive *Navigazioni et Viaggi* provided the example, format and some of the contents of *The Principal Navigations*. In this respect, Hakluyt's collection can be seen as part of the northward shift of humanist practice identified by Bradshaw.<sup>12</sup> Yet there were significant differences between the two collections. Even though Ramusio's work contained many narratives about voyages undertaken by those in the Italian states, noticeably of course Venetians, the work was not nationalist.<sup>13</sup> As Parks has noted, for Ramusio the inclusion of material such as the narrative of Cortes's journey was integral to his aim which 'still clung to the plan of including the travelers of all nations'.<sup>14</sup> For Hakluyt, however, as we have seen, the collection was to serve a nationalist purpose. Consequently, the inclusion of material from other nations was

---

<sup>11</sup> Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 124-26. For full details of those narratives which were published in *The Principal Navigations* and which came from Ramusio's collection, see D. B. Quinn, 'Principal Navigations (1598-1600)', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, ii. 341-460. For a full list of contents in the different editions of Ramusio's work see, George B. Parks, *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigazioni* (New York: New York Public Library, 1955).

<sup>12</sup> Bradshaw, 'Trans-Alpine Humanism'.

<sup>13</sup> Historical circumstances of the Italian states, of course, meant that Italian nationalism did not emerge until the nineteenth century and the Risorgimento.

<sup>14</sup> Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 124.



intended either to be detrimental to that nation (and so advantageous to the English), or directly helpful to the English. In addition, as Parks notes, Hakluyt also included documents, letters patent and commissions to ambassadors and these too served a nationalist purpose. Hakluyt was concerned particularly with rights of possession, with trading monopolies, and with first discoveries, but Ramusio had no interest in such things in terms of the legal rights European governments sought to derive from them. The difference between the two works is neatly revealed by the two collectors' treatment of Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*. Ramusio included it in his collection; Hakluyt thought it an important work and in 1600 persuaded John Pory to publish an English translation.<sup>15</sup> Yet the work had no English nationalist element, and despite its importance it found no place in *The Principal Navigations*.

Although Ramusio's collection influenced Hakluyt's it was not the main spur to publication of *The Principal(l) Navigations*. The impact of Hakluyt's time in Paris (1583-88) has never been adequately studied and yet it was clearly influential, particularly with regard to *The Principall Navigations*. It was while there that he devised the idea of the project, which he first mentioned in his 1587 edition of Martyr's *De orbe nouo*.<sup>16</sup> In the 'Dedicatorie Epistle' of the 1589 edition of that work Hakluyt also noted that during his five years in Paris he

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

---

<sup>15</sup>Africanus, *Geographical Historie*.

<sup>16</sup>Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 369.

security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned.<sup>17</sup>

He then cited in particular a passage from La Popelinière's *L'Amiral de France* which noted that the sea was the natural element of the English and that they had not exploited their mastery of it.<sup>18</sup> As Blair Worden has noted, the notion of 'security' was particularly resonant in this respect among the Sidney/Walsingham circle for it denoted a dangerous policy of inactivity which might threaten the state. Interestingly, it seems to have been especially current among the English community in Paris, for as early as 1578, 'the queen's ambassador in Paris, the forward Protestant Sir Amias Paulet, repeatedly issued the same warning: "our security" will "throw us into danger"; England, "lulled" to sleep, must "wake out of this dangerous slumber of security"'.<sup>19</sup>

La Popelinière's work, then, chimed with Hakluyt's but the influence of the Frenchman on *The Principal Navigations* has never been studied, despite the two men's shared interests both in historical method and in geographical studies.<sup>20</sup> Both

---

<sup>17</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Hakluyt's reference was to Lancelot Voisin, Sieur de La Popelinière, *L'Amiral de France et par occasion, de celvy des autres Nations, tant vieiles que nouvelles* (Paris, 1584).

<sup>19</sup> Blair Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 63 citing Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS A331 (Paulet's letter-book) fos. 9<sup>v</sup>, 51<sup>v</sup>, 89<sup>v</sup>. Worden also notes that Paulet regarded Dyer as one of his closest friends.

<sup>20</sup> La Popelinière's interest in historical method found fullest expression in his *L'Histoire des Histoires, avec L'Idee de L'Histoire Accomplie* (Paris, 1599). For discussions of La Popelinière's historical method see George Wylie Sypher, 'La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*: A Case of Historical Objectivity and Religious Censorship', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24 (1963), 41-54, and G. Huppert, *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), Chapter 8. There is not room here for an in-depth discussion of La Popelinière's influence on Hakluyt, which may in fact be more manifest in the 'Discourse of Western Planting' than in *The Principal Navigations*. Nevertheless a small example suggests that La Popelinière's influence may even have extended to metaphors.



men were also propagandists for colonisation of the New World; and as A. G. Gordon has observed, in both *Les Trois Mondes* (1582) and *L'Amiral de France* (1584), La Popelinière 'emphasise[d] the importance of geographical knowledge in accomplishing [the colonization he called for]'.<sup>21</sup> Both La Popelinière and Hakluyt sought government-led involvement in colonisation; both saw it as essential for the well-being of their countries; both attacked Spanish claims to territory that they could not actually manage; and both, as Gordon says of La Popelinière, were convinced of the need 'to record, to document, and to make available to others the results of man's endeavours'.<sup>22</sup> In the desire to benefit their respective nations both men located improvement within a context of international rivalry. Others (in this case nations such as Spain, which had recorded their maritime exploits) were both an inspiration and a bench-mark, while also being a negative 'other' against which each sought to define a national identity which they believed would be better.

The attitude of La Popelinière and Hakluyt was perhaps more complex than the attitudes of some of their contemporaries towards Spain.<sup>23</sup> Towards other countries, however, Tudor-Stuart writers had a more ambivalent attitude. As Daniel Vitkus has noted,

---

Hakluyt's comment in the Preface to volume one of the second edition that '*Geographie and Chronologie*' are '*the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history*' seems to be an expansion of La Popelinière's comment in *Les Trois Mondes* that '*la geographie est l'oeil naturel & la vraye lumiere de l'histoire*'. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>r</sup>; Lancelot Voisin, Sieur de La Popelinière, *Les Trois Mondes*, ed. Anne-Marie Beaulieu (Geneva: Libr. Droz, 1997), 148.

<sup>21</sup> A. G. Gordon, 'Mapping La Popelinière's Thought: Some Geographical Dimensions', *Terrae Incognitae*, 9 (1977), 61-74.

<sup>22</sup> Gordon, 'Mapping La Popelinière's Thought', 72.

<sup>23</sup> Edwards, *Threshold of a Nation*, 67-8.

Imperial envy, accompanied by anxiety about religious difference, is often expressed in English texts describing the Turks ... Fear and admiration of Turkish culture, and of ... the Ottoman Sultan ... were often mixed with condemnation and loathing.<sup>24</sup>

One might question the use of the term 'Imperial' to describe the combination of admiration and jealousy evident in English attitudes to other great powers. Nevertheless, Vitkus's analysis could just as well describe English attitudes in *The Principal Navigations to Russia and the Russian Tsar as Turkey and the Sultan*. In a variety of areas, then, English attitudes were highly complex, and it seems appropriate to examine them in detail to establish the sense of national identity which Hakluyt promoted.

### 5.1. Foreignness

Although it is undoubtedly true that many of the 'others' described in Hakluyt's work are condemned for their cultural traditions, moral attitudes and conduct, there are also many aspects of other nations' behaviour and culture which are specifically praised in the work. What we find when we examine the presentation of 'others' is that, as we might expect, their 'otherness' is read specifically in terms of English culture rather than in its own terms. Put simply this means that things which might be deemed beneficial to the English or which could be accommodated within a

---

<sup>24</sup> Daniel J. Vitkus, 'Travelling with the Turk: English Travelers in the Ottoman Empire during the Early Seventeenth Century', in Kamps and Singh, *Travel Knowledge*, 39. For a further discussion of the ambivalent attitude of the English to the Turks, see Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1-20.



humanist framework of civil behaviour were commended; things which were harmful, not advantageous, or unassimilable were perceived as alien, and often therefore condemned.

Even where foreign things were to be emulated, however, there was a competitive edge to Hakluyt's attitude. This is clear from his references to the Dutch in *The Principal Navigations*. No account of a Dutch voyage is included, but Hakluyt praised the Dutch for their 'great industry and magnanimity' in having 'discovered to 78. yea (as themselues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude'.<sup>25</sup> Yet he tempered his praise with the observation that 'our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch'.<sup>26</sup> Hakluyt's attitude to Dutch cosmographers was also ambivalent. On the one hand he invoked them as authorities, using their testimonies to support the claims he made about the accuracy and veracity of texts contained in *The Principal Navigations*. He included a letter from Mercator which gave information 'touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage'.<sup>27</sup> Barak's letter to Mercator was also printed because it gave 'good light to the discovery of the Northeast passage to Cathay, China, and the Malucaes'.<sup>28</sup> Ortelius's approbation of the narrative of Nicholas and Antonio Zeno's journey to the 'Isles of Frisland, Iseland, Engroneland, Estotiland, Drogeo and Icaria' referred to him as a 'famous

---

<sup>25</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 443.

<sup>28</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 509.

Cosmographer'.<sup>29</sup> Further use was made of Ortelius as a geographic authority to assert that 'the land on the backe part of *Virginia* extendeth nothing so far westward as is put downe in the Maps of those parts'.<sup>30</sup> Clearly, then, some 'others' were trustworthy and reliable – but not always. In these cases it is noticeable that they all supported Hakluyt's desire for the English to find a route to the Far East via a northern sea-passage, or his desire for the English to claim territory in America.

Although Hakluyt praised Ortelius and Mercator, he was prepared to include material that suggested that their information was out-of-date. He also described his own method of gathering geographical information from the narratives of travellers as preferable to theirs of extracting it from maps. Thus, Hakluyt cited Richard Willes's claim that there was a North-West Passage and his rejection of Ortelius's map which 'greatly skilleth not, being vnskilfully drawn for that point'.<sup>31</sup> Hakluyt's implicit approval of Willes's tract is revealed by his observation at another section of text that it was erroneous, suggesting that Hakluyt endorsed the remainder of the tract.<sup>32</sup> Willes's final comment was also echoed by Hakluyt in his prefatory material to the first edition when he observed that 'Peregrinationis historia ... *must bring vs to the certayne and full discoverie of the world*'.<sup>33</sup> Willes had stated that

---

<sup>29</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 121, 127-28.

<sup>30</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.

<sup>31</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Hakluyt printed Richard Willes's tract arguing for the existence of the North-West Passage in the 1589 and 1598-1600 editions, but in the latter he added two marginalia, one of which was to note 'This is an error' by a section of text which suggested that it was impossible to traverse the Magellan Straits from West to East. See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 24.

<sup>33</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.



It must be Peregrinationis historia ... that in ... controuersies of Geographie must put vs out of doubt. Ortelius ... Mercator ... Moletius ... Don Diego, with Ferdinando Bertely, and others, doe so much differ ... among themselues ... that one may ... truely surmise, these men ... be ignorant in those points touching [the North-West Passage].<sup>34</sup>

So, when it suited his argument, Hakluyt invoked Ortelius and Mercator as reliable witnesses, but when he did not like the implications of their conclusions, he contested their evidence. His scepticism about Ortelius, in particular, even extended to doubting his motives for gathering information. In the 'Discourse of Western Planting', Hakluyt claimed

*Abraham Ortelius the greate Geographer tolde me that at his laste beinge in England 1577 that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to haue discovered these partes of America [sc. Newfoundland], and the northwest strait before this tyme. And yt seemed that the chefe cause of his com[m]ynge into England was to no other ende but to pry and looke into the secretes of Frobishers voyadge, for yt was even then when Frobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the Northwest.*<sup>35</sup>

Although Hakluyt is not as explicit as this in *The Principal Navigations*, his willingness to appropriate the work of Ortelius and Mercator in ways which supported enterprises he thought beneficial to the nation should make us sceptical about claims that he furthered scientific knowledge for its own sake.<sup>36</sup>

The treatment of Dutch navigational achievements is unusual in *The Principal Navigations* for they are referred to but not represented in accounts. It is much more

---

<sup>34</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 28-29.

<sup>35</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 76.

<sup>36</sup> See G. R. Crone, 'Richard Hakluyt, Geographer', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 14: Hakluyt's 'interest was primarily in people and their actions, in the geographical environment as the setting in which they voyaged, explored, and developed the resources bestowed upon man by his Creator'.

common in this collection for otherness to features in one of two ways: accounts by English voyagers of their interactions with other nations and cultures, or narratives of voyages undertaken by those who were not English. The latter constitute a surprisingly large amount of the whole work – about 15%. They vary in time from the medieval voyages of William of Rubruck and John de Plano Carpini to the 1590s reports of the Portuguese Jesuits in Japan. Such narratives could in no way be accorded a place in the history of English maritime navigation and a perplexed Stephen Greenblatt, in his book on wonder, could only wonder at their inclusion:

Richard Hakluyt's intensely patriotic and staunchly Protestant *Principal Navigations, Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* somehow managed to include Giovanni de Pian Carpini, William of Rubruck, and Odoric of Pordenone.<sup>37</sup>

The inclusion of such material in *The Principal Navigations* certainly merits scrutiny.

The most pressing question about such narratives is how they were accommodated in a work ostensibly about English history, and intended largely for English consumption. Hakluyt himself provided one answer, claiming that 'where our own mens experience is defectiue, there I haue bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers'.<sup>38</sup> At one level, Hakluyt's comment is a satisfactory explanation of his method, particularly in relation to the narratives pertaining to America. His claim in his Latin edition of Peter Martyr's *De orbe nouo*

---

<sup>37</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 8-9.

<sup>38</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.



that 'he who publishes the praises of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they be not dolts' also reveals his attitude to publication of foreign materials.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, it is by and large true that the material of non-English writers was included only where narratives of English endeavour were not available. There was an enormous amount of material about foreign enterprises which Hakluyt omitted from *The Principal Navigations*, some of which he published separately. This fact makes clear that Hakluyt's inclusion of foreign material was selective and re-iterates the importance of examining it carefully.

Thomas Healy's claim that 'Hakluyt's vision of Elizabeth as a global monarch was without foundation in actuality' misunderstands the nature of Hakluyt's enterprise.<sup>40</sup> Not only did Hakluyt not claim in *The Principal Navigations* that Elizabeth was 'a global monarch', but his presentation of foreign nations specifically circumscribed the extent of English influence. The inclusion of letters to and from such rulers as the Russian Tsar, the Sultan of Persia and the Turkish Emperor was intended to suggest Elizabeth's parity with such powerful rulers. Hakluyt did not present Elizabeth as a ruler over these domains; instead, he thought it important to note when Elizabeth had some influence on such potentates. He observed, for example, 'the great good and Christian offices' which Elizabeth had done for the King of Poland through her influence with the Turks.<sup>41</sup> Direct comparison of English navigational achievements with those of the Spanish and Portuguese was equally intended to suggest parity with the best. This is not of course to say that Hakluyt did

---

<sup>39</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, i. 365. The translation is Taylor's.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Healy, *Christopher Marlowe* (no place: Northcote House and British Council, 1994), 47.

<sup>41</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

not wish and believe that the English could become a supremely powerful nation; he did. The point is that we need to locate Hakluyt's view of England in the correct place on the trajectory of rise, decline and subsequent fall. His interest both in the overall scheme and in the beginnings of great empires suggests that he saw England as in the ascendant (a view he stated explicitly in *Divers Voyages*, as we have seen).<sup>42</sup> He used material about other nations to reinforce this perspective.

In volume one of the second edition, Hakluyt included '*the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia*'.<sup>43</sup> He claimed that this was partly because readers would otherwise have been ignorant of this organisation, but his description of what he included invited an exemplary reading. He claimed to have 'set downe'

*a briefe and orderly Catalogue ... contayning the first originall and institution of themselues 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 atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.*<sup>44</sup>

Internal revolt and the machinations of powerful neighbours undermine the Teutonic Knights. The message for the English state is clear. Colonisation and conquest bring riches, particularly when conducted against 'infidels', but internal strife can cause collapse. It was also noticeable that the Teutonic Knights had adopted Protestantism, but even among contemporaries their ultimate demise seems to have been attributed

---

<sup>42</sup> Hakluyt *Divers Voyages*, sig. ¶1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>v</sup>.



to internal religious dissension.<sup>45</sup> Hakluyt's decision to remove examples of internal division from the accounts of English voyages has a corollary in his decision to include them in material relating to other nations. Such material provided an opportunity to demonstrate the dangers of domestic conflict and to distance them from the English.

The relationship between colonisation and internal rebellion was further spelled out by Hakluyt when he commented on the narratives of French attempts at colonisation. Noting that in 1587 he had published the accounts of Ribault, Laudonnière and Gorges concerning their attempts to colonise Florida, Hakluyt claimed that

*Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iustice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Iudges ... [protested] that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence vnto our selues I here omit.*<sup>46</sup>

Colonisation, for Hakluyt offers an opportunity to remove potentially rebellious parties from within the state. It promotes internal unity, setting on work those of 'variable humours'. In seeming to reject an exemplary reading of the French situation by the English, at the end of this passage, Hakluyt in fact only enforces it by the rhetorical device of *occupatio*, for he promises only to omit the comparison

---

<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the Teutonic Knights see Joseph R. Strayer (ed.), *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), s.v. 'Chivalry, Orders of'. For contemporaries' awareness of the internal division see *Treitschke's Origins of Prussianism: (The Teutonic Knights)*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969), 146.

<sup>46</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.

and implies that he is still happy to actually make it. His refusal to make the reading explicit is merely a means of inviting the readers to do so themselves.

The narratives of French colonisation reiterated one aspect of the material relating to the Teutonic Knights, that of the unifying effects of colonisation and, related to that, the dangers of internal dissension. A further aspect – that of their small beginnings – was echoed in Hakluyt’s comments about the William of Rubruck and John de Plano Carpini narratives. Once again, Hakluyt gave multiple reasons for including this material, alluding, in particular, to the rarity of the narratives. Yet he specifically praised the authors for ‘setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouer-spreading [Tartar] Empire’.<sup>47</sup> The message is clearly the proverbial adage about little acorns and mighty oaks. In the preface to the Laudonnière narrative, Hakluyt went further, and drew attention to the fact that even far-reaching empires did not need extensive resources. Noting that the Portuguese empire included ‘the *Açores, Madera, Arguin, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao* vpon the coast of China’, he observed that the Portuguese king ‘had neuer aboue ten thousand natural borne *Portugals* (their slaues excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories.’<sup>48</sup> He even drew attention to the fact with a marginal note: ‘The kings of Portugal had neuer aboue ten thousand of their naturall subiects in all their new conquered dominions’.<sup>49</sup> These narratives seem to offer two not altogether complementary nationalist interpretations. On the one hand, Hakluyt suggests that

---

<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*6<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.

<sup>49</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303.



large empires can be achieved with relatively few resources; on the other, he seems to imply that the territories that are held by the Portuguese, especially, are only weakly held. Thus, Hakluyt used the narratives of other nations to suggest that there were opportunities available to the English. Here others were used not for their difference from the English, but for their similarity to them.

It was not only theoretical examples, however, which Hakluyt derived from the narratives of other nations, but also practical information. As Jonathan Hart has observed, 'Hakluyt's comparison between other European nations and England is meant to show the shortcomings of his own country'.<sup>50</sup> This is particularly true of Hakluyt's treatment of Spain. Although Helgerson's claim that *The Principal Navigations* contains much anti-Spanish sentiment is not without foundation, it is far from representing the whole picture. In two important ways Spain provided an example to the English. In the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Cecil in the second volume of the second edition, Hakluyt specifically praised Queen Isabelle for encouraging '*the enterprise of Columbus*' when the war with the Moors had been concluded. In the same way he hoped that, at the end of the war with Spain, Elizabeth would embark on a policy of colonisation.<sup>51</sup> Thus Spanish history offered a paradigm to be emulated. Furthermore, in both the first and third volumes of the second edition, Hakluyt also called for the establishment of a lectureship in navigation, and on both

---

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Hart, 'Strategies of Promotion: Some Prefatory Matter of Oviedo, Thevet and Hakluyt', in id. (ed.), *Imagining Culture: Essays in Early Modern History and Literature* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 86.

<sup>51</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.

occasions referred to the Spanish example. In the first volume he praised the ‘high reach and great foresight’ of Charles V because he

established not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage [sc. across the Atlantic], but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contraction house at *Siuill*.<sup>52</sup>

In the third volume Hakluyt took the step of publishing

Certaine brief extracts of the orders of the Contraction house of *Siuill* in *Spaine* touching their gouernment in sea-matters; together with The straight and seuer 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*.<sup>53</sup>

His purpose was specifically to encourage those in England who were responsible for ‘the Admiraltie and marine causes of *England*’ to ‘gladly imbrace and imitate’ these examples.<sup>54</sup> The strategy of publishing these instructions marked a significant move for Hakluyt, and possibly an attempt to gain support for the idea by wider publication. As the texts made clear, Hakluyt had obtained them in 1586, but he had not included them in the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*.

Yet Spain was not the only ‘other’ that provided examples which might have a practical benefit. I noted in Chapter 2 the attention Hakluyt drew to the practical usefulness of the Laudonnière narrative for those engaged in Raleigh’s colonisation

---

<sup>52</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A3<sup>r</sup>.



of Virginia. This desire to make available practical information also justified the inclusion of material by non-English writers on Iceland, the Tartar Empire, China, Japan, New Mexico, the Gulf of California, the Californian coast, Canada and the West Indies. Such information might be geographic, such as '*the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching vnto, and doubling of The Cape of Good Hope*', or it might pertain to trade: '*a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Caesar Fredericke a Venetian.*'<sup>55</sup> In the case of the material relating to the West Indies the context was war with Spain:

I haue vsed the vttermost of my best endeauours, to get, and hauing gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way auaille vs or annoy them, if they driue and vrge vs by their sullen insolencies, to co[n]tinue our courses of hostilitie against them.<sup>56</sup>

In a variety of ways then, the narratives of the enterprises of other nations could either inspire or practically assist the English in their attempts at self-improvement. In this last case the mere fact of publication was an act which engaged in a relationship with an 'other'. As this passage suggests it would be naïve to think that, although other nations provided positive examples, they were therefore presented entirely positively in *The Principal Navigations*.

William Maltby has drawn attention to the role of *The Principal Navigations* in promoting the notion of the Black Legend with its emphasis on Spanish cruelty to

---

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*4<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

indigenous peoples, Spanish greed, Spanish treachery, and Spanish ambition. Maltby reads *The Principal Navigations* in the light of 'The Discourse of Western Planting' and his account is followed in Helgerson's comments about the work's anti-Spanish sentiment. There is of course material to support the case, not least the inclusion of Saville's *A Libel of Spanish Lies*. Maltby also cites the infamous incident at the port of St John de Ulloa in which Hawkins's fleet was attacked after he had permitted the Spanish entry to the port. However, Maltby is mistaken to claim that in *The Principal Navigations* 'Spanish cruelty was unique'.<sup>57</sup> In the narrative of the 'Loss of Rhodes', Turkish cruelty in the treatment of the sick and wounded is stressed, and in *The True Reporte of the Siege and Taking of Famagosta*, repeated reference is made to 'those cruell Turks'.<sup>58</sup>

Nor is it reasonable to claim that Hakluyt portrays treachery and deceitfulness as uniquely Spanish traits. The narrative about Famagusta notes: 'Iust Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: sodainly to promise, and never to perform the same'.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, a number of different 'others' were deemed to be treacherous, particularly the Portuguese and indigenous Africans. Thus Hakluyt's marginal notes draw attention to 'The treason of the Portugals in S. Jago to our men', 'The mo[n]strous lies of a Portugall', and 'a Portingale traitor'.<sup>60</sup> Other marginalia state blandly 'No trueth in Negros', 'The Negroes trecherie', and 'The English betrayed to the

---

<sup>57</sup> Maltby, *Black Legend*, 70.

<sup>58</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 95, 119, 112.

<sup>59</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 127.

<sup>60</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 61, 190, II i. 73.



Spaniards' (and the text makes clear that this betrayal is by 'Negros').<sup>61</sup> As Emily Bartels explains, the presentation of African Negroes suggests that they are 'threateningly unpredictable and potentially hostile'.<sup>62</sup> Yet, as she also notes, they are not always represented as 'savages'. In particular, like the Moors, they can be 'civil', particularly when they are 'civil' to the English by, for example, engaging in trade.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, then, other nations and cultures are for the most part presented negatively when their conduct threatens English ambitions, and positively when they assist them, or when their achievements present an example for the English to emulate.

This labile attitude to other nationalities also pertains to representations of Oriental countries. As Samuel Chew, Edward Said and Daniel Vitkus have observed, English presentations of Turkey and Persia and of the Islamic faith were complex, and Hakluyt's collection is no exception.<sup>64</sup> Like other writings it combined awe at Turkish military power, desire for a share in Oriental wealth through trade, and interest in and sometimes incomprehension of the Islamic religion.<sup>65</sup> This last point is particularly pertinent to claims about Hakluyt's Protestant nationalism. On the one hand, as Chew observes, Hakluyt could be dismissive of Islam. For example, he added a sarcastic marginal note – 'A goodly and well grounded religion' – at the section of text which states 'a little Lizard ... declared that it was Mahumets

---

<sup>61</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 522, II ii. 59, iii. 527.

<sup>62</sup> Emily Bartels, 'Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa', *Criticism*, 34 (1992), 527.

<sup>63</sup> Bartels, 'Imperialist Beginnings', 528-29.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel C. Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995); Vitkus, 'Travellers into the Levant'.

<sup>65</sup> Chew, *Crescent and the Rose*, Chapter 5; Said, *Orientalism*, 49-73.

pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor.’<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, he also included an extensive description of the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>67</sup> There is nothing about either the content or presentation of this tract to suggest that it is anything other than an engaging and interesting example of cultural geography. It is noticeable, however, that of Hakluyt’s eleven marginal notes, only one pertains to the work’s religious content and five contain information useful for trade, such as descriptions of ports and sea-depths. Indeed, Hakluyt’s attitude to Islam appears to have been that believers in this religion were mistaken, but that this fact should not interfere with trade. Cultural difference was best understood and accommodated in an effort to promote better relations:

*if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour.*<sup>68</sup>

Hakluyt then provided a brief history of all those nations which have ‘*vsed trade and traffike*’ in Turkish dominions, as well as detailing those, including of course the Spanish and Portuguese who had ‘*ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores*’.<sup>69</sup> In short, religion, as Jardine and Brotton have shown was to be no bar to the national interest.<sup>70</sup> It is important to consider this in more detail to understand the nature of Hakluyt’s nationalism.

---

<sup>66</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 398, cited Chew, *Crescent and the Rose*, 232.

<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 198-213.

<sup>68</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2000), 8: ‘the boundaries between ... East and West were thoroughly



## 5.2. Religion

Religion is noticeably absent from Dee's list of ways 'to make this Kingdome flourishing, Triumphant, famous and Blessed' and this is one issue on which Dee and Hakluyt appear to have differed. Indeed, Hakluyt's connections with Francis Walsingham, Philip Sidney and other Protestants, as well as the anti-Papal and anti-Catholic views he expressed in 'The Discourse of Western Planting', have understandably led to a view of Hakluyt as ardently Protestant. Certainly, he was a priest in the Church of England and benefited from promotion in the Church. Yet we need to contextualise his Protestantism. The anti-Catholicism expressed in 'The Discourse of Western Planting' was that of a polemical tract directed to the Head of the Church of England to encourage her to take up colonisation of America. Just how much the argument of this tract differed from the nationalism of *The Principal Navigations* can be seen from Hakluyt's observations about the Levant trade. In urging the opportunities offered by America, Hakluyt's 'Discourse' highlighted the difficulties of all the other trading locations. In a chapter entitled 'That *all other englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous ...*' Hakluyt noted the dangers, inconveniencies, expense and impracticality of trade to Turkey and Russia.<sup>71</sup> He cited the '*greate expences in mayneteyninge a kinde of Embassador at Constantinople*' and the '*incom[m]oditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted*

---

permeable in the Renaissance, and ... even in situations of conflict, mutual recognition of icons and images could be used adversarially with creative verve'.

<sup>71</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 12.

by the Corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers'.<sup>72</sup> He confessed that the Muscovy trade had cost 'fourscore thousande poundes' before it brought any success; now that the Dutch were competing for the trade, and the Emperor was dead, 'yt is greatly feared that the voyadge wilbe vtterly ouerthrowen'.<sup>73</sup> Such remarks run counter to the nationalist drive of *The Principal Navigations*, with its extensive consideration of the Muscovy trade route, and praise for the establishment of an embassy at Constantinople. In these circumstances it becomes important to consider the religious aspect of *The Principal Navigations* in its own terms.

In *The Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt's method and linguistic terminology frequently parallel those of John Foxe in his *Actes and Monuments*. Both Foxe and Hakluyt were interested in tracing a previously 'obscured' English history; both deployed eye-witness accounts and both published supporting documents. They even used similar material: both, for example, drew on the figure of Constantine, and Hakluyt also cited Foxe's work. Hakluyt's frequent references to Divine Providence, such as his attribution to God's special favour of the dispersal of the Armada fleet, suggest that, like Foxe's work, Hakluyt's promotes the idea of an elect nation, as described by Haller.<sup>74</sup> There is also evidence to suggest that Hakluyt omitted pro-Catholic material which he was happy to see published elsewhere. Thus, in John Huighen van Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte & West Indies*, the account of John Newbery's and Ralph Fitch's journey notes that while the two men were imprisoned:

---

<sup>72</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 12.

<sup>73</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 15.

<sup>74</sup> Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*.



they behaued themselues verie Catholikely and verie deuoute, euerie day hearing Masse with Beades in their hands so that they fel into so great fauour, that no man carried an euill eye, no nor an euill thought towards them.<sup>75</sup>

Hakluyt had encouraged publication of this work and provided the original for translation, but in the version in *The Principal Navigations*, published only a year afterwards, Hakluyt emended the text to read: ‘they behaued themselues so discreetly that no man carried an euill eye, no, nor an euill thought towards them’.<sup>76</sup>

Textual emendation was not the only means used by Hakluyt to neutralise remarks which suggested English men were practising Catholics. The omission of the ‘Dedicatory Epistle’ of Thomas Nicolas’s *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes, Called the Ilands of Canaria ... Composed by the Poore Pilgrime*, can probably be attributed to its claim that the author was ‘apprehended for an heretike and an open enimie to the Romish Church’, even though he in fact was a Catholic.<sup>77</sup> Indeed Hakluyt’s alteration to the title of this work in which he replaced ‘the Poore Pilgrime’ with ‘Thomas Nichols English man’ suggests his desire to stress national identity over religious persuasion. As we have seen, this is entirely in keeping with his reading of the impact of the French civil war: religious dissension led to internal strife and hence the failure of the French to pursue their colonial activity. His preference for national unity over religious confrontation also manifested itself in his treatment of ‘The voyage of M. *Charles Leigh*, and diuers

---

<sup>75</sup> Linschoten, *Linschoten. His Discourse*, 141.

<sup>76</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 267.

<sup>77</sup> Nicolas, *Pleasant Description*, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

others to Cape *Briton* and the Isle of *Ramea*'.<sup>78</sup> This was a late 1590s voyage which carried four Puritan Separatists who had petitioned the Privy Council to establish a colony in New Found Land in which they could exercise freedom of conscience. As Leland H. Carson notes: 'the Separatists are discreetly omitted from the narrative, but their names are given in George Johnson *A Discoverie of Some Troubles and Excommunications in the Banished English Church at Amsterdam*'.<sup>79</sup> Hakluyt similarly made no mention of the fact that Gilbert's efforts at colonisation involved the attempt to establish a Catholic colony in which freedom of conscience would be permitted.<sup>80</sup>

Yet we need to be careful about too easily regarding Hakluyt's presentation of religion in *The Principal Navigations* as exclusively in favour of the Protestantism of the established church. It would also be mistaken to deem Hakluyt's religious position as extremist. As is to be expected, *The Principal Navigations* does contain much material which is overtly Protestant. Yet it also contains overtly Catholic statements, narratives of voyages undertaken by Catholics, and relations of Jesuit missionaries. It is important to try to understand how Hakluyt might have intended such material to be read, and the implications for his concept of nationalism. By comparison with the 'Discourse of Western Planting', Hakluyt's tone in *The Principal Navigations* is far more moderate, and we should understand this, I think,

---

<sup>78</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 195-201.

<sup>79</sup> Leland H. Carson (ed.), *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), 469.

<sup>80</sup> Quinn, *Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, i. 70-75.



as an attempt to convey a more inclusive form of nationalism than was presented in the manuscript 'Discourse'.

The contrast between the two positions emerges with regard to the question of evangelism in North America. In the 'Discourse', Hakluyt prioritised this issue. It was the first topic he discussed, and he stressed both Protestant failures and Spanish and Portuguese achievements in this matter. Yet he was also keen to try to undermine the latter by condemning Catholicism:

*yf they in their sup[er]stition by meanes of their plantinge in those partes have don so greate thinges in so short space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere Relligion, proposinge vnto our selues 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?*<sup>81</sup>

In the *The Principal Navigations* reference is also made to the need for evangelism, but it is less insistent. In the first volume the need is not explicitly stated but is merely implied as Hakluyt details a series of reasons for establishing a lectureship to improve navigation, which

will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people.<sup>82</sup>

In the second volume, reference is again made to evangelism as part of a long list of benefits to derive to the nation, this time from the colonisation of America. On this

---

<sup>81</sup> Quinn and Quinn, *Discourse*, 11.

<sup>82</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

occasion Hakluyt laid greater stress on it, noting that the lack of evangelism on the part of the English had become a stick with which other nations could beat them. He used this as part of an appeal to the English gentry to galvanise themselves.

Colonisation will

*increase [Elizabeth's] dominions, enrich her cofers and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our aduersaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. ... which I wish the Gentrye of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie.*<sup>83</sup>

Noticeably absent is any criticism of Catholic evangelism. Moreover, evangelism is seen as both consolidating colonial activity or as facilitating new trading opportunities. In his preface to Laudonnière's narrative, Hakluyt commended Raleigh because he intended to send 'good Churchmen thither' after he had established a stronghold. On the other hand, in the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, Hakluyt stated that Christianity would be taken to Japan and the Philippines 'while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants'.<sup>84</sup>

That a more ecumenical note is struck in *The Principal Navigations* than in the 'Discourse' is also suggested by Hakluyt's decision to include the writings of Catholic missionaries. According to Marotti, even English Catholics deemed Jesuits to be 'dangerous aliens', and in such a climate it is perhaps surprising that Hakluyt should include the accounts of China, Japan and Korea 'Collected out of the

---

<sup>83</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 303; *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*3<sup>r</sup>.



Portugale Iesuites yearely Iaponian Epistles'.<sup>85</sup> It is not clear whether 'Padre Thomas Stevens' was a Jesuit, but his Catholicism is not in doubt. Not only were his letters to his father included in *The Principal Navigations*, but Hakluyt drew attention to him in a marginal note at a point where the text specifically mentions his Catholicism. Hakluyt also referred to Stevens's letter in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie', deeming it '*plainly and truely ... deliuered*'.<sup>86</sup> Given that Hakluyt did edit in detail when he wanted to, we can discern here a willingness to prioritise useful information over religious conviction. Similarly, Stevens's willingness to act as surety for Newbery and Fitch when they were imprisoned demonstrated his willingness to privilege nationality over religious difference.

If national interest can account for the inclusion of the references to Stevens and his religion in a direct way, a more complex position pertains to the inclusion of pre-Reformation material. Anthony Milton has persuasively argued that the binary oppositions of Catholic and Protestant proposed by Peter Lake, although undoubtedly real, oversimplify the range of interactions between those subscribing to these two creeds.<sup>87</sup> As Alison Shell has put it, 'Catholics and Protestants often lived side by side, sometimes spoke to each other without quarrelling, and read each others books'.<sup>88</sup> The complexity of the position is revealed by Milton's comment that 'even the violently anti-Catholic William Prynne was happy to cite approvingly

---

<sup>85</sup> Arthur F. Marotti, 'Alienating Catholics in Early Modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies', in id. (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism*, 9; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 854.

<sup>86</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig \*4r.

<sup>87</sup> Anthony Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in Marotti, *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism*, 85-115.

<sup>88</sup> Shell, *Catholicism*, 16.

the opinions of the notorious Juan de Narvana when mustering writers against stage plays in his *Histriomastix*'.<sup>89</sup> Interestingly, Olsen claims that despite Foxe's antipathy to the Catholic Church he was not in favour of religious persecution, but in fact supported toleration.<sup>90</sup> Whether this is true or not, another publication with which Hakluyt was involved expresses a very similar view. He solicited Abraham Hartwell to translate Eduardo Lopez's *A Reporte of the Kingdom of Congo* so hard that Hartwell's original objections to that project were brushed aside. In his 'Address to the Reader', Hartwell commented at length on this issue of conversion to Christianity by Catholics. Talking of the work of Portuguese Catholic priests in the Congo who had '*Baptis[ed] the King, the Queene, the Lordes, and the Commons ... built Churches, ... erected Altars [and] ... set vp Crosses*' he observed:

*I will not denie, but that these Priests, had a good intent, and for my part I do beleue that they were in bona fide, because they conuerted a great parte of the People, not to Poperie, but to Christianitie, the true foundation of all Religion. And this Action, which tendeth to the glory of God, and may be a notable example to the World, of doing the like, shall it be consealed and not committed to sumarie, because it was performed by Popish Priests and Popish meanes? God forbid.*<sup>91</sup>

While it would be wrong to attribute such sentiments to Hakluyt himself, it is I think reasonable to assume that he had some sympathy with them. It is not just that, as the preface explains, Hakluyt specifically sought out Hartwell; but Hartwell was

---

<sup>89</sup> Milton, 'Qualified Intolerance', 92.

<sup>90</sup> V. Norskov Olsen, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 197-219.

<sup>91</sup> Eduardo Lopez, *A Reporte of the Kingdom of Congo*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London, 1597), sigs. \*4<sup>v</sup>.\*\*\*1<sup>r</sup>.



chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, so the sentiments he expressed had weight.

In these circumstances, Hakluyt's inclusion of pre-Reformation material should not surprise us. It can be understood as another example of his appropriation of any relevant material for a specific cause. Thus we hear of 'the woorthy voiage of *Richard* the first, K[ing]. of *England* into *Asia*, for the recouerie of *Ierusalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens* drawn out of the booke of *Acts and Monuments*', and of 'A preparation of a voyage of King *Henrie* the fourth to the *Holy land* against the infidels in the yere 1413.<sup>92</sup> For Hakluyt, pre-Reformation Christian activity was largely a matter of Christian against pagan or infidel. That the faith in question was Catholic did not matter for such precedents were an example to the contemporary English gentry who (Hakluyt hoped) would follow suit, although in a different arena.

Yet while English pre-Reformation material can be accommodated in this way into a Protestant nationalism, it is harder to assimilate some of the comments of other pre-Reformation writers. This is particularly true of the narrative of John de Plano Carpini which Hakluyt included both in Latin and English. This text, as Hakluyt acknowledged, came to him from Lord Lumley, a well-known Catholic peer. Carpini was sent on an evangelical mission to the Tartars in 1246, and when asked what he wanted replied 'Domini Papae nuncii sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus', or, as Hakluyt's translation has it, 'We are the legates of our lord the

---

<sup>92</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 20, 71.

Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians'.<sup>93</sup> The inclusion of such material stands out in an age when, as Milton comments,

violently anti-Catholic language drenched the religious literature being promoted, not just by Puritan fanatics but by the most learned bishops of the Church of England. The Pope was identified as Antichrist by university professors and Puritan artisans alike.<sup>94</sup>

Although Hakluyt was engaged in publishing a different type of material, that such overtly pro-Catholic statements required sensitive treatment is revealed by Hakluyt's marginalia for this text. The Latin version contains a large number of them, including at this point 'Papa Christianorum pater & Dominus' [the Pope is father and lord of the Christians]. In the English translation of the Carpini text that he provided, Hakluyt translated all the marginalia except this one. It suggests that to print such a comment in English was to go a bridge too far.

### 5.3. Conclusion

What then should we make of the presentation of religion in *The Principal Navigations*? Alison Shell has commented on the puzzling incidence of 'unmistakably Catholic sentiments, issued by mainstream presses without comment' and she concludes that 'context is all-important'.<sup>95</sup> In *The Principal Navigations* we

---

<sup>93</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 46, 64.

<sup>94</sup> Milton, 'Qualified Intolerance', 85.

<sup>95</sup> Shell, *Catholicism*, 17, 35.



can see a Protestant bias to Hakluyt's work, but to read its religious content in the light of the 'Discourse of Western Planting' seems to me gravely mistaken. That text was polemical and designed to circulate in a very small community. *The Principal Navigations* had a more wide-ranging and more inclusive purpose. Fourteen to sixteen years after the writing of the 'Discourse', England still had not succeeded in establishing a colony, nor was it yet a force to be reckoned with in terms of its long-term trading routes. It made sense, then, for Hakluyt to make the appeal of his work as broad and national as possible, and from his experience of France, he knew that dissension in religion could lead to civil war. When we look at the religious aspect of his collection we find that it is subservient to matters of national interest. Hakluyt did not refuse to publish material because of the author's religious denomination, but he sometimes concealed their religious sympathies. On the other hand, when Catholics acted in a way which helped fellow nationals or provided an example he wished English Protestants would follow, Hakluyt was prepared to draw attention to them and to their religion. Nor did the Catholic nature of late-medieval religion present a problem to Hakluyt. In the final analysis, Greenblatt's 'staunchly Protestant' seems too rigid a categorisation for *The Principal Navigations* which, although it has clearly Protestant leanings, also accommodated pro-Catholic sentiment. Not 'staunchly Protestant' then; rather pre-eminently but accommodatingly Protestant. Perhaps, like the apparent paradox of Collinson's 'Monarchical Republic', the inclusive nature of the religious element of *The Principal Navigations* is best described as 'catholic Protestantism'. As Knapp has

shown, such 'accommodationism' is evident in the work of Sir John Harington, and, Knapp argues in the plays of Shakespeare.<sup>96</sup>

Yet ultimately Hakluyt could not control the reception of his text, nor prevent Catholic readers from assenting to the view that the Pope was still head of the Christian church. In the case of religion, Hakluyt may have been willing to countenance such views provided they did not impinge on his notion of nationalism. Yet in other areas Hakluyt's inability to control his texts' reception cannot but lead to the conclusion that his inconsistencies had the potential to undermine his nationalist project. This was never clearer than in his treatment of material written by or about the voyages of non-English travellers.

Lawrence Keymis's narrative of Guiana concludes with 'the names of those worthie Spaniards that haue sought to discouer and conquer *Guiana*'.<sup>97</sup> Keymis listed twenty Spanish attempts and, reflecting on the fact that they had all failed, observed,

I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediately to the diuine prouidence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe ... wee neede no further assurances, then wee already haue to perswade our selues, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserue this empire for vs.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare's Tribe: Church, Nation and Theatre in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 52.

<sup>97</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 690.

<sup>98</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 692.



We might read this as a typical example of Protestant English nationalism in which not only are the English better than the Spanish at colonisation, but they are specially ordained to do so. No doubt this is what Keymis intended.

Yet the juxtaposition of this work with others promoting other nationalist agendas proves confusing. This reading omits an obvious and troubling fact about the English attempt to colonise Guiana, in terms of the prevailing European theories of colonisation. As we saw in Chapter 2, first discovery was a requirement for a claim to territory, but Keymis's account makes clear that the Spanish were the first European 'discoverers' of Guiana. In terms of their European rivals, then, the English could have no legitimate claim to Guiana. Moreover, if they were to insist on occupation as the basis of their claim, this made Hakluyt's repeated emphasis on English first discoveries elsewhere in the world entirely irrelevant. The difference in attitude reiterates the flexibility required to understand Hakluyt's nationalism. Yet it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that such flexibility, because uncontrollable, was ultimately potentially self-defeating. If, as Hakluyt himself observed, the work was called '*The English voyages*' because his 'travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions', then printing the narratives of other nations must similarly preserve 'their memorable actions'.<sup>99</sup> If publication of foreign material meant making available 'Spanish secrets', did not publishing English works which had only previously been available in manuscript constitute giving away valuable information? If the material Hakluyt published was of practical help for the English, could it not also be so for other nations? That it could be is expressly stated

---

<sup>99</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

in William Walker's translation, *The Iovrnall or Dayly Register, Contayning a Trve Manifestation and Historicall Declaration of the Voyage, Accomplished by Eight Shippes of Amsterdam* (1601). He observed that

*The Hollanders ... borrowed a great part of their light from vs, namely out of the famous Voyages of Sir Francis Drake, Master Thomas Candish, Master James Lancaster, Ralph Fitch, and Thomas Stephans, their forerunners in these parts.*<sup>100</sup>

In a marginal note he added,

*All these Voyages, and sundrie other important discourses of the East Indies, Pegu, China, the Molucos, Philippinas and Iapan, are to be found in the second and third volumes of M Hakluyts English Voyages.*<sup>101</sup>

In reality, then, publication was a double-edged sword. In the two chapters that follow I examine the reception of Hakluyt's text in order to consider the extent to which his nationalism was registered and accepted by readers. I explore whether the nature of nationalist interpretations changed, and whether readers shared Hakluyt's flexible approach to the texts he published; I examine whether any of them actually found its information useful, and, if so, in what ways; whether they were alive to the exemplary nature of the material contained in the work, and if they were, whether the conclusions they drew from it matched Hakluyt's aims, or whether, readers were armchair travellers, content to enjoy their navigations vicariously and to wonder at

---

<sup>100</sup> Jacob Corneliszoon van Neck, *The Iovrnall or Dayly Register, Contayning a Trve Manifestation and Historicall Declaration of the Voyage, Accomplished by Eight Shippes of Amsterdam*, trans. William Walker (London: Cuthbert Burby and John Flasket, 1601), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> van Neck, *Iovrnall or Dayly Register*, sig. A1<sup>v</sup>.



the descriptions of the exotic. The answers to these questions will help us gauge the impact and importance of Hakluyt's largest work.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Nationalist Appropriations

According to Breuilly, 'nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics, and ... politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is primarily about control of state. The central question, therefore, [in the study of nationalism] should be to relate nationalism to the objective of obtaining and using state power'.<sup>1</sup> As this quotation suggests, Breuilly locates nationalism in a period which dates from the eighteenth century onwards. Indeed, he claims, perhaps confusingly, that although there were 'certain sorts of national consciousness in sixteenth-century Europe ... this consciousness can hardly be called nationalist'.<sup>2</sup> His purpose, of course, is to limit the definition of nationalist sentiment to the political arena. Indeed, as he has commented elsewhere, his view is that nationalism is an eighteenth-century phenomenon because it is achieved through legal, political and economic institutions which are modern.<sup>3</sup> As this chapter will demonstrate, Breuilly's views are problematic for a number of reasons. Although it is not my purpose here to attempt a rebuttal of Breuilly's case, my study of the reception of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* does question it in three ways. Firstly, I will demonstrate that even using Breuilly's narrow definition, nationalism is evident as early as the seventeenth century. Secondly, I will suggest that in fact the definition is inappropriately narrow

---

<sup>1</sup> Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Breuilly, 'Approaches to Nationalism'.



for a period such as the seventeenth century where nationalist sentiment took a variety of forms, many of which, were not related to the state, and many of which were nevertheless influential. Finally, I will argue that the implied assumption of Breuilly's analysis that nationalism is an overt and pure discourse, unsullied by other motivations, is mistaken since nationalism is, in fact, often present in conjunction with other desires.

In preceding chapters I have demonstrated the diverse nature of Hakluyt's nationalism. Not only was it inspired by the Ciceronian ideal of civic virtue, but it incorporated ideas of military strength, of increased wealth, of expanded territories, of honour and prestige, and of endeavour as well as achievement. It sought to entice as well as to commemorate, to identify areas of improvement as well as to extol, to appeal both to the intellect and the emotions, and to combine elements of the fantastic with mundane practicalities. Inevitably, different sections offered different forms of nationalist sentiment, and evoked different forms of nationalist response. In this chapter I examine three sources of nationalist sentiment, beginning with the clearest and purest form and moving to areas where issues of agency and motivation make nationalist readings more difficult, though not impossible, to sustain. The evidence is that *The Principal Navigations* was used by the state and its agents in pursuit of overtly national interests. Secondly, overtly nationalist readings were often made by those who were not employed by, or representatives of, the state. Thirdly, appropriations of the text were made which did not directly demonstrate nationalist sentiment, but either because they supported activities which Hakluyt

himself would have deemed to benefit the nation, or because they actually did enrich or strengthen it, these readings can also be regarded as part of a larger nationalist enterprise. The typical example here is the use made of the work by merchants, such as those in the East India Company, who, though motivated as much by the desire for increased personal wealth as nationalist sentiment, can also be seen to be engaged in a project which enriched the nation. As we shall see, all three types of nationalist reading shared common methodologies, and partook of a similar discourse about the veracity and authenticity of *The Principal Navigations*.

Reading *The Principal Navigations* in terms of its nationalism is important because it can help us to reconcile misunderstandings about both its intention and reception. Typically, such readings have over-emphasised one aspect of the multi-faceted nature of the work at the expense of others. T. J. Cribb, for example, claims that

Hakluyt's whole purpose is indeed to promote replication of his narratives in real life, and hence they carry the technical information and instructions enabling that to be done. It is this practical purpose that informs his method.<sup>4</sup>

While this reading helpfully draws attention to the practical aspect of Hakluyt's collection it is patently mistaken to see this as Hakluyt's 'whole purpose', for his nationalism was ideological as well as practical. It is this diversity of intentions – matched by a range of diverse responses – which has perhaps made Anthony Payne, the co-author of the most recent census of copies of *The Principal Navigations*,

---

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Cribb, 'Writing up the Log: The Legacy of Hakluyt', in Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 100-12.



observe: 'The book's readership and influence is ... difficult to establish, although its contemporary ownership is well documented'.<sup>5</sup> As a typical example of the difficulties involved here, consider the marginalia in the copy reputed to have belonged to Elizabeth I, which relate to customs income. The annotator (who does not in fact seem to have been Elizabeth) recorded both the rate and method of exacting customs from foreigners. Thus Edward I's charter 'vnto forreine marchants' attracts the following marginalia: 'Ton[n]age', 'po[u]ndage', and '3d p[er] lb straungers Customes or fine wards the custome was taken either by ther invoice or by their othe'.<sup>6</sup> We cannot be sure in this case what the use made of the information was, or whether it fed into some form of nationalism. Nevertheless the marginalia demonstrate that documents printed by Hakluyt did have a role in providing historical information, which may have been used as a precedent for subsequent action.

A further complication of assessing nationalist readings is exemplified by Drayton's response to *The Principal Navigations*. The 'Ode to the Virginian Voyage' approved the 1606 endeavour to colonise Virginia. Although a private enterprise, the colonies required and obtained Royal Charters, and it is reasonable to read Drayton's Ode as approvingly nationalist:

You brave Heroique minds,  
Worthy your Countries Name,

---

<sup>5</sup> Payne, 'Travel Books', 20.

<sup>6</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 137; New York Public Library, shelfmark, Arents Collection No. 51A. The claim that this copy was Elizabeth I's seems to be based on the fact that the binding contains the royal coat of arms. It is also a large-paper copy, being 12.5 inches high.

That Honour still pursue,  
Goe, and subdue,  
Whilst loyt'ring Hinds  
Lurke here at home, with shame.

*Britans* you stay too long:<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the choice of the word '*Britans*' seems designed to invoke the idea of nationhood espoused by James I. The notion of shameful inactivity, which as we saw in the previous chapter was a noticeably Sidneian and Hakluytian theme, locates Drayton's 'Ode' within a nationalist discourse which promoted action and which was concerned with honour and fame. The connection is made explicit in the final stanza:

Thy Voyages attend,  
Industrious HACKLUIT,  
Whose Reading shall inflame  
Men to seeke Fame  
And much commend  
To after-Times thy Wit.

Drayton's 'Ode' casts Hakluyt's editorial enterprise as an example of activity which is contrasted with the 'sluggish security' of the '*Britans*' who have 'stay[ed at home] too long'. Drayton thus picks up on the theme of industry, stressed by Hakluyt himself in his own frequent references to the 'travail' involved in publishing *The Principal Navigations*.

---

<sup>7</sup> Michael Drayton, 'Ode to the Virginian Voyage', in J. William Hebel (ed.), *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1961), ii. 363-66. For further details of the voyages undertaken under this charter see Philip L. Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606-1609* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 136-37, 1969).



Drayton's admiration of Hakluyt's work does not seem to have ceased over time, but his attitude to the state appears to have altered. In the second part of *Poly-Olbion*, song XIX derives almost exclusively from *The Principal Navigations*. Yet, as Michelle O'Callaghan has shown, by 1622 when it was published, the nationalism of Michael Drayton, along with that of three other Spenserian pastoral poets - George Wither, William Brown and Christopher Brooke - rather than supporting the Jacobean order, drew on an Elizabethan ideal to express opposition to it. As O'Callaghan puts it, Drayton's lament for the unpopularity of the first part of *Poly-Olbion* displayed his belief that 'England is losing its national character and is no longer receptive to heroic, nationalistic verse, which cannot find a reader amongst its natural audience of the nobility and gentry'.<sup>8</sup> Her analysis reminds us that Tudor-Stuart nationalism was both variable and multi-faceted, and that it is appropriate to talk of discourses of nationalism rather than to try and restrict our understanding to one interpretation.

A further complication in understanding the nationalist reception of *The Principal Navigations* derives from the fact that, of course, not all readings were nationalist.<sup>9</sup> In itself this is hardly surprising, but the complexity stems from the fact that nationalist readings could run alongside non-nationalist ones. Just such a conjunction is to be found in the anonymous tract *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and*

---

<sup>8</sup> Michelle O'Callaghan, *The 'Shepherds Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 205.

<sup>9</sup> I examine some of those readings in Chapter 7.

*Entertainment in Rushia* (1605).<sup>10</sup> Smith was a merchant who had invested in the Virginia, Russia and East India Companies. In 1604 he was sent as ambassador to Russia, and his appointment is a reminder that such embassies were sometimes conducted by those with a financial interest in and experience of trade.<sup>11</sup> The tract certainly highlighted the practical and informative aspect of *The Principal Navigations*. For example, the author feels that he should say something about the River Volga because of its great length and breadth, but notes that ‘So many excellent writers, as in the worthy labors of Master *Richard Hacklyute*, haue made particular mention thereof, as it induseth me, to leaue the description of this Riuer and towne’.<sup>12</sup> The implication is that Hakluyt’s collection is authoritative on this matter, and that there is nothing more to be said. As well as highlighting practical information, the tract also offers an exemplary reading of material in Hakluyt’s collection when it comments on Boris Godunov’s decline into parsimony after he had become emperor. The *Voiage* notes while he was a subject, Godunov had an annual income of £12,000, and was praised for his generosity, but when an Emperor he became increasingly jealous of his wealth. The author draws the moral that

*Euen as from smallest Springs the greatest Riuers rise  
So those that rore aloud, and proud at first,  
Runne seldome farre; for soone their glorie dies  
In some neere Bogg, by their selfe-furie burst.*<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Anonymous, *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605).

<sup>11</sup> Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives 1509-1688* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990), 1-15.

<sup>12</sup> Anonymous, *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage*, sig. D3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Anonymous, *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage*, sig. II<sup>r</sup>.

However, it is in the third borrowing from Hakluyt in *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment* that we can begin to detect a sharply nationalist agenda. The narrative refers to an account of Sir Jerome Bowes's 1583 Embassy to Russia. This was printed only in *The Principal Navigations* and records the initial encounter between Bowes and the Russian diplomats.<sup>14</sup> The Russians told Bowes that they wanted him to dismount to hear their message from the Emperor, 'notwithstanding themselues would still haue sit on horsebacke'.<sup>15</sup> Bowes's refusal led to a lengthy discussion about whether both parties should dismount or not; having decided that they should, there was then 'great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground'.<sup>16</sup> By implication, to dismount first was to dishonour one's monarch. The account of Sir Thomas Smith's voyage makes clear that Smith is familiar with the incident. The Russian Ambassadors having embarked on a long speech, Smith,

thinking that they would be tedious and troublesome with their vsuall Ceremonies; preuented their farther speeche with this (to them a *Spell*). *That it was vnfitting for subiects to hold discourse in that kind of complement, of tvvo such mighty and renowned Potentates on horsebacke.* They hereby not only put by their ceremonious saddle-sitting, but out of their paper instructions for the state therof ashamed ... they allighted sodainly, ... and the Ambassador presently after them...<sup>17</sup>

It is impossible to tell whence Smith himself had derived his knowledge, which successive embassies to Russia had probably made common knowledge, but the

---

<sup>14</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 458-64. This narrative has a complicated textual history, since the first account, written by Bowes himself, was withdrawn from the 1589 edition, and replaced with this version. The author of the revised version is not known, but it may have been Hakluyt himself. See Robert M. Croskey, 'Hakluyt's Accounts of Sir Jerome Bowes' Embassy to Ivan IV', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 61 (1983), 546-64.

<sup>15</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 459.

<sup>16</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 459.

<sup>17</sup> Anonymous, *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage*, sig. E1<sup>r-v</sup>.



explicit allusion to Bowes's account, which seems only to have been published in *The Principal Navigations*, indicates the relevance that the work was deemed to have for readers unfamiliar with the niceties of diplomatic missions. Thanks to Bowes's precedent, Smith not only outwits the Russian Ambassadors, but also achieved the honour of alighting from his horse after the Russians.

The account of Smith's voyage also brings to the fore questions about the nature of the nationalist discourse in early seventeenth-century England. In particular, these relate to the extent to which it can be regarded as state-related. On the one hand, Smith was James I's ambassador, engaged on an official state mission. Yet the narrative was not written by him, nor does its humorous tone suggest that it was an official account.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, we have no way of confirming whether what the account relates actually happened. Thus, the narrative both endorses Breuilly's view that nationalism should be related to the state, but on the other it challenges it: Smith's embassy was official, but the narrative in which the nationalist sentiment was expressed was not. Having highlighted this tension in one strand of the nationalist discourse surrounding *The Principal Navigations*, I want in the remainder of this chapter to consider other nationalist appropriations of the work, using the tripartite plan that I outlined above. It is important to note at the outset that distinctions here are not absolute: discourses are shared both by state-officials and those independent of the state. Moreover, although the time-frames of many of the discourses I shall examine run concurrently, I will follow each through

---

<sup>18</sup> Purchas's version, though no more official, is significant for its removal of any sense of levity from the account. See Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, xiv. 132-51.

consecutively, beginning each with the reception nearest in time to the publication of *The Principal Navigations*.

### 6.1. State Readings

Payne's comment that the ownership of copies of the work is well-established is true, largely thanks to the census of copies he compiled with Pamela Neville-Sington. It is clear from that work that a number of important figures owned copies of Hakluyt's work, particularly aristocrats and officers of state.<sup>19</sup> It is hard, however, to ascertain their reasons for ownership, which may have been diverse. Lancelot Andrewes (Bishop of Winchester) and John Whitgift (Archbishop of Canterbury) were both the sons of wealthy merchants, and Andrewes was Dean of Westminster at the time when Hakluyt was a prebend there.<sup>20</sup> Sir Thomas Egerton was 'repeatedly used by Elizabeth for foreign policy', negotiating with the Dutch in 1598 and the Danes in 1600.<sup>21</sup> Lord Lumley, Sir Robert Cecil, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Ferdinando Gorges were all active supporters of and participants in the activities that Hakluyt's collection recorded.<sup>22</sup> Yet in many cases no marginalia can be attributed to these individuals. Often there are simply very few marginalia at all. One particular copy - that owned by Sir

---

<sup>19</sup> Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*, *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Information on Andrewes, Whitgift, Egerton, and Sir William Howard is drawn from the *DNB*. Whitgift, of course, was responsible for the 'Bishop's Ban' which led to the censorship of the 'Cadiz leaves' from the second edition of Hakluyt's work.

<sup>21</sup> *DNB*, s.v. 'Egerton, Sir Thomas'. Egerton owned a 1589 edition; see Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*, 28.

<sup>22</sup> For Raleigh's copy see Oakeshott, 'Library', 289; for the Earl of Northumberland's copy see, Payne, 'Travel Books', 31; for all other copies see Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*.

William Howard - might suggest that the work had taken on a form of iconic status.<sup>23</sup> An out-of-favour recusant in Elizabeth's reign, Howard was both an antiquary and an annotator of his books.<sup>24</sup> Yet his copy of *The Principal Navigations*, which comprises only volume one, contains no marginalia which can be attributed to him. We should not dismiss the possibility that he owned a copy not as evidence of his interest in the activities recorded in *The Principal Navigations*, but because it might be deemed to demonstrate his national loyalty.

The absence of marginalia in these copies lends support to Sir Walter Cope's observation, as reported by Hakluyt himself, that the work was unwieldy:

while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoveries, I was advised by master WALTER COPE, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course woulde prooue most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment.<sup>25</sup>

Hakluyt's comment needs to be read in the light of his attempt to promote his translation of Antonio Galvano's *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall vnto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555*. Nevertheless it sheds interesting light on the reception of the larger work. Sir Walter Cope had a genuine interest in colonization. He was an investor in the Virginia Company, and even served on its

---

<sup>23</sup> Howard's copy is not in the census but is held at Durham University Library, shelfmark Howard Library B6.8 MacD102. It is signed 'John Young' on pages 409 and 428, and contains a poem on the final fly leaf (see below). The title-page has the name 'William covertt'. There are no other marginalia.

<sup>24</sup> *DNB*, s.v. 'Howard, William'.

<sup>25</sup> Galvano, *Discoveries of the World*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>; reproduced in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 483.



Council.<sup>26</sup> Whether or not he actually made the comments Hakluyt attributes to him, they are positioned in relation to 'men of great action and employment'. It is not absolutely certain that Cope did not want to read the collection for leisure purposes but he certainly seems to want, in effect, the executive summary. Hakluyt himself agreed that such a thing might be useful, observing that the

trauailes of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and haue 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.<sup>27</sup>

Hakluyt's comment implies that the inadequacy of contemporary efforts means that they must be recorded in full. It also suggests that he saw *The Principal Navigations* as a work which did not record very profitable enterprises, and that this too was a reason for stressing the full extent of English industry. Unlike Stow's *Chronicles of England*, Grafton's *Chronicle*, or even Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, which were also in the historical genre, an epitome or abridgement of *The Principal Navigations*

---

<sup>26</sup> See S. M. Kingsbury (ed.), *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington: 1906-35), i. 32. In the 1589 edition Hakluyt notes that he has been 'rauished in beholding ... the excellent Cabinets' of Richard Garthe and 'William' [sc. Walter] Cope (Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*4<sup>v</sup>). A further link between Hakluyt and Cope was John Pory. If Donne is to be believed, John Pory was one of Cope's secretaries. See *The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum Incomparabilium et Non Vendibilium*, by John Donne, trans. and ed. Evelyn Mary Simpson (London: Nonesuch Press, 1930), 46, where Donne refers to Pory as Cope's 'amanuensis'. At page 62 Simpson refers to a letter of January 3, 1608/9 from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton which refers to Cope as Pory's 'grand master'. Donne's catalogue does not include any reference to Hakluyt, and his joke against Cope appears to turn on Cope's lack of learning. Donne speaks of Cope's interest in antiquities resulting in books 'dictated by Walter Cope, copied out by his wife, and given a Latin dress by his amanuensis John Pory' (Simpson, *Courtier's Library*, 46).

<sup>27</sup> Galvano, *Discoveries of the World*, sig. A4<sup>r</sup>; reproduced in Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 486.

was not in fact forthcoming in the seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup> Yet, despite the reservations of Cope, there is evidence to suggest that a number of officers of state did find time to read Hakluyt's work. One such was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and it is to his reading of *The Principal Navigations* that I now wish to turn, for it initiates one strand of nationalist discourse engaged in by the state and its agents: that of the claim to territory.

Thanks to his conduct in the Dutch wars, which won him the patronage of the Earl of Essex, Gorges (1566-1647) found himself in favour with Elizabeth I. The result was an appointment as Governor of Plymouth – 'a place of the highest importance in the defence system of the kingdom'.<sup>29</sup> Despite the disgrace he earned for involvement in Essex's rebellion, Gorges was restored to his post and favour by James I. From 1606 he had a sustained interest in colonisation in America. As Quinn and Quinn put it:

He took an active part in the preparation of the initial voyages, followed their progress, communicated with Lord Salisbury about them, and arranged for relief to be sent when necessary, though he did maintain in a legal case that he did so only as a member of the royal council.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> For details of the various editions of these works, see A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 3 vols. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised and enlarged W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986), ii. 368-69, i. 534, 496.

<sup>29</sup> C. M. MacInnes, *Ferdinando Gorges and New England* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1965), 2.

<sup>30</sup> David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (eds.), *The English New England Voyages 1602-1608* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 161, 1983), 332-33.

The 'royal council' was the Council of New England, of which Gorges was a member.

In 1658 Gorges's history of North American colonisation – *America Painted to the Life* – was published. It seems to have been written much earlier, and can be viewed as the product of a government representative. In the 'Address to the Reader' the history is explicitly located within a national context of justifying English territorial claims in North America. Specifically, it was written with a regard

*as well for the justification of the right thereof, properly belonging to the Kings of our Nation, before any other Prince or State, as also the better to clear the claim made thereunto by the Embassador of France, in the behalfe of his Master, in the year 1624, whereto I was required to make answer.*<sup>31</sup>

In this nationalist discourse, Hakluyt's work has an essential role in showing the difficulties of colonisation, and asserting the English claim to America:

THat Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and Sir *Richard Grenvile*, and many others, Noble spirits of our Nation attempted to settle a Plantation in the parts of *America*, in the Reigne of Queen *Elizabeth*, is sufficiently published in the painfull collections of Mr. *Hackluit*, together with the variable success, of those undertakers of whose labor and charge there remained no other fruit than the Primor seisin and royal possession taken thereof, as of right belonging to the Crown of England.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Sir Ferdinando Gorges, *America Painted to the Life* (London: Nathaniel Book, 1658), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Ferdinando Gorges, *A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, Especially Shewing the Beginning, Progress and Continuance of that of New-England* (London: Nathaniel Brook, 1658), sig. II<sup>r-v</sup>. This tract is one of four separate tracts which make up *America Painted to the Life*, but the signatures run consecutively.



Gorges's reading of *The Principal Navigations* reflects Hakluyt's notion that the individual enterprises of Gilbert, Grenville and 'many others' were the combined efforts of a nation. His citation reflects Hakluyt's attitudes in a number of other ways. He stresses the honour of the colonial enterprise by referring to the participants as 'noble spirits'. That they failed in their endeavours does not dilute their heroism. In contrast to the physical failure of colonisation, however, the legal rights which such endeavours brought are deemed to persist. Gorges read these, and if we believe his comment he did so also in 1624, in the light of international competition. His nationalism, then, is a combination of honour and territorial rights, and for him Hakluyt's is a 'painfull' – that is 'painstaking' – collection.<sup>33</sup>

Gorges's deployment of *The Principal Navigations* as evidence of the English right to territory in North America was echoed by the British Government at various points in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, it seems that the work was required reading for those involved with the Board of Trade and Plantations. Although, as we have seen in Chapter 1, John Locke objected to Hakluyt's collection, it seems likely that once appointed to the Board of Trade and Plantations, which was the precursor of the Foreign Office, he acquired at least one, and possibly two, copies of it.<sup>34</sup> A document in the Public Record Office drawn up

---

<sup>33</sup> *OED*, s.v. 'painful' a. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Harrison and Laslett note that Locke's collection of '195 titles which can be called Voyages and Travels made it a very remarkable collection'. See John Harrison and Peter Laslett (eds.), *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, new series, 13, Oxford University Press, 1965), 27. On page 150 there are two entries for Hakluyt's work. It is not absolutely certain that Locke obtained his copies of *The Principal Navigations* after he was appointed to the Board, but it seems likely. He moved to Oates in Essex in 1691, and was appointed to the Board in 1695. He bought the Hakluyt after he had moved to Oates. That he thought possession of the volume

in 1662, probably for government purposes, refers to the French claim to fishing rights off Nova Scotia and reveals that they had in mind Cabot's voyage to America of 1497, conducted on behalf of Henry VII, and Grenville's of 1585:

Nova Scotia, or Acadia (as the French call it) was discovered by the English to the river Canada in the reign of Henry VII, and further discovered in 1585 (see Hakluyt's 3<sup>rd</sup> volume).<sup>35</sup>

In 1668, it seems that a volume was drawn up entirely of materials from *The Principal Navigations*, as the entry in the *Calendar of State Papers* demonstrates:

A volume containing copies and extracts of treatises, conventions, grants, &c. relating to trade and voyages of discovery from the time of Offa, King of Mercia, to the year 1586. Many are treaties and privileges establishing intercourse between England and Russia.<sup>36</sup>

In 1719 the Board of Trade and Plantations was again deploying Hakluyt's collection in defending its title to fishing rights off Nova Scotia, this time against the Spanish:

Altho' the Spaniards seem to assert, that they were the first discoverers of Newfoundland, and would found their right of fishing thereupon, nevertheless it is notorious, that this Island was first discovered by Jno. Cabbot (*Hackluyts 3 vol. folio 6 & 9*) anno 1497 at the charge of King Henry 7<sup>th</sup>, and he took possession thereof in the name and for the use of his said Majesty.<sup>37</sup>

---

unnecessary earlier in his career is suggested by the fact that when he was assisting Lord Shaftesbury on colonial matters in 1667-82, he did not own it. (Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*, 5, 2).

<sup>35</sup> E. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies 1661-1668* (London: Longman, 1880), 78.

<sup>36</sup> Robert Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth 1581-1590* (London: HMSO, 1865; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1967), 379.

<sup>37</sup> Cecil Headlam (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and the West Indies, January 1719 to February 1720* (London: HMSO, 1933), 219.

The Board's use of *The Principal Navigations* bears some similarities to Gorges's. Here, however, the collection is used to emphasise the continuation of English exploration begun by Cabot. It is noticeable that, by and large, these claims recite assertions made in the texts themselves. In addition, as the 1662 document reveals, the Board's concern with fishing rights off the Nova Scotia coast discloses a concern with tradable goods as much as with ownership of land. It demonstrates that in the long term trading rights were as important to the English as territorial acquisition.

If the Board of Trade and Plantations used texts in a way which paralleled the claims made by the texts themselves, they were also alive to the possibilities that other narratives offered. In 1730, in response to French claims to the Caribbean island of Dominica, the Board wrote to George II citing the 1589 edition of *The Principall Navigations*:

It appears by Hackluyts Voyages, an Author of good Credit, printed at London in the year 1589, that this Island was discover'd by the Subjects of Great Britain on the 9.<sup>th</sup> of March 156<sup>4</sup>/5.<sup>38</sup>

Two significant points emerge from this passage, aside from the civil-servant-like precision of the dating. Firstly, the discoverers of 1564/5 have been anachronistically converted from English subjects to British ones, reflecting the change in the monarch's dominions, and the political entity in question. More significantly, the citation manifests an aspect of the discourse which the other uses

---

<sup>38</sup> PRO, State Papers 71/5/12.



only suggested. The reference to 'Hakluyt's Voyages' as 'an author of good credit', is a strange form of metonym, not only because of the use of the book to represent the author, but also because it ascribes to Hakluyt the kudos of authorship.

However, the most interesting aspect of this 1730 citation is the appendix to this passage, which provides the specific textual justification for the Board's claim. Citing from page 529, in the first edition, they referred to a section of text which in no way suggests that the English were the first to discover Dominica:

Almighty God, who never suffers his elect to perish, sent us the 16<sup>th</sup> of February ye ordinary breeze, which is the Northwest Wind, which never left us, till we came to an Island of the Cannibals called Saint Dominico, where we arrived the 9.th of March upon a Saturday; and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could not see no Cannibals, but some of their Houses where they dwelled, and as it should seem forsook the place, for want of fresh water, for we could find none there but rain water, and such as fell from the hills, and remained as a puddle in the Dale, whereof we filled for our Negroes.<sup>39</sup>

Unlike the Cabot and Grenville texts, this passage makes no claim to first discovery. Indeed the land seems so unfruitful that such a claim scarcely seems worth making. Moreover, the fact that the island already had a European name suggests that the English were not, in fact, the first discoverers, as the Board claimed. Their reading was highly selective both in the positive spin it gave to the text and in the omissions it made. Nevertheless, that a land which had seemed desolate in 1564/5 could become the object of dispute in 1730 retrospectively justifies Hakluyt's decision to publish such narratives. The conclusion to the Board's letter demonstrates that the

---

<sup>39</sup> PRO, State Papers 71/2/4.

three-stage process of claims to territories outlined by Pagden, which seems to have influenced Hakluyt's desire to stress first discovery, remained in place in 1730:

we are clearly of opinion that your Majesty has an intire right of sovereignty over the island of Dominico, by early discovery, by the cession of the ancient Proprietors, kept up by frequent claims and confirm'd by the Treaty of Breda.<sup>40</sup>

First discovery, an empty land (or, as in this case, one ceded by the original inhabitants), and a sustained claim, are all deemed to justify claims against a rival European power. The Board's discourse is one that Hakluyt would have understood.

## 6.2. The State's Agents and Independent Nationalists

If the claim to territory was one aspect of nationalist discourse which derived from *The Principal Navigations*, the claim to sovereignty of the sea around Britain was another. As we saw in Chapter 4, Dee had articulated this claim to Sir Edward Dyer in 1598. Some thirty-three years later a similar line was being justified in an historically significant work by John Selden.<sup>41</sup>

In response to the claim made in *Mare Liberum* by the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius for open access to all ports, Selden argued, in *Mare Clausum*, for private ownership of the sea. It might be thought that Hakluyt's desire for the English to trade far and

---

<sup>40</sup> Cecil Headlam (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and the West Indies, 1730* (London: HMSO, 1937; repr. Vaduz: Kraus, 1964), 262.

<sup>41</sup> Sherman, *John Dee*, 195.

wide would have made him a supporter of the free-trade argument. The fact that he translated Grotius's work in 1609 would appear to support such a view.<sup>42</sup> Yet, inevitably, the picture is more complex. The title of the manuscript locates the translation within the context of Dutch, and, by implication, English, attempts to trade to the East Indies: 'The free sea, or, A disputation concerning the right w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Hollanders ought to haue, to the Indian Marchandize for trading'.<sup>43</sup> That Hakluyt took a different view about the seas around Britain is revealed by his approval of 'The Libel of English Policie'. That tract declares that the English should control 'the narrow seas', and makes an argument for imposing customs duties on foreigners. Selden's claim that the British ruled the sea between Britain and America because of the claims it had to possession of lands in North America, was an extension of the idea articulated in the 'Libel' in relation to the English Channel. In particular, Selden cited Gilbert's voyage as an attempt to 'recover certain Lands in the East parts of the Northern *America*, which of Right belong'd to the *English* Dominion' including 'the whole Sea as well as land on every side for the space of six hundred miles'.<sup>44</sup> Thus, his argument that the English should control the sea paralleled the case made by Dee, and also laid the basis of the claim in the original voyage of Cabot. Interestingly, like Dee, Selden perceived this enterprise as one of 'recovery' of past rights. He drew his information from Hakluyt's version of the 'Libel' as his marginal note referring to it reveals: 'Hackluit in his Voyages, Tom.2. pag.151'. *Mare Clausum* should not therefore be seen as arguing against a position

---

<sup>42</sup> D. B. and A. M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 324.

<sup>43</sup> D. B. and A. M. Quinn, 'A Hakluyt Chronology', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 324.

<sup>44</sup> John Selden, *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea*, trans. Marchmont Needham (London: William Du-Gard by the appointment of the Council of State, 1652), 441.



adopted by Hakluyt, nor is Selden's use of *The Principal Navigations* antipathetic to Hakluyt's original intention.

If Selden's claims with regard to the North Atlantic paralleled those Dee had made in relation to the northern seas, Hakluyt's work gave Selden a stronger and more recent precedent than Dee had had. Dee's argument in 'Thalattokratia Brettaniki' was that the English could only claim to have jurisdiction to the 'Mydseas' between Norway and England. Selden, however, claimed that the whole of the sea 'washing the Coasts of *Friesland, Iceland* and other Isles also under the Dominion of the King of *Denmark* or of *Norway*' was English.<sup>45</sup> He did so on the strength of *Brevis commentarius de islandia* which included a reference to annual English voyages to Greenland, and a comment that 'a subject of the King of *Denmarks*, no mean man, ... call's (*sic*) the *Britains* almost-Lords there of the whole Sea'.<sup>46</sup> Thus Selden, like the Board of Trade and Plantations, was able to read elements of Hakluyt's work in a way which was deemed to benefit the nation, even when the specific text that he drew upon made no such claim. A single phrase, which in fact was only a compliment contained in a personal letter, was adapted as evidence of sea-sovereignty. Both Selden and the Board of Trade showed a dazzling ability to place old statements into new contexts and derive new meanings from them. Selden's argument for English sea-sovereignty of both the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea was part of a sustained argument which began with Dee. It was strengthened not

---

<sup>45</sup> Selden, *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea*, 447.

<sup>46</sup> Selden, *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea*, 448.

only by the reality of English colonisation and naval strength but also by the articulation and recording of these events in *The Principal Navigations*.

Selden's argument was reiterated in 1674 by John Evelyn. Unlike Selden, who seems to have acted independently, Evelyn was an agent of the state when he wrote *Navigation and Commerce* in 1674.<sup>47</sup> It asserted 'His Majesties Title to the DOMINION of the SEA ... against the Novel, and later Pretenders'.<sup>48</sup> Dedicated to Charles II, by whom it was commissioned, the tract based its argument on sea-power. Recollecting Raleigh's dictum (itself seemingly taken from Cicero's letter *Ad Atticum*), Evelyn observed that 'whoever commands the Ocean, Commands the Trade of the World, and whoever Commands the Trade of the World, Commands the Riches of the World, and whoever is Master of That, Commands the World it self'.<sup>49</sup>

Evelyn's work does not specifically mention Hakluyt, and in this it contrasts with the use made of *The Principal Navigations* by the Board, which cited the work as authoritative. Nevertheless, although Evelyn's history of English naval achievement is a synthesis drawn from a number of works, it is clear that he has used *The Principal Navigations*. His reference to the exploits of John Oxenham, for example, is drawn from the second edition. This narrative, contained in letters written by the Spaniard Lopez Vaz, who had been captured by the Earl of Cumberland in 1586

---

<sup>47</sup> Evelyn had been appointed to the Council of Commerce and Plantations – a precursor to the Board of Trade and Plantations – in 1671.

<sup>48</sup> John Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce: Their Original and Progress* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1674), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce*, 15.

‘with the discourse about him’, was first published by Hakluyt.<sup>50</sup> Evelyn also deployed a number of other passages from Hakluyt’s work. He claimed to have seen a list of the 700 ships of Edward III; he referred to King John’s invasion of Ireland with a fleet of 500 ships, and to a trade agreement made between King Offa and Charlemagne; to ‘The ‘Libel of English Policie’ (adapting Hakluyt’s title from ‘the Prologue of the process of the Libel’ to ‘the good *Old Prologue*, intituled, *The Process of the Libel*’), and to the narratives of Willoughby, Burroughs, Chancellor, Pet and Jackman.<sup>51</sup> Many of these works were first printed in *The Principal Navigations*, and although (given Evelyn’s bibliophilic habits) it is not impossible that he had manuscripts of them, a subsequent explicit reference to Hakluyt demonstrates that he was familiar with his work.

Evelyn’s reading resembles that made by the Board of Trade in 1730 in relation to America. Both went to *The Principal Navigations* to seek precedents to justify claims against other countries. For Evelyn, however, the importance of the fleets of Arthur, Edgar, Edward, John and other English monarchs was two-fold. Firstly it supported an argument based on physical force, and secondly these fleets were the early examples of an English fleet which Evelyn claimed existed down to his own day. In short, they become part of a continuous narrative. Evelyn’s text thus paralleled Hakluyt’s in its attempt to transform the thoroughly episodic and, hence, discontinuous history of English naval strength into a smooth and continuous narrative. It also marks an interesting development in the use of Hakluyt’s work

---

<sup>50</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 525; Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce*, 75-76.

<sup>51</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 187; Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce*, 69-77.



because of its observation that 'To pretend to *Universal Monarchy* without Fleets, was long since looked on as a Politick *Chymera*'.<sup>52</sup> Like Hakluyt and Dee, Evelyn argued for a strong navy, but whereas Hakluyt perceived it as in part a means to deflate the Spanish claims to Universal Monarchy, Evelyn now implied that the English could themselves attain it. This was a claim Hakluyt could not reasonably make for the English of his own time. The changing historical circumstances are also reflected in the furore that surrounded publication of the text.

Because of Dutch sensitivities, and the desire of the English to sign the Treaty of Breda of 1668, Evelyn's book was called in, although Charles II immediately ordered its re-issue.<sup>53</sup> The irony that Evelyn was attempting to assert English sea-sovereignty just at a time when the English were losing ground to the Dutch is clear from a poem to be found on the final flyleaf of a copy of *The Principal Navigations* held at Durham University:

Quoth the king to the wise Lord Arlington  
Oure ships are burnt we are all undone  
quoth he then stretching out his paw  
This is it I long fore saw  
necessity will have noe law  
Its all one if we treat at Breda ...<sup>54</sup>

This poem would appear to relate to the period just after De Witt's daring attack on the English fleet which lay at Chatham in June 1668, and before the signing of the

---

<sup>52</sup> Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce*, 16.

<sup>53</sup> Theodore Hofmann, et al., 'John Evelyn's Archive at the British Library', *The Book Collector*, 44 (1995), 143-209. The original manuscript of *Navigation and Commerce* was borrowed by Pepys and is now lost.

<sup>54</sup> Durham University, shelfmark Howard Library B68 MacD 102.

Breda Treaty in July of that year.<sup>55</sup> Henry Bennett, Lord Arlington, was Principal Secretary of State and had been satirized in Marvell's 'Last Instructions to a Painter' of 1667 both for his 'Luxury' and for allowing the decline of the fleet, which in 1667 was mostly out of commission.<sup>56</sup> He was also engaged in complex and duplicitous negotiations with the Dutch and the French. The manuscript poem's concern with the state of the English fleet echoes Evelyn's interest and suggests that both publicly and privately, *The Principal Navigations* was read in terms of contemporary politics. In the late 1660s and early 1670s the concern about the strength of the navy appears to have been widespread, and it was not just a concern about the right to ownership of the seas, or about the ability to implement that right. As Roger Coke's *A Discourse of Trade* made clear, it was also an issue that related to trade. Inverting the order of the dictum expounded by Evelyn, he observed

If we lose the Trade of *England*, we must lose Navigation; if we lose Navigation, we lose the Sovereignty of the Seas: if the Sovereignty of the Seas, then read the condition of the Nation in the *Danish Invasion*.<sup>57</sup>

Thus the views of Selden and Evelyn were nationalist in that they promoted an argument on behalf of the state. However, they reflected a wider concern, expressed, for example, by Coke, and it is this which suggests that Breuilly's notion that nationalism should be limited to the state is mistaken.

---

<sup>55</sup> Pieter Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 1609-1715*, 2 vols. (London: Ernest Benn, 1964), ii. 93-96.

<sup>56</sup> Andrew Marvell, 'The Last Instructions to a Painter', l. 129, ll. 397-410, in *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 2 vols. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, revised by Pierre Legouis and E. E. Duncan-Jones, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), i. 147-72, and notes at i. 354, 364.

<sup>57</sup> Roger Coke, *A Discourse of Trade* (London: H. Brome and R. Horne, 1670), 76.

The concern which Evelyn, Coke, and the anonymous poet showed about English naval strength was also shared by another contemporary and government officer, Samuel Pepys. The copy in Magdalene College Library, Cambridge, is probably his, but he seems not to have been overly familiar with its contents. In 1680 he wrote to Evelyn asking for answers to a series of questions about English naval history, presumably for his never published history of the navy.<sup>58</sup> His questions seem to follow on from a discussion between the two men. In particular, Pepys wanted

Instances of any Nationall mistakes ... in the over-valueing their owne knowledge or Force, or under-valueing those of other Countryes; and may not the ill-success of the Spaniardes in 88 bee in some measure chargd upon a Mistake of this Kind in reference to Us, as ours seems to bee at this day in that against the Moores in Barbary?<sup>59</sup>

He also wanted to know about English defeats at the hands of the French, and he alluded to 'The Date and Author of the old Prologue'.<sup>60</sup> In his response, which directed Pepys to a variety of different sources, Evelyn confirmed that he had drawn on *The Principal Navigations* for his allusion to 'The Libel of English Policie'.

Pepys's concern with 'Nationall mistakes' may have been what led him to call, as Hakluyt had done, for the establishment of a Lectureship in Navigation. The Admiralty Office catalogue of manuscripts refers to an item in the Pepys Collection which is entitled 'Concerning the convenience of setting up a lecture of

---

<sup>58</sup> On Pepys's plans to write a history of the navy see Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin, 2002), 357-58, 451-52n.

<sup>59</sup> Guy de la Bédoyère (ed.), *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 100-1. I have been unable to identify the incident in 'Barbary' to which Pepys refers.

<sup>60</sup> de la Bédoyère, *Particular Friends*, 101.



Navigation'.<sup>61</sup> As we saw in previous chapters, this post was one which Hakluyt had persistently sought patrons for. It was an idea which was reiterated, though probably not by a government employee, in an anonymous tract of 1665 called *The Golden Coast, or A Description of Guinney*. This treatise drew on Hakluyt's work in calling for the establishment of 'a Lecture of Navigation in Gresham-Colledge in London'.<sup>62</sup> The example and justification were lifted almost verbatim (but unacknowledged) from Hakluyt's dedication to Charles Howard in volume one of the second edition of *The Principal Navigations*. The lectureship, the author claimed, should be answerable to that in the Contraction House in Seville, set up by Charles V of Spain, who 'wisely considering the rawnesse of the Sea-men, and the manifold Shipwracks they sustained, in passing and repassing from Spain to the West-Indies' established such a lectureship.<sup>63</sup> Confirmation that the author did indeed use Hakluyt is found at the end of the Address to the Reader. Laying claim to knowledge of Sallust which he clearly only had second-hand from *The Principal Navigations*, the author took from the dedication to Sir Robert Cecil in volume two of the second edition the anecdote about the inspiration that Scipio derived from the portraits of famous predecessors. The 'Address to the Reader' included both the Latin version and Hakluyt's translation, again with only very minor changes.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> The Admiralty Office Catalogue is entitled 'Naval Collection'. The entry is to be found at vol. i. 21, item 69. I have not been able to inspect this volume, the original of which I believe to be in the Pepys Library.

<sup>62</sup> Anonymous, *The Golden Coast, or a Description of Guinney* (London: S. Speed, 1665), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>. As Shapin and Schaffer demonstrate, Gresham College was the meeting place of the group of men who were subsequently to form the Royal Society, (Shapin and Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, 112-14).

<sup>63</sup> Anonymous, *The Golden Coast*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>. Hakluyt's version reads 'considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies'; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. sig. \*3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> Anonymous, *The Golden Coast*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>; Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, ii. sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

The call for a lectureship in *The Golden Coast* is significant because it does not come ostensibly from an officer of state. Nevertheless, it located the demand for the lectureship in a national context. Favourably comparing Charles II with six other contemporaneous monarchs, the author drew on the history of English success in Edward III's reign against the French, and Elizabeth I's against the Spanish, to claim that the only thing missing was a lectureship in navigation.<sup>65</sup> The text demonstrates that nationalist sentiment did not have to derive from state-officers and it also locates the use of institutions as a means of effecting nationalism, well before the eighteenth century.

The call for a lectureship in navigation, of course, suggested that both geographical knowledge and the skills of sailing could be improved. The usefulness of *The Principal Navigations* to those who required geographical knowledge is suggested by Alexander Dalrymple's ownership of a copy of each edition of *The Principal Navigations*, for he was the first hydrographer for the Admiralty. The Admiralty Office itself also owned a copy of each edition, proving that other members of this government department also thought it a useful book.<sup>66</sup> However, perhaps the most interesting use made of *The Principal Navigations* concerns an early attempt to find a reliable method of calculating longitude. Thanks to Sobel, the eighteenth-century

---

<sup>65</sup> The material on Edward III and Elizabeth I was, of course, also to be found in *The Principal Navigations*, as was the passage from 'The Libel of English Policie' which opened the 'Address to the Reader' (sig. A3<sup>r</sup>v).

<sup>66</sup> Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*, 34, 64.



story of the search for longitude is now well-known.<sup>67</sup> Yet the question had troubled navigators for at least two centuries. In 1609, one of Hakluyt's contemporaries, who had visited Hakluyt in London, claimed to have found a method of calculating longitude. The marginalia in his copy of *The Principal Navigations* help to clarify his claim.

Anthony Linton was the Rector of Worth in Sussex from 1581 until his death in 1610. His marginalia reveal that he would have gone on Arthur Edward's 1579 voyage to Astracan 'if [he] could have liked of their offers'.<sup>68</sup> His interest in matters of navigation evidently persisted throughout his life for he closely read *The Principal Navigations* twice, making marginal notes on both occasions. The subject matter of his marginalia is diverse. His comment about the voyage of Oliver Brunell to the northern coast of Russia suggests that he made the trip to London specifically to talk about naval matters with Hakluyt:

This Oliver Brunell (for so was his name) went on this voyage and discovered upon the west shoare of Nova Zemla. & through the straights of vaigats. but he never came to Naramsay nor Cara Reva flu. Nor obflu (sic). his mappe I saw with Mr Rich. Hackluit. 1608/.<sup>69</sup>

However, Linton's real interest lay in attempting to improve English navigation, and in 1609 he published *Newes of the Complement of the Art of Navigation*. His work was dedicated to '*Mathematicians, Merchants, Nauigators, Trauellers, &c.* And also

---

<sup>67</sup> Dava Sobel, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (London: Fourth Estate, 1996).

<sup>68</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 466; St John's College, Cambridge, shelfmark Aa.4.35-36.

<sup>69</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 510; St John's College, Cambridge, shelfmark Aa.4.35-36.



to all other, furtherers and fauourers of *Geographie, Nauigation, and Discoueries*'.<sup>70</sup>

It began with a resumé which stressed the 'dignitie, necessitie, and vtilitie' of navigation.<sup>71</sup> In doing so it provided exemplary readings of foreign material contained in *The Principal Navigations*. Asserting the importance of a strong navy to countries which would 'enioy their liberties, and rule ouer others', Linton enjoined readers to note the 'florishing and menacing Empire of the Turks' and to

Reade M. *Hakluyte* (who hath excellentlie well deserued of our whole Nation, in his worthe works of our English Voiages.) vol. 2. part.2. pag.78. where you shall find specificied 268. vessels for y<sup>e</sup> war that besieged the *Rhodes*: besides the Nauie that lay attending in other places to cut off al succours of Christians, &c. and elsewhere in those his volumes.<sup>72</sup>

A little later it is China that offers the paradigm since through its internal and sea-going shipping 'infinite numbers of that people are set a worke, and their riches and renowne is growne vnto the world'.<sup>73</sup> A summary of England's historic naval strength drawn from *The Principal Navigations*, citing King John's invasion of Ireland with 500 ships and Edgar's fleet of 4,000, duly follows. A reiteration of the prestige brought to the English by the achievements of Charles Howard, Drake, Cavendish, and the voyages of the Muscovy Company is also included. Rather than providing exemplary material, these exploits mean that 'now at this present day, our glorie and honor shineth with great brightnes, in the midst of the mightie Empires, and great Kingdomes of *Europe*'.<sup>74</sup> All of this merely served as preface to the tract's real purpose which was to draw attention to a work - the 'Complement' (which was

---

<sup>70</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. A2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. B3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. B1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. B3<sup>r</sup>.

never subsequently written) - which would enable the reader 'with so great certaintie [to] make his conclusions, of Latitude, Longitude, and variation'.<sup>75</sup> Linton claimed that the scientific improvements he offered had their origin in travel narratives, for 'histories and the reports of Trauellers are the treasurie of these Mysteries'.<sup>76</sup> His marginalia demonstrate the way that he deployed the information such tracts contained, and it is worth investigating his methodology.

In *The Principal Navigations*, Christopher Burroughs's narrative of his voyage of Persia and Media runs chronologically, noting key events. In January 1580 he was in Astracan and his entry for 31 January records a lunar eclipse, noting the time it started and finished, and the length of time that the moon was completely dark.<sup>77</sup> The event is recorded but no comment is made about it, and nothing made of it. It is merely an unusual event experienced by a traveller. For Linton, however, such information was invaluable. He compared it against the information contained in an almanac and used the difference between the two observations to calculate longitude. His conclusion led him to believe that Hondius's map, based on Wright's projection, was mistaken in the longitude it gave for Astracan. His marginal note (in which 'gr' means 'degrees' and 'm' is 'minutes') reads:

The Ecclyps above mentioned hapned at Antwerpe accordinge to Stadius his Ephemerides for that yeere anno dm 1580. January die 31 ho-8- m 46.  
In puncto pleni lunii / qui annus fuit 1579 secondu[m] computu[m] Eatia Anglicana

---

<sup>75</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. D3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 420.

So that Astracan is more to the East then Antwerpe gr<sup>s</sup> 96 m 30 & Antwerpe then London m 22. temporis vz gr 5 m 30. And so Astracan more then London gr 66 m 25 but by Hondius his map the Longitude of Astracan from London is some gr 63 / 6m

It seems likely that it was conclusions such as these which led Linton to write his *Newes* for he claimed there that the 'Complement' would correct many errors in navigation and update Hondius's maps, which were based on Wright's projection.<sup>78</sup> In the *Newes*, in fact, he goes further than his marginal notes, claiming that he can supply a way of finding longitude without the benefit of an eclipse, and offering an explanation of his theory.

Linton's reading is significant because although it was thoroughly in sympathy with Hakluyt's intentions, it shows how material Hakluyt printed could be read in ways that were unusual, and very different from the type of reading that we would now engage in. Linton provided exemplary readings of the material relating to Turkey and China, and interpreted the achievements of English sailors in terms of the prestige they had brought the country. Yet he also deployed material from narratives in a way that moved beyond the exemplary. In his case, such reading was undertaken in an effort to benefit the nation by offering ways of improving navigation. Linton was not employed by the state (except in-so-far as he held a Church of England living) but it is reasonable to regard his work as nationalistic nonetheless.

Linton's concerns were geared towards the practical skill of navigation. They contrasted with the judicial and theoretical legal claims made by the Board of Trade,

---

<sup>78</sup> Linton, *Complement of the Art of Navigation*, sig. F2<sup>r</sup>.



Evelyn and Selden. One of the claims that is frequently made for *The Principal Navigations* is that it contained practical information, and indeed, as we saw, it is one of the claims that Hakluyt himself makes. In this section, I want to consider the extent to which the evidence of readership supports such claims. In particular, I examine them in relationship to colonisation, for it is here that nationalist claims continued to be made. Such claims contrast with the private-sector world of merchants which I consider in the final section. It would be naïve, however, to make too sharp a distinction between national and private interest, for they often went hand in hand.

In 1602, John Brereton published *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia*. It included a section headed ‘Certaine briefe testimonies touching sundry rich mines of Gold, Siluer and Copper, in part found and in part constantly heard of, in North *Florida*, and the Inland of the Maine of *Virginia*’.<sup>79</sup> The passage selected references to gold, silver and copper from the third volume of *The Principal Navigations*, which were clearly intended as inducements to potential investors and participants. Brereton concludes, for example, that ‘it were more then wilful madnesse to doubt of rich mines to be in the aforesaid countreys’.<sup>80</sup> The work also encouraged those readers ‘that intend to prosecute this new enterprise of planting nere vnto those parts’ to read Ralfe Lane’s description of Virginia, which

---

<sup>79</sup> John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia* (London: G. Bishop, 1602), sig. F3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Brereton, *Briefe and True Relation*, sig. F4<sup>v</sup>.

was included in Hakluyt's work.<sup>81</sup> Brereton's tract used Hakluyt's work both to entice and to offer practical advice in relation to the project of colonisation.

Brereton was not the only North American colonist to turn to *The Principal Navigations* for practical information. Once he had arrived at Plymouth Plantation, Emmanuel Altham wrote to his brother-in-law asking him to buy 'the books of English voyages, which will do me great good'.<sup>82</sup> He seems to mean Hakluyt's work, although his further request that they be 'of the same voyages that is lately put forth by Mr. Purchas, minister about Ludgate', perhaps indicates that he was only interested in the volume pertaining to America.<sup>83</sup> It is noticeable that Altham only sought to obtain 'the books of English voyages' after he had arrived in New England.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, it was only in the 1620s, that the Virginia Company bought a copy of Hakluyt's work, perhaps because until his death in 1616 they had been able to call on Hakluyt himself for information.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, Captain Thomas James noted that in preparation for his voyage he gathered together

a *Chest* full of the best and choicest *Mathematicall bookes*, that could be got for money in *England*: as likewise *Master Hackluite*, and *Master Purchas*: and other books of *Journals* and *Histories*.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Brereton, *Briefe and True Relation*, sig. F4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> Sydney V. James (ed.), *Three Visitors to Early Plymouth* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, with a foreword by James W. Baker, and introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison, Bedford, Mass.: Applewood, 1997), 33. Altham's letter was dated September 1623.

<sup>83</sup> James, *Three Visitors*, 33.

<sup>84</sup> William S. Powell demonstrates that after the Bible and religious books, books of husbandry were the most commonly wanted in Virginia up to 1624. William S. Powell 'Books in the Virginia Colony before 1624', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 5 (1948), 177-84.

<sup>85</sup> Payne, 'Travel Books', 21, citing D. B. Quinn, 'A List of Books purchased for the Virginia Company', in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *Explorers and Colonies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 385.

<sup>86</sup> Thomas James, *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in His Intended Discouery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea* (London: John Partridge, 1633), sig. Q1<sup>v</sup>.

The use that James made of his reading is unknown, but a marginal note seemingly in the hand of William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, suggests that it was not only the information on America which could be useful for colonists. By a passage which records the defeat of the Persians by the Turks is a marginal note which reveals an exemplary reading of this incident: 'The evill fruits of disbanding an Army by this example is evident'.<sup>87</sup> Berkeley's reading seems to reflect very accurately Hakluyt's concern with military strength and the need for soldiers in colonial activity.

Two years after James's publication, Luke Foxe explored the Davis Strait in search of the North-West Passage. His account of his voyage located it specifically as a nationalist enterprise. In his dedication to Charles I, he noted

I begin with King ARTHVR his Conquests, and so proceeds (sic) to all those Discoveries (that I can find Antiquity hath preserved) towards the *North-west*, untill this Your owne time; to show, how those Maynes, Ilands, and Continents, they have discovered, doth like doves from Heaven descend upon Your Royall Throne; so as most Dread Sovereigne, the true Right thereto is Yours, which I pray may be augmented unto the furthest bounds of the East and W. Ocean.<sup>88</sup>

Not surprisingly, Foxe's resumé of the history of English exploration to the north-west draws on Hakluyt's work. Foxe deemed the large sections which he appropriated from *The Principal Navigations* to be essential reading for those involved in an undertaking such as this. However, he also thought, contradictorily enough, that they would satisfy the 'never-satisfied curious', suggesting his work

---

<sup>87</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 426; Trinity College, Oxford, shelfmark Old Library B.12.4-5

<sup>88</sup> Luke Foxe, *North-VVest Fox, or, Fox from the North-West Passage* (London, 1635), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.



was also geared towards the armchair traveller.<sup>89</sup> His claim that the north-west was a particularly English area of discovery is echoed by a marginal note in a copy of the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*. An early unidentifiable hand has added ‘The spaniardes seeke to p[re]vente our discovree of th[e] North east straight’, by a section of text which reads,

the Spaniards made two ships to goe seeke the streight or gulfe, which as they say, is betweene the Newfoundland and Groenland, and they call it the Englishmans straite, which as yet was neuer fully found.<sup>90</sup>

Notwithstanding the annotator’s geographical inaccuracy, the comment reveals the context of competitive nationalism within which exploration, as well as colonisation, was understood.

Foxe’s work is also important for the attitude it reveals to Hakluyt’s information about King Arthur. This had something in common with Evelyn’s reading which led to the claim that rights to English Sea Sovereignty began with Arthur.<sup>91</sup> This interest in Arthur, and his role in extending the physical boundaries over which the English held jurisdiction, also caught the attention of other readers. The Balliol College copy has a ://: mark by the marginalium in volume one which reads ‘Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean Sea, round about the British Empire’.<sup>92</sup> Robert Nicolson also seems to have been impressed by Arthur, noting in his 1589

---

<sup>89</sup> Foxe, *North-VVest Fox*, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>90</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 546; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.

<sup>91</sup> Evelyn, *Navigation and Commerce*, 67.

<sup>92</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 9; Balliol College, Oxford, shelfmark 575.d.10.

edition 'Lapland the Easterly boandes of king Arthur's British Empire' and 'Norway the cha[m]ber of Britaine'.<sup>93</sup> In a variety of ways, then, this paradigmatic figure was used to encourage and justify colonial activity, and those actually involved in colonisation and trade were alive to both the legal and talismanic aspects of it. There is a distinction to be observed too, between the uses of *The Principal Navigations* made by the Board of Trade and Plantations, and those of writers such as James. The Board was engaged in international negotiations where claims could be tested. Consequently, it based its claims on the voyages of Cabot, which were known to have taken place, whereas James could appeal to mythological figures as much as historical ones. Both Nicolson and James appear to have viewed Arthur as an historical figure.

This tension between Arthur and later, more *bona fide* colonialists was emphasised by Samuel Purchas. In *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, John Smith narrated the history of English colonisation of America up to 1624. The frontispiece to his work [figure 10] located it firmly within a nationalist context of successive monarchs, placing pictures of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I on the mainland of Virginia, interspersing the pictures with the words, 'Virginia Now Planted'. Samuel Purchas wrote the commendatory poem at the start of the work, and in it contrasted actual colonists, such as Smith, with the fabulous reports of earlier colonists. Purchas's Muse encourages him, and

---

<sup>93</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 245; New York Public Library, shelfmark \*KC+1589 copy 1.





Figure 10: Frontispiece from John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624), showing the portraits of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I on the mainland of America.



... fresh areeds me read, without abuse  
By fabling. Arthurs great Acts little made  
By greater lies she saith; feales Faith excuse  
T'Island, Groonland, Estotiland to wade  
After lie-legends; Malgo, Brandon, are Wares braide.

The Fryer of Linne frights her with his black Art;  
Nor Brittish Bards can tell where Madoc planted.  
Cabots, Thorns, Elyots truth haue wonne her heart,<sup>94</sup>

This obtuse piece seems to suggest that the history of Virginia is worth reading despite the 'lie-legends' told about Arthur and his conquests of Iceland, Greenland and 'Estotiland'. Narratives of Arthur's journeys to these places, as we saw in Chapter 4, were included in *The Principal Navigations*, as were references to the exploits of King Malgo, Friar Nicholas of King's Lynn, and Prince Madoc.<sup>95</sup> All were of dubious authenticity, and are contrasted with the writings and actions of John and Sebastian Cabot, Robert Thorne, and Hugh Eliot, who also featured in Hakluyt's work.<sup>96</sup> Purchas does not overtly seek to undermine the credibility of *The Principal Navigations*, but his reading contrasts with that of Thomas James. Whereas James adopts the paradigm offered by Hakluyt, which presented Arthur as an exemplary character to be followed, Purchas repudiated the claims of Arthur and other colonists whose existence was doubtful. He contrasted the fictive nature of those accounts with the actual endeavours of Smith. However, that Purchas's view was as nationalistic as James's is revealed by the final stanza of his commendatory

---

<sup>94</sup> John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles with the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from Their First Beginning An: 1584 to This Present 1624* (London: Michael Sparkes, 1624), sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 1-3, 122, iii. 1-2.

<sup>96</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 4-11, i. 212-221.

poem, which narrates the claim of the English to Virginia, and their faltering attempts to establish a colony. Beginning with Sebastian Cabot, Purchas comments:

*Haile S<sup>r</sup> Sebastian, Englands Northern Pole,  
Virginia's finder; Virgin Eliza nam'd it,  
Gau'e't Raleigh. (Rut, Prat, Hore, I not enrole)  
Amadas rites to English right first fram'd it.  
Lane planted, return'd, nor had English tam'd it;  
Greenviles and Whites men all slaine; New Plantation  
IAMES founds, Sloth confounds, feare, pride, faction sham'd it:  
Smiths Forge mends all, makes chaines for Savage Nation,  
Frees, feeds the rest; the rest reade in his Bookes Relation.<sup>97</sup>*

This passage lists the names of early English colonists – ‘Rut, Prat, Hore’ and ‘Amadas’ – many of whom are mentioned in Hakluyt’s collection.<sup>98</sup> The unsuccessful attempts at colonisation by Grenville and White are seen as precursors to Smith’s successful colonisation of Virginia, following the decision by James to bring the colony under the Crown’s jurisdiction.

In the colonial context then, *The Principal Navigations* served a number of purposes which could all be deemed nationalist. Firstly there was Brereton’s attempt to entice investors by highlighting the commodities (particularly gold and silver) which Hakluyt’s work seemed to authorise and proffer. Some of those who actually engaged in colonisation, such as Altham, thought the work would be useful when they arrived, while Berkeley seems to have read the work looking for exemplary material. Others used the historical narrative of continued attempts at colonisation

---

<sup>97</sup> Smith, *The Generall Historie*, sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> A ‘M[aster] Hore’ made a voyage to Newfoundland in 1536, and Philip Amadas went to Virginia in 1584. Grenville and White made a series of voyages to Virginia, and White led the first attempt at colonisation. See Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 129-30, 246-65, 288-96.



and exploration to make legal claims, and some readily deployed myths in their cause. On the other hand, Purchas contrasted mythological figures with the historical reality of more recent colonists. His is almost the only dissenting voice in what might be regarded as the public, nationalist discourse which surrounded *The Principal Navigations*.

### 6.3. Private Interests

It would appear from the above that Hakluyt's work had greater influence in terms of legal claims pertaining to colonisation, to propaganda supporting such attempts, and to poetic justifications of subsequent action, than it did in the practical business of colonisation. The same, however, is not true when it comes to trading voyages. In the discussion which follows, I examine what I regard as discourses which, although not overtly nationalist and carried out by private individuals and organisations, would still have been regarded by Hakluyt as being in the national interest because they sought to increase the nation's wealth. His endorsement of some of them is suggested by his involvement in the earliest examples. This provides us with another interesting example of the way *The Principal Navigations* was read.

The Council minutes of the East India Company for January 1601 referred to Hakluyt as the 'Historiographer of the viages of the East Indies'.<sup>99</sup> The Company had called him in as an advisor on their first voyage. Significantly, it seems that

---

<sup>99</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 476.

Hakluyt provided information about *how* the company could acquire jewels. The minute notes that ‘Mr Hacklett ... read unto [the Committies] out of his notes and bookes divers instructions for provisions of jewelles’.<sup>100</sup> However, the Company’s requirements were more prosaic. They asked him instead to advise them about ‘the principall places in the East Indies wher trade is to be had’.<sup>101</sup> The resulting document reveals how the purpose of a text could change even for its publisher. When he printed the account of Drake’s circumnavigation, Hakluyt drew attention to the honour it brought the English. He gave the journey a new section entitled ‘THE TWO FAMOVVS VOYAGES HAPPILY perfourmed round about the world, by Sir *Francis Drake*, and *M. Thomas Candish*’, and he drew further attention to the prestige acquired from Drake’s achievement by entitling the narrative itself ‘The famous voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* into the South sea, and therehence about the whole Globe of the earth’.<sup>102</sup> The voyage seemed to be offered by Hakluyt as an historic event intended chiefly to inspire future generations. However, in response to the East India Company’s request, what Hakluyt extracted from the narrative was practical, geographical information. Under a heading ‘Places where Peper growth in the Isle of Java Major’, Hakluyt provides an extensive list, and adds ‘There groweth also longe peper in the Isle of Baratene, as appeareth by the testimony of Sir Francis Drake, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of my English Voiages pag.741’.<sup>103</sup> The same narration also supplied information about ‘nutmeggs, ginger & longe peper, growing in the Isle of

---

<sup>100</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 476.

<sup>101</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 476.

<sup>102</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 730.

<sup>103</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 477.



Baratave'.<sup>104</sup> Hakluyt would not have had to look beyond his own marginal notes to this narrative to ascertain this information, and his reading demonstrates the multiple ways that a single text could be read.

Whether other investors, supporters and participants in late Tudor and early Stuart trading ventures were motivated by nationalist sentiment or other reasons, it is clear that many owned copies of Hakluyt's work. We may attribute some instances of ownership to the East India Company's requirement, as expressed in the instructions for the 1611 voyage, that a copy should be taken 'for the better comfote of such of our factors as are recideinge in the Indies ... to recreate their spirittes with varietie of historie'.<sup>105</sup> However, we should not exclude the possibility that many owners also sought practical information. A comparison of Rabb's list of investors in trading enterprises, with the names of identified owners derived either from the census or my inspection of copies of *The Principal(l) Navigations*, reveals a number of names in common.<sup>106</sup> Investors (social status in brackets) who owned the 1589 edition were George Johnson, (merchant), James Dennis (merchant), Thomas Scott (two gentlemen, one merchant), Robert Ashley (social status unknown), Dudley Digges (knight) and Thomas Stone (merchant). Owners of the second edition included William Barkeley (probably the Governor of Virginia), John Elkin (social status unknown), Robert Eyre (merchant), William Harvey (knight), John Potts (social status unknown), Thomas Shirley (two knights, one gentleman), Henry Timberlake (merchant), Robert Vernon (knight), George Wilmer (gentleman), and Edmund

---

<sup>104</sup> Taylor, *Writings*, ii. 478.

<sup>105</sup> Payne, 'Travel Books', 21.

<sup>106</sup> Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, Appendix; Neville-Sington and Payne, *Census*.

Windham (social status unknown). Missing from Rabb's list but certainly investors in at least the Muscovy Company were the Nicolsons. A number of family names – Boothby, Farewell, Stuteville and Tomkins – also coincide, although the forenames on the copies do not match those in the list of identified investors, suggesting perhaps generations outside of Rabb's work which stops at 1630.<sup>107</sup> It is not possible, of course, to be sure that the match of names is not coincidental, but the link between ownership of copies and investment in trading and colonising enterprises is, I think, sufficiently well established to suggest that *The Principal(l) Navigations* was of interest to these men of affairs. What we cannot yet be sure of is whether Hakluyt's work persuaded individuals to invest or participate in mercantile activity or, as seems to be the situation in Elkin's case, it was bought after the investment had been made.<sup>108</sup>

The well-known anecdote recorded in *Hakluytvs Posthumous or Pvrchas His Pilgrimes* about the use of *The Principal Navigations* suggests that it could have an immediate and very practical impact.<sup>109</sup> When the third East India Company voyage was stuck in the doldrums at the equator and desperately short of water, a discussion

---

<sup>107</sup> In the case of the Stutevilles it seems very likely that the individuals involved were father and son. Rabb (*Enterprise and Empire*, 385) lists Martin Stuteville, and McKitterick notes that in the 1620s (before his death in 1631) he was involved in buying a number of books, including a copy of Hakluyt, (David McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying a Bible in 1630', *The Book Collector*, 40 (1991), 391). Thomas Stuteville was involved in purchasing books, and it is this name which appears, very unusually, in two copies of the 1599-1600 edition of *The Principal Navigations*, (Payne and Neville-Sington, *Census*, 62, 66). McKitterick notes that Martin Stuteville purchased his copy of Hakluyt well after he had taken part in some of the events it recorded, for he had travelled 'to the New World under the command of Sir Francis Drake, a period of his life still sufficiently remembered at his death for it to be recorded on the monument set into the wall of the chancel of Dalham church', (McKitterick, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder', 391).

<sup>108</sup> John Elkin invested in the Virginia Company in 1609, and volume three (which contained the material pertaining to Virginia) of the Emmanuel College copy is inscribed on the title-page 'Johannes Elkin me possidet 1616'.

<sup>109</sup> Payne, 'Travel Books', 21.



ensued between the Master of the ship and William Keeling, the narrator of the voyage, about what to do. They discussed 'Sierra Leona', and Keeling, 'having formerly read well of the place, sent for the \*Booke, and shewed it my Master, who as my selfe, tooke good liking to the place'.<sup>110</sup> Purchas's asterisk connects with a marginal note:

\*M. Hackluits books of Voyages are of great profit. This saved the Company, as Sir Th. Smith affirmed to me, 20000. pounds, which they had bin endamaged if they had returned home, which necessitie had constrayned, if that Booke had not given light.<sup>111</sup>

It is not clear which edition of Hakluyt's work was taken on the voyage, but had they used the first edition Keeling and the Master would have found Hakluyt's index of some help. The entry for 'Sierra Leona' reads: 'upon the coast of Guiny a very contagious place 528'.<sup>112</sup> If, undeterred, they turned to page 528, a marginal note - 'The contagion of the Countrey of Sierra Leona' - would have directed them to the passage in Hawkins's narrative which spoke of this country. In the two lines adjacent to the marginal note, and following the one which contained the reference to the contagiousness of Sierra Leone, they would have read:

The 18. of Januarie at night, we departed from Taggarin, being bound to the West Indiaes, before which departure, certaine of the Salomons men went a shoare, to fil water in the night.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, ii. 503.

<sup>111</sup> Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, ii. 503.

<sup>112</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. 4F2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 528.

Thus, the sailors found, in Coleridge's words their 'drop to drink'.<sup>114</sup> Keeling's reference to *The Principal(l) Navigations* as 'the Booke', suggests that it had achieved some kind of specific status, either in terms of East India Company requirements, or as recognisably the only book of its kind. Purchas's marginalium reveals the success of that third voyage, and indicates the kind of wealth that these early voyages brought to English merchants. It is evidence of the veracity of Hakluyt's claim that expanding markets could enrich the nation.

Yet the idea that it was only chartered trading companies with their publicly-acknowledged role in promoting the national interest which could bring financial improvement to the country was, as Brenner has shown, hotly contested as the seventeenth century wore on.<sup>115</sup> Interlopers were keen to break monopolistic charters which they claimed were not, in fact, in the national interest. Of course, in reality, such claims often masked contending forms of self-interest.

In the dispute between the Guinea Company and Samuel Vassell of 1649-50, we see the breakdown of national interest into contending notions of self-interest.<sup>116</sup> In December 1649, Vassell had presented to 'the Council of State' a 'Remonstrance' which challenged the Guinea Company's monopoly to trade in Guinea. The 'Remonstrance' was couched in nationalist terms: 'Remonstrance presented to the

---

<sup>114</sup> For the possible influence of Hakluyt's work on Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, see John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), 134, 241, 251, 302.

<sup>115</sup> Robert Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

<sup>116</sup> Brenner, *Merchants*, 164.



Council of State for their honour and profit, and for the general good of the land, by the trade of gold and other very good commodities'.<sup>117</sup> In their 'humble answer ... unto the Remonstrance of Mr Samuill Vassall and Comp.' the Guinea Company invoked Hakluyt in their assertion of their right of first discovery:

The Guinny Compa: were the first discoverers of the Trade for Gold to this Nation, on the Coast of Guinny, and there is none living this day at the Goldcoast that can remember that ever any English traded thither before us, Nor likewise none in this Nation that hath left any memory behind them of a Trade there for Gold, Only in Mr Hackluit's Bookes of Voyages is reported that one Capt Towerson, sailed along the Coast, but set not a foot on shore, Therefore settled no factory. And the quantitie of gold that he brought home, the said Booke will make menc[i]on of.<sup>118</sup>

The Guinea Company's reading is decidedly selective, and not a little disingenuous. The account of Wyndham's voyage to Guinea preceded that of Towerson's by only a few pages in the collection, and there it is clear both that Wyndham landed, and that he, like Towerson, traded for gold.<sup>119</sup> The account of Towerson's first voyage also makes clear that there was an abundance of gold and that Towerson's men went ashore and traded.<sup>120</sup> Neither Towerson's nor Wyndham's voyages seem to have had royal charters.

Thus, just as the Board of Trade searched Hakluyt's work for precedents, so too did the Guinea Company. The two organisations were equally indiscriminate in their use of the work and offered readings which sought to be persuasive as much by what

---

<sup>117</sup> W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, 1574-1660* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), 331.

<sup>118</sup> PRO, State Papers Colonial 15/2/29.

<sup>119</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 14.

<sup>120</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 23-36.

they left 'unread' as what they read. Both organisations were interested in rights as opposed to practical information but their deployment of the information they garnered was very much geared towards the world of action rather than towards armchair reading. Whereas, however, the Board's reading was directed against a national enemy in the national interest, the Guinea Company's was directed at a competitor of the same nation.

#### 6.4. Conclusion

The discourse in which the Guinea Company engaged deployed a nationalist argument to protect self-interest. Yet it has a number of things in common with appropriations which were overtly and less self-interestedly nationalistic. Most significant of these was the invocation of *The Principal Navigations* as a creditworthy and believable work. Those arguing along nationalist lines, whether they wrote marginalia noting the rate of customs duties and the time of a lunar eclipse, or made public assertions about military might and claims of first discovery, all read *The Principal Navigations* as an authoritative work. Even in the case of Purchas's commendatory poem, where the authenticity of King Arthur is questioned, such doubt is contrasted with the other more factually-based narratives contained in Hakluyt's collection. As the Board of Trade's memorandum to George II noted, Hakluyt was deemed, at least as far as nationalist discourses went, 'an author of good credit'. This authoritative status, of course, can be seen as facilitating diverse



readings, particularly when those readings depended on facts. Most common, in terms of nationalism, was the use of *The Principal Navigations* to claim legal rights, whether they related to ownership of the land or sea, or to taxation. Such precedent-hunting was accompanied by exemplary readings of material, readings which could be drawn either from the accounts of English conduct, or from reports of the behaviour of other nations. In addition, a number of readers were alive to the issues of national honour which Hakluyt's text promoted. These varied from questions of ambassadorial etiquette to feats of navigation. Such sentiments demonstrate that the readings that Hakluyt's work received were both recreational and practical.

Largely, though not entirely, the nationalist discourse was a public one conducted in printed works, or in manuscripts intended for formal communication. Yet it was not entirely so, nor was it always clear that motives for action were nationalistic; often financial rewards were the main aim. Many of the nationalist discourses allied themselves with the state, as Hakluyt had done, but not all did, as Callaghan's analysis shows. Her reading demonstrates that we should talk of 'nationalisms'. The rapidly changing nature of the various discourses and the willingness of those who made them to be selective in their interpretations of Hakluyt's text demonstrate the lack of actual control that Hakluyt could exert even over nationalist readings of *The Principal Navigations*. Perhaps, the most extraordinary appropriation of Hakluyt's collection was that made by Richard Bland in 1769. He cited Raleigh's Letters Patent as printed in 'Hakluyt's Voyages, p.725, folio edition, anno 1589', to claim that they contained 'an express clause of exemption, for ever, from all taxes or

impositions upon [the]... import and export trade' of Americans.<sup>121</sup> He was, of course, arguing for American Independence. He accepted *The Principal Navigations* as authoritative, but as Purchas's public challenge to the credibility of Arthur suggested, not all readers of *The Principal Navigations* were willing to do so. Nor were all readers interested in making nationalist appropriations of it. In the next chapter I want to look at some of these appropriations in order to contextualise the nationalist readings I have discussed here.

---

<sup>121</sup> Richard Bland, *An Enquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies intended as an Answer to 'The Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes Imposed upon them Considered'. In a Letter Addressed to the Author of that Pamphlet* (Williamsburg: Alexander Purdie, 1769) in Anonymous, *A Collection of Tracts on the Subject of Taxing of the British Colonies in America and Regulating the Trade*, 4 vols. (London: J. Almon, 1773), i. Tract 5, sig. C1<sup>r</sup>.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### **The Limits of Nationalism**

Judging from Bodleian MS Folios Theta 665 and Theta 666, the late seventeenth-century MP Charles Cook had a strong interest in English overseas trade and trading companies. These two collections of separates, chiefly parliamentary position papers, seem to have been bound together by Cook, who then used the blank spaces to make notes on a variety of trade-related topics such as commodities, markets, and annual import and export values. Folio 89<sup>r</sup> of Theta 665 is a printed broadsheet entitled *Reasons Against the Bill for the Better Improvement of the Trade to Africa by Establishing a Regulated Company Humbly Offered to the Consideration of the Honourable House of Commons*. On Folio 88<sup>v</sup>, facing this page, are manuscript notes entitled 'Russia', and subtitled 'Hackluyt 1 Vol'. The sheet comprises references drawn from volume one of the second edition, which trace the history of the Muscovy Company, noting, for example:

'fo: 267 K. Philip & Q Mary's Charter to y<sup>e</sup> Merch<sup>ts</sup> trading to Russia by y<sup>e</sup> Narve Merch<sup>ts</sup> adventurers of Eng: for ye discovery of lands yet unknown'.

Other notes refer to the 'priveledges granted in 1569', 'ye first Trade to Narve 1560', and 'New priveledges 1586'. It seems possible that Cook was using *The Principal Navigations* to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of the paper



put before him regarding incorporation of the trade to Africa. If so, this indicates that precedent as much as directly practical information helped to shape political opinion. It implies too that the work was deployed in high-level, political deliberations at this historical juncture about the best course of action in the national interest.

Yet Cook's notes also draw attention to something else. In the middle of the seventeen notes that he makes about the history of the Russian trade is the following:

'fo: 465 killingworth's beard'.

The reference is to a printed marginal note which reads 'M. Killingworths beard of a marveilous length'. The related section of text reveals that while this English merchant and ambassador to Russia was dining with the Russian Tsar,

the prince ... tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who, seeming to blesse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foot and two inches of assize.<sup>1</sup>

Cook's note reminds us that, as Adrian Johns has put it, 'texts, printed or not, cannot compel readers to react in specific ways'.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 20. For a suggestion that beards in Tudor England were perceived as a symbol of masculinity see Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 155-87.

In this chapter I want to look at some of the diverse responses that *The Principal Navigations* evoked in the Tudor-Stuart period. In doing so I am not attempting to offer a comprehensive cultural history, nor even a complete analysis of the work's reception in the Tudor-Stuart period. Rather, I want to contextualise the nationalist discourses that I identified in the previous chapter. In particular, I want to examine a number of factors about the book's reception which were fundamental to the carrying through of its nationalist intentions. I begin by considering the extent to which its genre was recognised. This leads to a discussion of the success of Hakluyt's authorising strategies. Here, I investigate the extent to which *The Principal Navigations* was regarded as factually accurate, and I consider the debate about this claim in both its private and public forms. A discussion of readings which attend to the religious aspect of the work follows, along with a consideration of the extent to which such readings can be seen as nationalistic. This section of the work is based on a case study of Ralph Burton's reading, which takes us beyond religious concerns and leads into some concluding remarks about appropriations of the work which can be described as leisure reading.

## 7.1. Genre

I argued in Chapter 2 that *The Principal Navigations* was located within the genre of historical writing, and many of the readings that I identified in the previous chapter confirm that it was perceived in this way. The search for historical precedents, the

exemplary reading of texts, the stress on factual accuracy, and the sensitivity to tradition all indicate a reading of the work as historical. Yet, as I also demonstrated, geographical readings were also possible, as Hakluyt's own appropriation of information for the East India Company revealed. Although I believe Cormack is mistaken in attributing *The Principal Navigations* primarily to the genre of geographical literature, she rightly observes that it contains much material which can usefully be described as descriptive geography. She also demonstrates that, particularly at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the 1620s, there was a burgeoning interest in this form of literature, and although none of her examples directly cite *The Principal Navigations*, it is reasonable to suppose that sections of the work were appropriated in this way.<sup>3</sup>

Yet the value of reading descriptive geography was not uncontested in the early seventeenth century. Richard Eburne's *Plain Pathway to Plantations* is in dialogue form and opens with a discussion about the merits or otherwise of reading 'discourse[s] of our new plantations.'<sup>4</sup> Enrubie, a merchant whose name evokes Eburne's, is reading 'a new and pretty discourse' to 'recreate [him]self withal for want of better company and exercise'.<sup>5</sup> Respire, a farmer, marvels that he should find any good or pleasure 'in such idle books, fables ... not worth the looking on'.<sup>6</sup> Enrubie justifies himself by noting 'the delight that comes by the novelty of the

---

<sup>3</sup> Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 134-62.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Eburne, *A Plain Pathway to Plantations*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1962), 21-23.

<sup>5</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22, 21.

<sup>6</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22.



contents'.<sup>7</sup> He claims that there is pleasure in reading about a country which has been offered by God 'unto us and our seed'; says he can now confute the stories of those who speak negatively about the colonies; and explains that he is better informed to talk to those that are interested.<sup>8</sup> Of course, Enrubie is not reading *The Principal Navigations*, but Hakluyt's work did contain many 'discourse[s] of [the] new plantations' as well as much material which could be deemed descriptive geography that did not relate to North America. Eburne's text, therefore, relates to Hakluyt's in two ways. The first concerns the type of information that was to be gleaned from it and the second the pleasure which is to be derived from reading. I discuss the first of these here, and the second at the end of the chapter.

As its name suggests, 'descriptive geography' belonged to a different genre than the historical one into which Hakluyt located *The Principal Navigations*. Nevertheless, a diverse range of readings of the work were made which could be deemed geographical, rather than historical. As we have seen, Anthony Linton used what he read to try and calculate longitude and thence to compare information against maps. Although Robert Burton used the term 'diaries' in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* when referring to the pleasure he derived from reading travel narratives, he also located them within the ambit of geographical literature:

---

<sup>7</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22-23.

What greater pleasure can there now bee, then to view those elaborate Maps, or Ortelius, Mercator, Nondus &c ... To read those accurate diaries of Portugals, Hollanders, of Baritson, Oliver a Novo &c Hackluits voyages.<sup>9</sup>

The connection with Ortelius was justified by the 1606 translation of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarvm*. The page describing 'NEW SPAIN' concluded 'You haue also many notable discourses hereof in the third Volume of M. Hakluyts English Voyages'.<sup>10</sup> A similar sentiment was found in the page relating to Africa.<sup>11</sup> Burton's father, Ralfe, had also read *The Principal Navigations* against maps. He noted in the margin of his copy that the description of Persia's geographical boundaries and borders was 'trewely seete out & bounded agreeing to my mappe'.<sup>12</sup> For Shakespeare, on the other hand, the map which is usually associated with *The Principal Navigations* offered the opportunity for a joke about its visual appearance, rather than for any kind of attention to its factual content. Maria's statement in *Twelfth Night* that Malvolio 'does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies' is widely accepted as a reference to Wright's map, although whether Shakespeare saw the map in a copy of *The Principal Navigations* or separately is impossible to tell.<sup>13</sup>

The antiquarian Thomas Hearne, by contrast, definitely did read Hakluyt's work and was particularly interested in geographical material, making extensive notes from it.

---

<sup>9</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. N. R. Kiessling, T. C. Faulkner, R. L. Blair, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-1998), ii. 86-7.

<sup>10</sup> Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarvm, The Theatre of the Whole World: Set forth by That Excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius* (London: John Norton, 1608), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Ortelius, *Theatrum*, 4.

<sup>12</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 372; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark f.1.34

<sup>13</sup> William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, 3.2.62-3, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 105 footnote.

The quotation he made in 1709 from volume one of Hakluyt's work, about the journey to Pechora along the northern coast of Russia is typical:

In Hakluyt's *Voyages* Vol 1. P277. It is to be understood, That fro the Cape of S. John unto the Rivr or Bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunk Land, and full of shoales and Danger, you shall have scant two Fadomes of Water, and see noe Land.<sup>14</sup>

His summaries parallel many other instances of handwritten marginalia to be found in copies of *The Principal Navigations* which are geographic in nature, such as those relating to compass variations, commodities, wind-directions, depths and tides. There is no evidence in these cases to suggest that such annotations were used, as Linton deployed his, to further a nationalist cause.

When we consider the genre of Hakluyt's work, it becomes evident that the distinction which now seems so clear between geography and history was not at all obvious in the seventeenth century. Hakluyt himself noted the interdependence of the two genres, as did other commentators. Moreover, although Mary Campbell has observed that there was an increasing separation of the two spheres during the seventeenth century, Edmund Bohun's translation of Louis Moréri's *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* of 1694 demonstrated that even at the end of the century they were still close.<sup>15</sup> It comprised a great deal of geographical and historical data and categorised Hakluyt as an historian:

---

<sup>14</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 851, fo. 70<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 259-60. Louis Moréri, *The Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary Being a Curious Miscellany of Sacred and Profane History*, trans. and



His Genius led him very much to History, and especially to that part of it which relates to Navigation. He set forth a Collection of English Sea-Voyages, Ancient, Middle, and Modern taken partly out of Private Letters, partly out of small Treatises which had been irrecoverably lost, had they not been preserv'd by his Care.<sup>16</sup>

This paean to Hakluyt as a preserver of texts is, of course, further evidence of *The Principal Navigations*' place in the historical genre. The eighteenth-century antiquarian Thomas Baker endorsed this view when he responded to Locke's comments about the inclusion of material which had nothing to do with navigation by observing, 'These things wch the Collector makes an objection; I take to be the most valuable part of the book'.<sup>17</sup>

It is difficult to say whether recreational readers were more or less likely than others to annotate their books, but D. R. Woolf has described the updating of factual information as a common occurrence in the marginalia of Tudor-Stuart history books.<sup>18</sup> In some cases, additions to *The Principal Navigations* reflected personal histories, turning the book into a family heirloom. Linton's allusion to his possible involvement in one of the voyages recorded in the work is one example of this kind of annotation, but other copies include similarly personal remarks. By a section of text that refers to the ship the Marchant Royall, one copy notes 'whose owner was Mr Cordell a greate merchant of London. This ship was after by a cruell tempest cast

---

expanded Edmund Bohun (4<sup>th</sup> edition, corrected and enlarged by Monsieur le Clar, London: Henry Rhodes et al., 1694).

<sup>16</sup> Moréri, *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary*, s.v. 'Hackluit'.

<sup>17</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, recto of front fly-sheet of volume three; St John's College Cambridge, shelfmark As.4.35-36.

<sup>18</sup> Woolf, *Reading History*, 87.

awaie in ye Gulfe of Venice being richlie fraughted & bound for England'.<sup>19</sup> A copy of the second edition in New York Public Library observes about the ship the Mary Rose, that it

was b[u]i[lt] about thend of Ed[ward] the 6 or the be[gin]ning of Q. Ma[ry] by two march[ents] of London, Tho[mas] Lock eldest sonn [of] Sr Wm Lock Kt [and] Antony Hick ... and [is] named the Mar[y] Rose] by reason of th[eir] wives. The wife o[f] Lock being Mar[y] the wife of Mr Hi[ck] being Rose.<sup>20</sup>

Robert Nicolson's copy adds information about his [or his father's] membership of the Muscovy Company observing that

Robert Nicolson the elder was also admitted into this Right worshipfull Fellowship ye 15 of February Ao Do 1588 Elizab Reg 31 And was chosen one of the Assistante[s] of the said Fellowship the 1 of March 1598.<sup>21</sup>

Nicolson's copy also testifies to the circulation among merchants of personal letters which contained information about trade. Thus page 93 of his copy has a manuscript annotation, which seems to reproduce a letter giving details of a voyage to Guinney:

Sir, there is a shipp of Mr Juels Alderman come out of ginie riche. It lyeth at Dover. There be two shippes more that went in their Companie thither that be lacking[.] Sr Jn<sup>o</sup> Branch knight; In a letter xi June 1555 n<sup>o</sup> 14 to his brother Thomas Branch then in Andwarpe Merchant.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 227; New College, Oxford, shelfmark Ω35.8.

<sup>20</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 609; New York Public Library, shelfmark \*KC 1599 Hakluyt copy 2.

<sup>21</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 302; New York Public Library, shelfmark,\*KC+ 1589 copy 1.

<sup>22</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 93; New York Public Library, shelfmark,\*KC+ 1589 copy 1.

The same copy also includes a unique copy of a ballad about Drake, and a printed version of a coat of arms. As well as being deployed in the public discourse of nationalism, then, the two editions of *The Principal Navigations* were used to record personal and family histories, but the inclusion of Branch's letter demonstrates how private communication could become historical knowledge deemed of interest to others. The annotation thus continued in manuscript the practice Hakluyt had embarked on by publishing personal letters. *The Principal Navigations* was read both as an historical work and for its geographical content. In both cases, while it was possible that such readings might serve a nationalist purpose, it did not necessarily follow that they did.

## **7.2. Factual Accuracy**

If the commentaries which revealed something about the genre of *The Principal Navigations* took place both in the public and private arenas, so, too, did discussions about the veracity of the work. As we saw, establishing the credibility of his writers, himself and his work was an essential part of Hakluyt's nationalist enterprise. It might seem from the previous chapter that he was very successful in this endeavour, but the public deployments of the work which cited it as authoritative represent only part of the story.



Marginalia in a number of copies contradict the public discourse of nationalist enterprises as it pertains to *The Principal Navigations*. They challenge the authority of the work by suggesting that its authors are mendacious or mistaken. Usually such challenges refer to particular points in the narratives and do not suggest that the book as a whole is unreliable. Thus, a copy in Cambridge University Library reads ‘a great lye’ by the claim that Odoricus travelled 3,000 miles from Sumatra to Java.<sup>23</sup> Another copy remarks ‘these are fables’ by a section of text that tells of ‘men that yerely die and reuiue’, and ‘blacke men lacking the vse of common speech’.<sup>24</sup> In the copy in Christ’s College, Cambridge, a section of text about a war between elephants and dragons, which is frequently underlined and/or marked with marginal lines in other copies, attracts the comment ‘All playne false’.<sup>25</sup> A copy of the 1589 edition in Philadelphia Free Library contrasts two passages of text relating to the start of the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico, noting ‘Either Ingrame lies sainge it began first the year 74 or Tomson li[es] in reportinge himself t[o] have bene converted the yere 80.’<sup>26</sup> These comments directly challenge the veracity of the texts in a way that differs from that of Purchas’s doubts about King Arthur. They do not dismiss the whole story as fictional, but respond specifically to particular passages. They suggest general acceptance of the veracity of a narrative whilst suspending judgement about, or challenging, particulars within it.

---

<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigtions*, II i. 57; Cambridge University Library, shelfmark, Syn.4.59.2-4.

<sup>24</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 493; Bodleian Library, shelfmark H.8.15. (1,2) Art.

<sup>25</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 93; Christ’s College, Cambridge, shelfmark Rouse 13.8.

<sup>26</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 584; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.

The ambiguous attitude to *The Principal Navigations* that writers of marginalia demonstrated is neatly characterised by the comments of an anonymous writer, made around 1715. British Library Sloane MS 3094 is a manuscript intended for publication, which claimed to offer 'A General Index of all Books of Travels'. The author thought the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* was 'Generally little valued'.<sup>27</sup> He proclaimed the work was important for the precedent it set in preserving texts, and because it held much material which was not available elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> The writer also warned that the collection

requires a Iudicious Reader to separate the Dross from the true Ore, for there is much of the former, M<sup>r</sup> Hackluyt having swelled his work with all that came to Hand, wherein will be found much fabulous, & no less that is trivial, which being well sifted there will remain another Part of good value.

He concluded,

It is also convenient to take notice that upon later Discoveries it has appear'd that the Relations of the first Travellers are very often little to be rely'd on.<sup>29</sup>

At the start of the eighteenth century, then, *The Principal Navigations* was deemed to be a mixture of rarely-available fact and unreliable report which made careful reading essential. The factual value of the work was diminished over time because

---

<sup>27</sup> British Library, Sloane MS 3094, fo. 101<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> There is not room here to consider Hakluyt's influence on the genre of the travel collection, which merits a full-length study in itself. For preliminary discussion see Edward Lynam (ed.), *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 93, 1946). See also Campbell, *Witness and the Other World*, 255-60 and D. B. Quinn, 'Hakluyt's Reputation', in Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 133-52. Most recently see Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim?'

<sup>29</sup> Both quotations from British Library, Sloane MS 3094, fo. 101<sup>r</sup>.

later voyages had generated more up-to-date information. This represents a second kind of challenge to the text, and it, too, found expression in marginalia. The copy in Westminster Abbey, for example, has a marginalium which reads: 'Mr Jen[kinson] is deceived for Hyrcania is now cald Mozondra[n] & Medya, Shirban'.<sup>30</sup> The copy owned by Ushaw College, Durham, has a note to the effect that 'Coronardo's good account of Cibola has 7 indifferent towns'.<sup>31</sup>

For the most part, marginalia can reasonably be regarded as examples of a private discourse, yet there was also a much more public challenge to the authority of *The Principal Navigations*, and it was expressed very shortly after publication of the second edition. One of the earliest and most enigmatic appropriations of the work was made by that producer of extraordinary literary creations, Thomas Nashe, in 1598. Having left London in 1597, following the suppression of a play called *The Isle of Dogs*, for which Ben Jonson, among others, was imprisoned, Nashe made his way to Great Yarmouth. The constantly shifting sands of Nashe's style suggest that we should not take too seriously the penitential note sounded at the start of *Lenten Stufe*:

what they [the authorities] in their graue wisdoms shall proscribe, I in no sorte will seeke to acquite, nor presumptuously attempte to dispute against the equity of their iudgements, but, humble and prostrate, appeale to their mercies.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, i. 346; Westminster Abbey S.3.19.

<sup>31</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 373; Ushaw College, no shelfmark.

<sup>32</sup> Ronald B. McKerrow, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 5 vols. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, with corrections made by F. P. Wilson, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958), iii. 154.



The destabilising effect of his playful and witty style, which Jonathan Crewe has described as irredeemably rhetorical, is ineluctable.<sup>33</sup> The contrast with the worthiness of *The Principall Navigations* is stark, and the attraction to the out-of-favour Nashe of satirising Hakluyt - the serious-minded (not to say humourless), relatively successful friend of Harvey who likewise wore his learning very heavily - is not difficult to spot. Even before the second volume of the second edition was published, Nashe was deploying *The Principall Navigations*, in such a way. Nashe may be regarded as proffering a work which was apparently conformist while simultaneously engaging in the mockery of targeted individuals. His treatment of Hakluyt and *The Principall Navigations* would support such a reading.

In Chapter 2 I noted the close links between Hakluyt and Harvey, and the latter's specific contrast of *The Principall Navigations*, as 'a worke of importance', with the 'corrupt pamphlets' of Nashe.<sup>34</sup> Whether willingly or not, then, Hakluyt was drawn into the Nashe-Harvey debate, and we can expect Nashe to have exploited this opportunity. The passage in *Lenten Stuff* which follows Nashe's farewell to Great Yarmouth appears to be a parodic depiction of Hakluyt:

I haue not travaild farre, though conferred with farthest travailers, from our owne Realme. I haue turnd ouer venerable *Bede*, and plenteous beadrowles of frierly annals following on the backe of him. *Polidore Virgill*, *Bucchanan*, *Camdens Britannia*, and most recordes of friendes or enemies I haue searcht, as concerning the later modell of it; none of the inland partes thereof but I haue traded them as frequently as the middle walke in Poules, or my way to bed euery night, yet for aught I haue read, heard or seene, Yarmouth, regall Yarmouth, of all maritimall townes that are no more but fisher townes, soly reigneth sance peere.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Jonathan Crewe, *Unredeemed Rhetoric: Thomas Nashe and the Scandal of Authorship* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

<sup>34</sup> Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation*, 49.

<sup>35</sup> McKerrow, *Works*, iii. 172.

The depiction of the author-persona as someone who has conferred with travellers picks up a point specifically made by Hakluyt in the 'Dedicatorie Epistle' of the first edition of *The Principall Navigations*, as does the reference to his not having travelled very far.<sup>36</sup> We might also detect a play on travel/travail, which Hakluyt invited by making heavy weather of his own industry, claiming that he determined 'notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake 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 to the refusall'.<sup>37</sup> As we saw, the sheer labour of putting together the second edition was reiterated by Hakluyt in both the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' and 'Address to the Reader' of the first volume of the second edition.

The shifting nature of Nashe's text is evident from the second sentence which attacks historians engaged in the writing of nationalist works. Most of the authors listed were included by Hakluyt in volume one of *The Principal Navigations*. Nashe's specific reference to Hakluyt and *The Principal Navigations* which follows two paragraphs later strengthens the possible identification, but there is more to this description of Yarmouth than immediately meets the eye.

Nashe locates his history of Great Yarmouth within a discourse of the commonwealth. He not only notes that through its industry the town and its

---

<sup>36</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. \*2<sup>v</sup>.

inhabitants are wealthy, but also comments approvingly on its historic contribution to the fleets of various English kings. The discourse is one that Hakluyt would have recognised: ‘this common good within it selfe [the town] is nothing to the common good it communicats to the whole state’.<sup>38</sup> The cause of this common good is not only the town’s value as a defensive bastion, but also the contribution the herring trade makes to the wealth of the country at large. Nashe’s discourse is a thoroughly Hakluytian one of strength and wealth, but Nashe nevertheless positions himself against *The Principal Navigations*. This is true despite Nashe’s close reading of the first volume of the second edition.<sup>39</sup> Firstly, he ignores Hakluyt’s specific praise of Yarmouth as a town which contributed twice the number of ships and men to Edward III’s fleet than either the King himself or any other town, this is despite Nashe’s explicit reference to Edward’s 400-strong fleet. More specifically, he marvels at the wealth of Great Yarmouth:

considering that in M. *Hackluits* English discoueries I haue not come in ken of one mizzen mast of a man of warre bound for the Indies or mediteranean sterne-bearer sente from her *Zenith* or *Meridian*, Mercurial-breasted M. Harborne alwaies accepted.<sup>40</sup>

In his typically bombastic style, Nashe claims that Hakluyt’s work contains no reference at all to any person or any ship setting off from Yarmouth.<sup>41</sup> The only exception, says Nashe, is the financially successful – ‘Mercurial-breasted’ – William

---

<sup>38</sup> McKerrow, *Works*, iii. 169.

<sup>39</sup> McKerrow, *Works*, iv. 382, 386-87.

<sup>40</sup> McKerrow, *Works*, iii. 173.

<sup>41</sup> McKerrow notes that a ‘sterne-bearer’ is a ‘rudder-bearer, ship’, (McKerrow, *Works*, iv. 387).



Harborne, who was the first ambassador to Constantinople.<sup>42</sup> Those who want to find out how successful Harborne was should 'reuoelue the Digests of our English discoueries cited vp in the precedence, and be documentized most locupleatly'.<sup>43</sup> The suggestion that the 'English discoveries' – pointedly not italicised in contrast to the reference to Camden's *Britannia* – is a 'digest' seems to mock the size of Hakluyt's enterprise. Similarly, the reference to being 'documentized' 'locupleatly' (meaning 'richly', but also suggesting 'completely' punning on the idea of place, from the Latin 'locus'), seems to suggest a certain degree of stasis which Hakluyt's work, with its emphasis on travel, endeavours to reject. The reference is also, of course, an allusion to Hakluyt's determination to include documents as well as narratives.

What emerges is a relatively gentle mocking of Hakluyt and what he stood for. The tract engages in a discourse of betterment which is similar to Hakluyt's but Nashe seems pointedly and deliberately to question the long-distance trade offered by Hakluyt as a means of achieving increased wealth. Nashe's treatment of *The Principal Navigations* also echoes the nationalist discourses I examined in the previous chapter by implying that the work is authoritative, but there is a subtle difference. Here the authority does not derive from factual accuracy; indeed Nashe pointedly omits the facts that Hakluyt offers. Rather, the authority stems from sheer

---

<sup>42</sup> McKerrow comments of 'Mercurial-breasted' that it is 'Apparently alluding to the aptitude for commerce with which those born under Mercury were supposed to be gifted' (McKerrow, *Works*, iv. 387). There are no references to Harborne's visit to Constantinople in volume one of the second edition, but there are in volume two. It is just possible that *Lenten Stuff* came out after volume two, but very unlikely. It is probable that Nashe had seen the Harborne material in the first edition.

<sup>43</sup> McKerrow, *Works*, iii. 173.

bulk. Yet this aspect of the work is mocked by Nashe. His references to the ‘Digests of our English discoueries’ and the play on words of ‘locupleatly’ suggest this. In short, Nashe appears to offer *The Principal Navigations* as an authority only to undermine its authoritativeness: Yarmouth is rich despite its lack of contribution to overseas trade. Perhaps we are invited to consider that it is wealthy because it has not been engaged in such trade. Nashe’s use of *The Principal Navigations* seems to echo the nationalist discourse which that work offered and which others understood, but it in doing so it subtly questions it, and ultimately seems to undermine it.

Nashe’s appropriation of Hakluyt’s work was not the only ambivalent one made by Hakluyt’s contemporaries. Rather than challenge its premise that long distance trade was the way to bring wealth to the nation, Jonson’s allusion to *The Principal Navigations* ingeniously casts doubt on its veracity at the same time as it seems to commend exactly that aspect. At the end of *Volpone*, Peregrine plots with three merchants to exact revenge on Sir Politic Would-Be for his pretensions as a seasoned traveller. They joke about shipping him away and then having his

Adventures put I’the Book of Voyages,  
And his gulled story registered, for truth.  
(*Volpone* V iv 5-6)

Peregrine’s observation seems to suggest that the ‘Book of Voyages’, which is probably a reference to *The Principal Navigations*, is a creditworthy book, the contents of which are ‘registered, for truth’. This view parallels the nationalist

discourses which rely on the creditworthiness of the collection. However, there are wittier interpretations of these two lines available which are less complimentary about Hakluyt's work. Peregrine is in the business of exposing Would-Be's claims to political wisdom derived from his travel experience. Peregrine's suggestion that the fraudulent stories of Sir Politic should be included in *The Principal Navigations* intimates that although the work is 'registered, for truth' its contents were not actually true – the emphasis being on 'registered'. His comment implies, in effect, that the 'Book of Voyages' gives authenticity to things which were not true. Thus, Jonson's appropriation is typically ambiguous, at once endorsing Hakluyt's work, and simultaneously challenging it.

### 7.3. Religion

The question of truth was also at the heart of readings which attended to religious elements of *The Principal Navigations*. As we saw in Chapter 5, the issue of religion has laid close to the centre of modern accounts of Hakluyt's purpose. The appropriateness of linking religion with such material was also discussed in Richard Eburne's *Plain Pathway to Plantations*. To justify 'entreat[ing] of plantations', Eburne cited Hakluyt, along with Crashaw and Whitaker, as precedents.<sup>44</sup> He also justified his decision on the grounds that 'one proper and principal end of plantations is, or should be, the enlargement of Christ's church on earth and the publishing of

---

<sup>44</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 8.



His Gospel'.<sup>45</sup> I argued in Chapter 5 that Hakluyt's attitude to religion was more eclectic than a narrow Protestantism, and suggested that it was in a complex relationship with his nationalism. To what extent does the evidence of readership impinge on those claims?

Hakluyt's work contains a number of passages which describe religious practices, and these often attracted comments or underlining. The 'description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the *Mahumitans, Turkes and Moores* unto *Mecca* in *Arabia*', for example, is one of the most frequently marked passages of *The Principal Navigations*, although it seldom evoked comments.<sup>46</sup> Other passages, however, did. Thus the printed marginalium 'Christian religion planted in China', which relates to the Jesuit missions there, is underlined in the copy which was once owned by the high-ranking Elizabethan Catholic Lord Lumley.<sup>47</sup> More revealingly, rather than taking on board the message that the Jesuits were acting in an exemplary way by spreading Christianity, a Protestant sceptic accused the narrator of hypocrisy. At a passage in which the writer notes that Confucius 'can very hardly or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry' because he 'intreated of worshipping the images of their forefathers' this antagonist has commented 'g[oo]d n[ote]. from a papist who mai[n]t'n[e]th this doctrine'.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 8.

<sup>46</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II i. 198-213.

<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 97; Princeton University, Scheide Library, no shelfmark.

<sup>48</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, II ii. 97; University of Virginia, Alderman Library, shelfmark McGregor A 1598.H35 v.1-3.

However it was not just Protestants who expressed scepticism about what they read in *The Principal Navigations*. A copy in the Philadelphia Free Library seems to have been annotated by an English Catholic. He expressed some cynicism towards Protestant observations. Thus, John Hawkins concluded the narration of his ‘unfortunate voyage’:

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a paynfull man with his penne, and as great a time as hee had that wrote the liues and deathes of the martirs.<sup>49</sup>

The marginalia comment cynically on the episode and cast doubt on the veracity of Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*, or *Book of Martyrs* as it was known, to which Hawkins’s text familiarly refers: ‘[H]eaven is not like [t]o be pestered with [e]ither of you tho[u]gh Mr Foxe maye [b]e troubled’.<sup>50</sup> In another narrative which notes the aid given by some Carmelite friars to Miles Phillips and his company, the same hand has noted: ‘White frieres rele[ve] Pirate protestantis’.<sup>51</sup>

Although it is not certain that the comments in the Philadelphia Free Library’s copy were made by a Catholic, the annotations to Robert Tomson’s narrative of his voyage to Nova Hispania in 1555, strongly suggest that conclusion. During his stay in Mexico, Tomson was ‘maliciously accused by the holy house for matters of religion’, and was taken back to Seville to serve three years in prison. On his release he married a wealthy Spanish woman, which he saw as evidence of ‘the goodness of

---

<sup>49</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 557.

<sup>50</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 557; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.

<sup>51</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 570; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.

God to all them that put their trust in him'.<sup>52</sup> Tomson's narrative includes a lengthy description of his interrogation at the hands of the Inquisition. His account records his conversation about religious matters, including the Dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII. Throughout the passage, handwritten marginalia are added to the Philadelphia copy which contest Tomson's discussions of Catholic religious practices. Thus Tomson comments that the Dissolution was based on the commandment 'Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image &c.' The annotator observes '[M]aking to thiselfe is [t]o erecte it as a speciall [go]d in whom we put o[u]r [tr]uste not for representat[i]on devotion and imita[ti]on ... Ah foole [w]hat hast thou to doo with [i]magis that understandist [n]ot this accidence?'.<sup>53</sup> Of Tomson's marriage to a Catholic, which Tomson observed was worth £2,500 to him, the annotator (punning on the meaning of 'Angel' as an English coin) wryly remarked: 'I mervaile you durste mache with an Idolatre but that angeles have mor[e] grace to intercesse then saintes, amonge puritanes'.<sup>54</sup> What is noticeable about all of these comments is their concern with religious practice and their lack of interest in any form of nationalist discourse. Indeed, it is the same hand which attacks Tomson's comments on religious practice that refers to the hunt for the North-West Passage as an English enterprise.

The attention to beliefs and practices which the Philadelphia Free copy reveals contrasts with the reading made by Robert Burton's father. His comments demonstrate his repeated willingness to draw providential readings from the texts. At

---

<sup>52</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 584.

<sup>53</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 585; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.

<sup>54</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 584; Philadelphia Free Library, shelfmark Elkins 51.



the point in Tomson's narrative where God is credited with sending a favourable wind, for example, Burton comments 'gode[s] providence'.<sup>55</sup> That he was not alone in noting events which authors deemed providential can be seen from a copy in Edinburgh University Library where three sections of text are underlined. They all relate examples of God's judgement: one of them, a passage which notes the judgement of God upon some libidinous Cypriots, is also underlined in a copy in the Admiralty Office.<sup>56</sup> The ability of Burton and other early readers to detect and accept the providential commentaries contained in the texts they read reminds us, as Walsham has observed, that 'beliefs about divine intervention against heinous transgressors were deeply rooted in the religious outlook of most contemporaries'.<sup>57</sup> Her discussion is based on the genre of literature known as Judgement Books, of which Thomas Beard's 1597 *The Theatre of Gods Judgement* is the most significant example.<sup>58</sup> However, the providential reading that Burton engaged in demonstrates that even texts which were predominantly works of travel literature (even if they were organised as a history) offered religious instruction. It also serves to highlight how close some of Hakluyt's narratives could be in spirit to news pamphlets, and the relationship they had with other subsequent forms of literature such as the novel.<sup>59</sup>

The 1683 work entitled *The Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries of Several*

---

<sup>55</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 584; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34.

<sup>56</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, II i. 187, 309, II ii. 169; Edinburgh University Library, shelfmark JA 683-84; Hakluyt *Principall Navigations*, II ii. 169; Admiralty Office, no shelfmark

<sup>57</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 106.

<sup>58</sup> Walsham, *Providence*, 65-115.

<sup>59</sup> There is not room here to consider the contribution of travel literature to literary genres or to consider the influence of *The Principall Navigations* on later literary works. For discussion of the novel and travel literature see Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983); and his *Travelers and Travel Liars*. See also, Lennard J. Davis, *Factional Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) and Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

*Famous Men* drew episodes from Hakluyt's work, and suggests an early interest in the element of adventure it contained. Its compiler concluded that its contents '*being duly contemplated are sufficient proofs to a considering mind of a Superiour and Divine Power, that visibly discovers itself in the occurrences and transactions of this lower World.*'<sup>60</sup>

However, Burton's religious reading was not limited to providential interpretations. He commented adversely on Catholics, noting 'Ignorant papiste[s] in sup[er]stition' against the passage in Tomson's account which tells how some Spaniards, caught in a storm and thinking they saw St Elmo's Fire, believed it was the Holy Spirit and 'fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it'.<sup>61</sup> In contrast, he also commented that 'god is to be prayed in the Creatio[n] of his variable Creatures', that 'god is a good conscience A great comfort in time of troble', and that 'God give[s] iustice in punishinge ye Tirkes'.<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere he drew the moral that 'After all aduersities & miseries god is to be honoured and prayed'.<sup>63</sup> Burton thus considered a variety of material in terms of its religious context, and extracted sententiae from it. However, this style of reading was not solely reserved for religious matters, for he could also draw an exemplary moral. He remarked of Romaine Sonnings who was hanged following the breaking of his oath: 'beholde the end of him that swereth falsely & on his certain knowledge example here for all men to beware'.<sup>64</sup> Burton's marginalia,

---

<sup>60</sup> R. B., *The Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries of Several Famous Men* (London: Nathaniel Crouch, 1685), sig. A2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 583.

<sup>62</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 161, 153; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34

<sup>63</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 154; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34

<sup>64</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 193; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34

indeed, reveal that he drew a variety of precepts from *The Principall Navigations*, including that it is ‘A great vertew in a man to be mercifull’; that ‘Great be the daungers yt besegeth man’s life’; that ‘pride followeth Riches’; that ‘humilitie [is] commendable in all men’; and that ‘as a man is to rest on godes p[ro]vidence / yet he he (sic) must not forget to seeke lawfully meanes for his helpe’.<sup>65</sup>

Burton read *The Principall Navigations* in a way that derived precepts and saw its contents as exemplary. Some of his comments suggest receptiveness to ideas of decorum and justice, and can be seen in terms of the civic virtues. Yet it would not be true to say that either Burton’s religious comments or the precepts he drew were nationalist. This is not to say that Burton did not express nationalist sentiment; he did. He noted ‘the reverence geaven to o[u]r queen by this great Emperour of the Turke[s]’, and commented that because of King Arthur’s invasion, ‘Irelande of great Antiquitie belongeth unto Englande’. Of Arthur, he also noted ‘the puissance of this kinge of Englande’.<sup>66</sup> When it was explicit, then, Burton’s nationalist sentiment was expressed in terms of military might, international standing and territorial domination. He also perceived other countries as exemplary for England. Most notably, at a section which praised the Turkish town of Cashan for its ‘ciuill and good gouernement’ because ‘An idle person is not suffered to liue amongst them’, he observed: ‘a notable goouement I wish hit were in o’ cuntrie’.<sup>67</sup> For Burton, nationalist readings sat alongside other appropriations. Taken together, they confirm

---

<sup>65</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 673, 692, 590, 283, 228; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34

<sup>66</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 165, 243; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34

<sup>67</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, 420; Christ Church College, Oxford, shelfmark, f.1.34



that even in the Tudor-Stuart period it was possible for an individual to bear many identities simultaneously. Whatever other identities he adopted, Burton can be seen to be at one and the same time a member of the gentry, a Calvinist protestant, and an English nationalist.

#### 7.4. Recreational Reading

Burton's reading was to some extent nationalistic, but unlike the readings that I identified in the previous chapter, he does not appear to have engaged in nationalist activities because of it. It seems likely that his reading was a leisure pursuit rather than one geared towards action. Whether it was or not, it is clear that *The Principal Navigations* was read for leisure purposes.

We have already noted that among a variety of works, all of which they termed 'history', the East India Company provided a copy for the 'recreation' of its factors. Other copies seem to have been deployed in a similar way. In 1620 Richard Brasier a Proctor at Hereford Cathedral gave a copy to the Vicars Choral Library. During the seventeenth century, this library 'assumed a general character wherein the vicars choral could read many of the best works in many subjects'.<sup>68</sup> The transcript of donations to the library supports this claim since it registers donations, among other things, of the first folios of Shakespeare and Jonson. R. A. Christophers's claim that

---

<sup>68</sup> F. C. Morgan, *Hereford Cathedral The Vicars Choral Library* (Hereford: Woolthorpe Club and City Library, 1958, no pagination).

the copy in the library of the Royal Grammar School Guildford was 'worn to pieces' seems to be without foundation (though not impossible).<sup>69</sup> However, his comment that along with the works of Purchas and Fox, *The Principal Navigations* was the library's 'nearest approach to recreational reading for a more general public' is a timely reminder that through such libraries the work could reach a wider audience than those who were willing to purchase it. Although we do not know whether William Freke, who was at the Middle Temple in 1622, hired his copy of *The Principal Navigations* for leisure purposes, his transaction at least records that the work was being read at the Inns of Court.<sup>70</sup> He was interested enough in long-distance travel to go and see the East India Company ships at Gravesend.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, Burton's marginalia suggest a different but significant aspect of leisure reading, an interest in the exotic. John Sparke's account of John Hawkins's first voyage to Guinea appears to be a reasonably reliable and accurate narrative of the voyage, which includes careful observation of indigenous African tribes, and of things that might appear exotic to the English, such as camels. These are described as being

of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broade of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, sauing a great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thinn necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath giuen him in his breast, to leane vpon.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> R. A. Christophers, 'The Chained Library of The Royal Grammar School Guildford', *The Book Collector*, 22 (1973), 32.

<sup>70</sup> William R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (London: Longman, 1972), 162.

<sup>71</sup> Prest, *Inns of Court*, 162.

<sup>72</sup> Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, iii. 502.

Yet the account also refers to 'a certaine tree that raineth continually' and to 'certaine flitting Ilands, which haue beene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished.'<sup>73</sup> It is hard to reconcile these descriptions with Hakluyt's attempts at factual accuracy. This difficulty is further enforced by the fact that, although Sparke is careful to state that stories of the tree which rains continually stem from 'the reports of the inhabitants', he claims that 'of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many'. Both the tree and the island are examples of motifs which Cawley has shown were repeatedly drawn on by Elizabethan writers, usually in an imaginative rather than factual context.<sup>74</sup> The interest that writers showed was shared by those who annotated their copies of *The Principall Navigations*. Burton commented 'A miraculous tree yt rayneth continually' by this passage in his 1589 edition. Elias Ashmole's copy has a brief list of annotations on the final paste-down which refer to this passage, and the other references are also to things which might have been unfamiliar such as 'Arrows poisond with ye juices of a coucumb[er]'.<sup>75</sup> The copy in St John's College, Oxford, has a mark in the margin at the description of finding the horn of a 'sea unicorn'.<sup>76</sup> A copy of the 1589 edition at Cambridge adds the term 'unicornes' to the index and cross references the appropriate pages.<sup>77</sup> Yet perhaps the most interesting aspect of this sense of wonder is that it was most frequently directed not at the exotically unfamiliar, but at the

---

<sup>73</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii. 502.

<sup>74</sup> See R. R. Cawley, *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyages on Elizabethan Literature* (London: Frank Cass, 1967).

<sup>75</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, final paste down; Bodleian Library, shelfmark Ashm 1690.

<sup>76</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, iii. 65; St John's College, Oxford, shelfmark, 1.33-34.

<sup>77</sup> Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations*, sig. 4F3<sup>r</sup>; Cambridge University Library, shelfmark Hanson G.132.



familiar, although extreme, example of an Englishman. Cook's interest in Killingworth's beard, which I noted at the start of this chapter, was shared by many of his contemporaries. This particular piece of text, it transpires, is marked in nearly 10% of copies, which makes it the most frequently annotated section of text in the whole of the two editions. Cook's comments demonstrate that, whatever their other interests, methods of reading and beliefs, readers were moved to annotate their copies by a sense of the unusual, the exotic and possibly a sense of wonder, as well as by any nationalist leanings they might have had. They demonstrate that the reading of a work as diverse and polyvalent as Hakluyt's was bound to be ungovernable.

## 5. Conclusion

Chapter 6 demonstrated that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century a variety of nationalist appropriations of *The Principal Navigations* was made. These served different purposes ranging from government attempts to assert rights to land, to Linton's claim that he had found new navigational methods which would benefit the nation. Predominantly, these readings were made by employees of the state, or their agents and representatives, and usually on behalf of an organisation, whether that was a government department or a trading company. These appropriations often indulged in selective reading, were often deployed to argue a case, and consequently deemed *The Principal(l) Navigations* as an authoritative and reliable work. Yet, as

this chapter shows, alongside these readings ran another set of appropriations. Hakluyt's text was contested in the public sphere by playwrights, pamphleteers, and even Samuel Purchas; in what we might call the private sphere of the marginalium, other readers also challenged the work's claims to authenticity. Those readers who did not subscribe to the nationalist agenda promoted by Hakluyt were often not seeking to make an argument based on facts, but seem, instead, to have been interested in the exotic and the unfamiliar. The majority of readers seem to have been selective in their interactions with the text, even when they were not looking for material to support a case, often marking only short sections of text. Often religious elements of narratives moved readers to annotate their copies, but while Catholic and Protestant marked their books in ways which reflected their religious persuasions, in neither case can we claim authoritatively that religious denomination was an element of nationalism. As with so many other aspects of *The Principal Navigations*, if we are to understand the work both in terms of its historical context and its contemporary relevance, we need a more complex understanding of the work than the simple opposition of mere binaries. Acknowledging the diverse forms of Hakluyt's nationalist intentions, and assessing the extent to which they were both accepted and rejected in the early period of the work's reception has been, I hope, an effective way of understanding the importance of *The Principal Navigations*.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Conclusion

In assessing the reception of *The Principal Navigations* in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, I have focused on the nature of the nationalist discourses which surrounded the work. Yet these constitute only one centre on which an understanding of the collection and its importance could be based. Time and space have not permitted an examination of the work's contribution to the development of scientific method, and in particular Baconian scientific practice, for example.<sup>1</sup> Yet there are clear links between attempts at objective observation of the unfamiliar, as contained in the most reliable travel narratives, and the experimental method. Similarly, although Hakluyt's was not the first history of travel written in English, it was one of the most important, being the inspiration for Purchas's *Pvrchas his Pilgrimage* (1614) and *Haklvytvvs Posthumus or Pvrchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), and leading to 'a long series of general voyage-collections, from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards until the early nineteenth'.<sup>2</sup> Many of these were indebted to Hakluyt and his collection for their material, and for the idea of a travel

---

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact, passim*, and her *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> D. B. Quinn, 'Hakluyt's Reputation', in id. *Hakluyt Handbook*, i. 140. The details of Purchas's works are Samuel Purchas, *Pvrchas his Pilgrimage* (London: Henry Fetherstone, 1614) and *Haklvytvvs Posthumus or Pvrchas his Pilgrimes* (London: Henry Fetherstone, 1625).



collection, although many also had less nationalistic purposes in publishing such texts.<sup>3</sup>

Nor should a study of the importance of Hakluyt's work be restricted to the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In literature, in particular, *The Principal Navigations* appears to have been of significant interest to the Romantics, being used by Wordsworth in *The Prelude*, by Mary Shelley in *Frankenstein*, and probably by Coleridge in the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.<sup>4</sup> Later in the nineteenth century, interest in Hakluyt and his work was reflected in the creation of the Hakluyt Society.<sup>5</sup> Tennyson and, subsequently, Virginia Woolf also drew inspiration from material contained in Hakluyt's collection.<sup>6</sup> These literary appropriations are manifestations of just one strand of the continued interest in *The Principal Navigations*, which has also repeatedly been drawn on for historical and anthropological studies.<sup>7</sup> Not the least interesting aspect of a study of these

---

<sup>3</sup> Quinn, 'Hakluyt's Reputation', i. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Interestingly Wordsworth deployed in *The Prelude* information about the French voyages to Florida from Hakluyt's work, but he subsequently rejected a passage which alluded to Gilbert's 1583 voyage to America (William Wordsworth, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised by Helen Darbishire, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 515, 625). I am grateful to Carl Thompson for information about Wordsworth's use of *The Principal Navigations*. For Mary Shelley's use of Hakluyt's collection in *Frankenstein* see *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley*, i. *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus*, ed. Nora Crook (London: William Pickering, 1996), 10. For Coleridge, see Lowes, *Road to Xanadu*, 302.

<sup>5</sup> Dorothy Middleton, 'The Early History of the Hakluyt Society 1847-1923', *Geographical Journal*, 152 (1986), 217-24, and *The Hakluyt Society 1846-1923* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984). See also R. C. Bridges, 'William Desborough Cooley and the Foundation of the Hakluyt Society', in R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (eds.), *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846-1996* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 183, 1996), 51-81.

<sup>6</sup> For the sources of Tennyson's 'The Revenge', see Christopher Ricks (ed.), *The Poems of Tennyson* (London: Longmans, 1969), 1241; for Woolf, see Alice Fox, 'Virginia Woolf at Work: The Elizabethan Voyage Out', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 84 (1981), 65-84.

<sup>7</sup> The manifold works of A. L. Rowse and James A. Williamson, of course, exemplify historical readings of *The Principal Navigations*. Anthropological studies which have drawn on the work include E. Kathleen Gough, 'Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayars of Malabar', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great*

appropriations would be an evaluation of the credibility such readings give to Hakluyt's work. Similarly, understanding why the Victorians, in particular, found so much to admire in *The Principal Navigations* might also help us to understand more completely both the connections and differences between the two epochs.<sup>8</sup> It is just such differences and similarities between our own age and that of *The Principal Navigations* which this thesis has sought to address.

In demonstrating that English nationalism predates the 1789 watershed proposed by most political commentators, this thesis emphasises the importance of humanist thinking and practice on one brand of late Tudor nationalism. Hakluyt's nationalism was particular to its time: at once advancing the claims that the English, in terms of navigation, could match the leading contemporary powers, but also recognising, by its avocation of colonialism and extended trading networks that it lagged behind these rivals. In promoting the honour and prestige that came from the achievements of English navigators, *The Principal Navigations* did not fail also to draw attention to exemplary instances of English navigational failure, or the catastrophic consequences of intemperance. Yet while the material and thinking which shaped *The Principal Navigations* was structured by the circumstances and milieu of late Tudor England, much of the rationale of Hakluyt's nationalism was also decidedly modern. The insistence on both military and economic might as the foundation for hegemony is, for example, a theme which retains its relevance in today's political

---

*Britain and Ireland*, 82 (1952), 71-88, and M. D. W. Jeffreys, 'Maize and the Mande Myth', *Current Anthropology*, 12 (1971), 291-320.

<sup>8</sup> See, most famously, James Anthony Froude, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (London: Longman and Green, 1867), 294-333 in which he referred to *The Principal Navigations* as 'the Prose Epic of the modern English nation' (296).



world. More intriguingly, the careful selection, editing and organisation of textual materials; the desire to read texts to the best advantage of a nationalist cause; the deliberate omission of material which contradicts such causes; and the persistent myopia, inconsistency and constrained readings which are evident in Hakluyt's paratextual and editorial interventions as he attempted to shape the reception of *The Principal Navigations*, all seem to pre-figure the rhetoric of more recent nationalist arguments.

Yet, despite its nationalism, *The Principal Navigations* has continued to be read for a variety of reasons. Indeed, the heteroglossic nature of its contents has meant that Hakluyt's collection could not be constrained within a nationalist agenda, as the responses of contemporaries demonstrated. Their interactions with the text also disclosed that trying to establish neat boundaries around types of discourse is misguided, when considering the reception of a work. Rather, they suggest that we should seek to investigate the varied appropriations of works and endeavour to establish how they interact. Such an approach enables us to move away from the individuality of personal case-studies, or the narrowness of mono-thematic interpretations of texts, to gaining a fuller understanding of the reception of works of literature. Moreover, the combination of an analysis of authorial intentions with a reception study of the resulting work enables us to assess the effectiveness with which those intentions were implemented. In the case of *The Principal Navigations*, we see that Hakluyt's nationalist agenda was both understood and accepted, and simultaneously contested by his contemporaries. The study of the work's reception



also enables us to see that many other types of appropriation were made. It is this multiplicity which has helped *The Principal Navigations* to remain an important work even if 'of many [it] be but little regarded'.<sup>9</sup> The size, scope and cost of *The Principal Navigations* have persistently prevented it finding a position in popular culture, and the apparent restriction of its reception to the better-educated and wealthier elements of society, must also make us question the extent to which Hakluyt's work can be deemed to have reached a national audience. Yet, arguably what has helped to sustain interest in Hakluyt's work, even among the small elite of those who have paid it attention, is not the work's nationalism but its opportunities for other appropriations. It is perhaps despite Hakluyt's nationalist endeavour that his work has continued to be read, rather than because of it. The interest has, however, been sustained and this is evidence, in the words of Eburne's Enrubie, that *The Principal Navigations* provides much 'good in reading'.<sup>10</sup> Arguably it merits a wider audience.

---

<sup>9</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22.

<sup>10</sup> Eburne, *Plain Pathway*, 22

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### 1. Primary Sources

#### *a) Manuscripts*

Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University  
MS Engl 110

Cambridge, King's College  
MS Lib. 6

#### London, British Library

Additional MS 14027

Additional MS 22904

Additional MS 35841

Additional MS 48009

Additional MS 48151

Additional MS 59681

Cotton MS Augustus 1.i.I

Cotton MS Charter XIII article 39

Cotton MS Nero B II

Cotton MS Nero B VIII

Cotton MS Otto E VIII

Cotton MS Vitellius C VII

Cotton MS Vitellius C IX

Harley MS 167

Harley MS 249

Harley MS 288

Harley MS 1222

Lansdowne MS 10

Lansdowne MS 94

Lansdowne MS 100

Lansdowne MS 122

Lansdowne MS 141

Lansdowne MS 241

Royal MS 7 C XVI

Sloane MS 42

Sloane MS 226

Sloane MS 358

Sloane MS 1447

Sloane MS 1606

Sloane MS 2024

Sloane MS 2292

Sloane MS 2716

Sloane MS 3094  
Stowe MS 159  
Stowe MS 174  
Stowe MS 286  
Stowe MS 301  
Stowe MS 1047

London, Public Record Office  
State Papers, Colonial, 15/2/29  
State Papers 71/5/12  
State Papers 71/2/4

New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library  
Altham MA 3200-1  
Altham MA 3200-2  
Altham MA 3200-7

Oxford, Bodleian Library  
Folio THETA 665  
Folio THETA 666  
Rawlinson MS C. 851  
Rawlinson MS D. 124  
Rawlinson MS D. 273  
Rawlinson MS D. 1092

Oxford, Trinity College  
MS R.5.15

Providence, John Carter Brown Library  
MS Codex Eng. 15

San Marino, Huntington Library  
Huntington Manuscript 35  
Huntington Manuscript 1549  
Huntington Manuscript 59697

Taunton, Hydrographical Office  
MS Va 32

*b) Printed*

*A GENTLEMAN OF ELVAS, Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbour: Out of the Foure Yeeres Continuall Trauell and Discouerie, for aboue One Thousand Miles East and West, of Don Ferdinando De Soto, and Sixe Hundred Able Men in his Companie. Wherin Are Truly Obserued the Riches and Fertilite of Those Parts, Abounding with Things Necessarie, Pleasant and Profiable for*



*the Life of Man: with the Natures and Dispositions of the Inhabitants*, trans. R. Hakluyt (London: Matthew Lownes, 1609).

AFRICANUS, LEO, *A Geographical Historie of Africa*, trans. John Pory (London: George Bishop, 1600).

AGARD, A., *The Repertorie of Records: Remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt Side at Westminster. The Two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a Briefe Introductive Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tover* (London: B. Fisher, 1631).

ANONYMOUS, *A Discourse of the Commonwealth of This Realm of England*, ed. Mary Dewar (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1969).

—————, *A Letter VVritten to the Right Worshipfull the Gouvernours and Assistants of the East Indian Marchants in London: Containing the Estate of the East Indian Fleete with the Names of the Chiefe Men of Note Dead in the Voyage* (London: Thomas Thorpe, 1603).

—————, *Cyuile and Vncyuile Life. A Discourse Very Profitable, Pleasant, and Fit to bee Read of All Nobilitie and Gentlemen. Where, in Forme of a Dialoge is Disputed, what Order of Lyfe Best Beseemeth a Gentleman in All Ages and Times: aswel for Educatio[n], as the Course of His Whole Life: to Make Him a Parson Fit for the Publique Seruice of His Prince and Countrey, and for the Quiet, and Cumlynesse of His Owne Priuate Estate and Callinge* (London, 1579).

—————, *Sir Thomas Smithes Voiage and Entertainment in Rushia with the Tragicall Ends of Two Emperors, and One Empresse, within One Moneth during His Being There: and the Miraculous Preseruation of the Now Raigning Emperor, Esteemed Dead for 18 Yeares* (London: Nathaniel Butter, 1605).

—————, *The Conquest of the Grand Canaries, Made This Last Summer by Threescore and Thirteene Saile of Shippes, Sent forth at the Command and Direction of the States Generall of the Vnited Prouinces: to the Coast of Spaine and the Canarie-Isles: with the Taking of a Towne in the Ile of Gomera and the Successe of Part of the Saide Fleete in Their Returne Homeward* (London: William Aspley, 1599).

—————, *The First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605: A Facsimile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

—————, *The Golden Coast, or a Description of Guinney* (London: S. Speed, 1665).

—————, *The Three Parnassus Plays 1598-1601*, ed. J. B. Leishmann (London: Ivan Nicholson and Watson, 1949).

—————, *The Valiant and Most Laudable Fight Performed in the Straights, by the Centurion of London, against Fiue Spanish Gallies* (London, 1591).

—————, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

ARBER, EDWARD, *The Last Fight of 'The Revenge' at Sea* (London: Constable, 1912).

D'AVITY, PIERRE TOURNON, *The Estates, Empires & Principallities of the World. Represented by ye Description of Countries, Maners of Inhabitants, Riches of Prouinces, Forces, Gouvernment, Religion; and the Princes that haue Gouverned in Euery Estate. With the Beginning of All Militarie and Religious Orders*, trans. Edward Grimestone (London: Mathew Lownes and John Bill, 1615).

R. B., *The Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries of Several Famous Men. With the Strange Events, and Signal Mutations and Changes in the Fortunes of Many Illustrious Places and Persons in All Ages. Being an Account of a Multitude of Stupendious Revolutions, Accidents, and Observable Matters in Many Kingdomes, States and Provinces, throughout the Whole World. With Divers Remarkable Particulars Lively Described in Picture for Their Better Illustration* (London: Nathaniel Crouch, 1685).

—————, *A Viewv of the English Acquisitions in Guinea and the East-Indies, with an Account of the Religion, Government, Wars, Strange Customs, Beasts, Serpents Monsters and Other Observables in those Countries* (London: Nathaniel Crouch, 1686).

BACON, FRANCIS, *A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

BARLOW, WILLIAM, *The Navigators Svpply, Conteining Many Things of Principall Importance Belonging to Nauigation, with the Description and Vse of Diuerse Instruments Framed Chiefly for that Purpose; but Seruing also for Sundry Other of Cosmography in Generall* (London, 1597).

BARNES, BARNABE, *Fovre Bookes of Offices: Enabling Privat Persons for the Speciall Seruice of All Good Princes and Policies* (London: George Bishop, T. Adams, and C. Burbie, 1606).

BEACON, RICHARD, *Solon His Follie, or A Politique Discovrse, Tovching the Reformation of Common-weales Conquered, Declined or Corrupted* (Oxford, 1594).

BERRY, LLOYD E. and R. O. CRUMMEY (eds.), *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-Century English Voyagers* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).

BEST, GEORGE, *A True Discoverse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathaya, by the Northveast, vnder the Conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall: Devided into Three Books* (London, 1578).

BIGGES, WALTER, *A Svmmarie and True Discoverse of Sir Frances Drakes VWest Indian Voyage. Wherein were Taken, the Townes of Saint Iago, Sancto Domingo, Cartagena & Saint Augustine* (London, 1589).

BLAND, RICHARD, *An Enquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies Intended as an Answer to 'The Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes Imposed upon them Considered'. In a Letter Addressed to the Author of that Pamphlet* (Williamsburg: Alexander Purdie, 1769), in Anonymous, *A Collection of Tracts on the Subject of Taxing of the British Colonies in America and Regulating the Trade*, 4 vols. (London: J. Almon, 1773).

BLANDY, WILLIAM, *The Castle, or Picture of Pollicy, Shewing forth Most Liuely the Face, Body and Partes of a Commonwealth, the Duety Quality, Profession of a Perfect and Absolute Souldior, the Martiall Feates, Encouters and Skirmishes Lately Done by Our English Nation, vnder the Conduct of the Most Noble and Famous Gentleman M. Iohn Norris Generall of the Army of the States in Friseland* (London, 1581).

BOND, E. A. (ed.), *Russia at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1<sup>st</sup> series, 20, 1856).

BOTERO, GIOVANNI, *The Reason of State*, trans. P. J. and D. P. Waley (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956).

—————, *The Travellers Breviat, or an Historical Description of the Most Famous Kingdomes in the World: Relating Their Situations, Manners, Customes, Ciuill Gouernment, and Other Memorable Matters* (London: John Jaggard, 1601).

BRAHAM, HUMPHREY, *The Institucion of a Gentleman* (London, 1555).

BRERETON, JOHN, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North Part of Virginia; Being a Most Pleasant, Fruitful and Commodius Soile* (London: G. Bishop, 1602).

BROWN, ALEXANDER (ed.), *The Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1890).

BROWNE, JOHN, *The Marchants Avizo, Verie Necessarie for Their Sonnes and Seruants, when They First Send Them beyond the Seas, as to Spayne and Portingale, or Other Countreyes* (London: Thomas Orwin by the assinges of William Norton, 1590).



- BRYSKETT, LODOWICK, *A Discovrse of Civill Life: Containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie. Fit for the Instructing of a Gentleman in the Course of a Vertuous Life* (London: William Aspley, 1606).
- BURKE, SIR BERNARD, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1883).
- BURTON, ROBERT, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. N. R. Kiessling, T. C. Faulkner, R. L. Blair, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989-98).
- Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and the West Indies, 1661-1668*, ed. E. Noel Sainsbury (London: Longman, 1880).
- Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and the West Indies, January, 1719 to February 1720*, ed. Cecil Headlam (London: HMSO, 1933).
- Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and the West Indies, 1730*, ed. Cecil Headlam (London: HMSO, 1937; repr. Vaduz: Kraus, 1964).
- Calendar of State Papers Colonial, 1574-1660*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860).
- Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth 1581-1590*, ed. Robert Lemon (London: HMSO, 1865; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1967).
- CAMDEN, WILLIAM, *Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio* (London: R. Newbery, 1586).
- CAREW, RICHARD, *The Svrvey of Cornwall* (London: John Jaggard, 1602).
- CARLEILL, CHRISTOPHER, *A Breef and Sommarie Discourse upon the Entended Voyage to the Hethermoste Partes of America ... for the Better Enducement to Satisfie Suche Merchauntes of the Moscouian Companie and Others, as in Disburcyng Their Money towards the Furniture of the Present Charge: albeit Their Said Peticuler Disburcements are Required but in Verie Slender Sommes* (London, 1583).
- CARTIER, JACQUES, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Nauigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes Called Newe Fravnce*, trans. John Florio (London: Richard Hakluyt, 1580).
- LE CHALLEUX, NICHOLAS, *A True and Perfect Description of the Last Voyage or Nauigation, Attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut, Deputie and Generall for the French Men, into Terra Florida, This Yeare Past, 1565. Truely Sette forth by Those that Returned from Thence, wherein are Contayned Things as Lame[n]table to Heare as They have bene Cruelly Executed* (London: Thomas Hacket, 1566).

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS, *On Duties*, trans. and ed. M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

—————, *Cicero: On the Commonwealth and On the Laws*, ed. James G. Zetzel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

CLELAND, JAMES, *Hero-paideia: or the Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (Oxford, 1607).

COGNET, SIR MARTYN, *Politique Discovrses vpon Trveth and Lying. An Instrvction to Princes to Keepe Their Faith and Promise: Containing the Summe of Christian and Morall Philosophie and the Duetie of a Good Man in Sundrie Politique Discovrses vpon the Trueth and Lying*, trans. Sir Edward Hoby (London: R. Newbery, 1586).

COKE, ROGER *A Discourse of Trade in Two Parts: The First Treats of the Reason of the Decay of the Strength, Wealth and Trade of England: The Latter of the Growth and Increase of the Dutch Trade above the English* (London: H. Brome and R. Horne, 1670).

CROSSE, HENRY, *Vertves Common-wealth: or, The Highway to Honovr. Wherein is Discouered, that Although by the Disguised Craft of This Age, Vice and Hypocrisie may be Concealed: yet by Tyme (the Triall of Truth) It is Most Plainly Reuealed. Necessary for Age to Moue Diligence, Profitable for Youth to Shun Wantonnesse: and Bringing to Both at Last Desired Happinesse* (London: John Newbery, 1603).

DAVIS, JOHN, *The Worldes Hydrographical Discription, wherein is Proued Not Onely by Aucthoritie of Writers, but also by Late Experience of Trauellers and Reasons of Substantiall Probabilitie, that the Worlde in All His Zones, Clymats and Places, is Habitable and Inhabited, and the Seas Likewise Vniuersally Nauigable Without Any Naturall Anoyance to Hinder the Same whereby Appears that from England There is a Short and Speedie Passage into the South Seas, to China, Molucca, Phillipina, and India, by Northerly Nauigation, to the Renowne Honour and Benifit of Her Maiesties State, and Communalty* (London, 1595).

DEE, JOHN, *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (London, 1577).

—————, *The Diaries of John Dee*, ed. E. Fenton (Oxfordshire: Day Books, 1998).

DONNE, JOHN, *The Courtier's Library, or Catalogus Librorum Aulicorum Incomparabilium et Non Vendibilium*, by John Donne, trans. and ed. Evelyn Mary Simpson (London: Nonesuch Press, 1930).

DRAYTON, MICHAEL, *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel, 5 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell for the Shakespeare Head Press, 1961).



[EAST INDIA COMPANY], *The Register of Letters &c of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies 1600-1619*, ed. Sir George Birdwood and William Foster (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893; repr. 1965).

EBURNE, RICHARD, *A Plain Pathway to Plantations*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1962).

ELLIS, THOMAS, *A True Report of the Third and Last Voyage into Meta Incognita Atchieved by the Worthie Capteine M. Martine Frobisher Esquire* (London, 1578).

ELYOT, SIR THOMAS, *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (London, 1534).

EVELYN, JOHN, *Navigation and Commerce: Their Original and Progress. Containing a Succinct Account of Traffick in General; its Benefits and Improvements: Of Discoveries, Wars and Conflicts at Sea, from the Original of Navigation to This Day; with Special Regard to the English Nation; Their Several Voyages and Expeditions, to the Beginning of Our Late Differences with Holland; in which His Majesties Title to the Dominion of the Sea is Asserted, against the Novel, and Later Pretenders* (London: Benjamin Tooke, 1674).

FLETCHER, GILES, *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder* ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

FLOYD, THOMAS, *The Picture of a Perfit Common Wealth, Describing aswell the Offices of Princes and Inferiour Magistrates ouer Their Subiects, as also the Duties of Subiects towards Their Gouvernours* (London, 1600).

FOXE, JOHN, *Actes and Monuments of Matters Most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church, with an Vniuersall History of the Same, wherein is Set forth at Large the Whole Race and Course of the Church, from the Primitiue Age to These Latter Tymes of Ours, with the Bloody Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions agaynst the True Martyrs of Christ, Sought and Wrought as well by Heathen Emperours, as nowe Lately Practised by Romish Prelates, Especially in This Realme of England and Scotland* (London, 1583).

FOXE, LUKE, *North-VVest Fox, or, Fox from the North-West Passage. Beginning vvith King Arthvr, Malga, Octtvr, the tvvo Zenis of Iseland, Estotiland, and Dorgia; Following with Briefe Abstracts of the Voyages of Cabot, Frobisher, Davis, Waymouth, Knight, Hudson, Button, Gibbons, Bylot, Baffin, Hawkridge: Together with the Courses, Distance, Latitudes, Longitudes, Variations, Depths of Seas, Sets of Tydes, Currents, Races, and Over-Falls: with Other Observations, Accidents and Remarkable Things, as Our Miseries and Sufferings* (London, 1635).



FRANCISCO, LÓPEZ DE GÓMERA, *The Pleasant Historie of the Conquest of the VVeast India, Now Called New Spayne, Atchieued by the VVorthy Prince Hernando Cortes Marques of the Valley of Huaxacac*, trans. Thomas Nicholas (London, 1578).

FREDERICK, CAESAR, *The Voyage and Trauaile of M. Caesar Frederick, Merchant of Venice, into the East India, the Indies, and beyond the Indies. Wherein are Contained Very Pleasant and Rare Matters, with the Customes and Rites of Those Countries. Also heerein are Discovered the Merchandises and Commodities of Those Countreyes, aswell the Aboundaunce of Goulde and Siluer, as Spices, Drugges, Pearles, and Other Jewelles*, trans. Thomas Hickok (London, 1588).

GALVANO, ANTONIO, *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Originall vnto the Yeere of Our Lord 1555*, trans. R. Hakluyt (London, 1601).

GASCOIGNE, GEORGE, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres Bounde vp in One Small Poesie. Gathered Partely (by Translation) in the Fyne Outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ouid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and Others: and Partly by Inuention, out of Our Owne Fruitefull Orchardes in Englande: Yelding Sundrie Svete Fauours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, Bothe Pleasaunt and Profitable to the Well Smellyng Noses of Learned Readers* (London: Richarde Smith, 1573).

—————, *George Gascoigne, A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, ed. G. W. Pigman III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

GILBERT, SIR HUMPHREY, *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia* (London: Richard Jones, 1576).

GOLDSMID, EDMUND (ed.), *Chancellor's Voyage to Muscovy; Being Clement Adams's Anglorum Navigatio Ad Muscovitas, Taken from Respublica Muscoviae (1630), to which is Added a Very Rare and Scarce Tract, De Moneta Russica (Elzevier, 1630)*, trans. J. M'Crindle (Edinburgh: Privately Printed, 1886).

GORDON, JOHN, *A Panegyriqve of Congratvlation for the Concord of the Realmes of Great Britaine in Vnitie of Religion, and vnder One King*, trans. E[dward] G[rimestone] (London: Geffrey Chorlton, 1603).

—————, *England and Scotlands Happinesse in being Reduced to Vnitie of Religion, vnder Our Invincible Monarke King James* (London: William Aspley, 1604).

—————, *The Vnion of Great Britaine* (London: William Aspley, 1604).

GORGES, SIR FERDINANDO, *America Painted to the Life. A True History of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into Those Parts, with a Perfect Relation of Our English Discoveries, Shewing Their Beginning, Progress, and Continuance, from the Year, 1628. to 1658. Declaring the Forms of Their Government, Policies, Religions, Manners, Customes, Military Discipline, Warres with the Indians, the*

*Commodities of Their Countries, a Description of Their Townes, and Havens, the Increase of Their Trading with the Names of Their Governours and Magistrates* (London: Nathaniel Book, 1658).

\_\_\_\_\_, *A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America, Especially Shewing the Beginning, Progress and Continuance of that of New-England* (London: Nathaniel Brook, 1658).

GREENWOOD, JOHN, *The Writings of John Greenwood and Henry Barrow 1591-1593*, ed. Leland H. Carson (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970).

GREEPE, THOMAS, *The True and Perfecte Newes of the Woorthy and Valiaunt Exploytes, Performed and Doone by that Valiant Knight Syr Frauncis Drake: Not onely at Sancto Domingo, and Carthagena, but also Nowe at Cales, and vppon the Coast of Spayne* (London: Thomas Hackett, 1587).

GROTIUS, HUGO, *The Illustrious Hugo Grotius, Of the Law of Warre and Peace, with Annotations. III. Parts. and Memorials of the Author's Life and Death*, trans. Clement Barksdale (London: William Lee, 1654).

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodities that are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584 by Richard Hackluyt of Oxforde, Known as Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, extra series, 45, 1993).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (London, 1582).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-05).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Ouer-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500. Yeeres*, 3 vols. (London, 1598-1600).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or ouer Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres* (London, 1589).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation, by Richard Hakluyt* (London, 1589; facs. edition., with an introduction



by David Beers Quinn and Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, and a new index by Alison Quinn, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem, 1965).

HARIOT, THOMAS, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: of the Commodities There Found and to be Raysed, as Well Marchantable, as Others for Victuall, Building and Other Necesarie Uses for Those that Are and Shalbe the Planters There; and of the Nature and Manners of the Naturall Inhabitants: Discovered by the English Colony There Seated by Sir Richard Greinuile Knight in the Yeere 1585. which Remained vnder the Gouvernment of Rafe Lane Esquier One of Her Maiesties Equieres, during the Space of Twelue Monethes: at the Speciall Charge and Direction of the Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, who therein hath bene Fauoured and Authorised by Her Maiestie and Her Letters Patents* (London, 1588).

HARVEY, GABRIEL, *Fovre Letters and Certeine Sonnets Especially Touching Robert Greene and Other Parties by Him Abused* (London, 1592; facs. edition, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967).

—————, *Pierces Supererogation or A New Praise of the Old Asse: A Preparative to Certaine Larger Discourses, Intituled Nashes S. Fame* (London, 1593).

—————, *The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey AD 1573-1580*, ed. Edward John Long Scott (London: Camden Society, new series, 33, 1884).

HASLETON, RICHARD, *Strange and Wonderfvll Things. Happened to Richard Hasleton, Borne at Braintree in Essex in his Ten Yeares Trauailes in Many Forraine Countries, Penned as He Delivered it from His Ovvne Mouth* (London: William Barley, 1595).

HAWKINS, SIR JOHN, *A True Declaration of the Troublesome Voyage of M. Iohn Haukins to the Parties [sic] of Guynea and the West Indies, in the Yeares of our Lord 1567. and 1568* (London: Lucas Harrison, 1569).

HEYLYN, PETER, *Cosmographie in Foure Bookes, Contayning the Chorographie & Historie of the Whole World, and All the Principal Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas, and Isles Thereof* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London: Anne Seile, 1666).

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury*, 24 vols. (London: HMSO, 1883-1976).

HOLINSHED, RAPHAEL, et al., *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles and the Third Volume* (London: H. Denham, 1587).

HORTOP, JOB, *The Trauailes of an English Man, Containing His Sundrie Calamities Indured by the Space of Twentie and Odd Yeres in His Absence from His Natiue Countrie; wherein is Truly Decyphered the Sundrie Shapes of Wilde Beasts, Birds,*



*Fishes, Foules, Rootes, Plants &c. With the Description of a Man that Appeared in the Sea: and also of a Huge Giant Brought from China to the King of Spaine* (London: William Wright, 1591).

JAMES I, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c.* (London: James, Bishop of Winton, 1616).

JAMES, THOMAS, *The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captaine Thomas James, in His Intended Discouery of the Northwest Passage into the South Sea* (London: John Partridge, 1633).

JONSON, BEN, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques. The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beavtie. Personated by the Most Magnificent of Queenes Anne Queene of Great Britaine &c.* (London: Thomas Thorp, 1608).

—————, *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson* (London, 1616).

KEYMIS, LAWRENCE, *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London, 1596).

KYFFIN, MAURICE, *The Blessednes of Brytaine* (London, 1588).

LAMBARD, WILLIAM, *A Perambulation of Kent Conteining the Description, Hystorie and Customes of That Shyre* (London: Ralph Newbery, 1576).

LAUDONNIÈRE, RENÉ, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages Made by Certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida: wherein the Great Riches and Fruitefulnes of the Countrey with the Maners of the People Hitherto Concealed are Brought to Light, Written All, Saving the Last, by Monsieur Laudonniere, who Remained There Himself as the French Kings Lieuetenant a Yere and a Quarter*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London, 1587).

—————, *L'histoire notable de la Floride stivee es Indes Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par certains capitaines & pilotes françois, descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere* (Paris: Richard Hakluyt, 1586).

LEIGH, EDWARD, *Three Diatribes or Discourses. First of Travel, Or a Guide for Travellers into Forein Parts. Secondly, of Money or Coyns. Thirdly, of Measuring of the Distance Betwixt Place and Place* (London: William Whitwood, 1671).

LESCARBOT, MARC, *Nova Francia: or The Description of that Part of Nevv France, which is One Continent with Virginia. Described in the Three Late Voyages and Plantation Made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Graué, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the Countries Called by the Frenchmen La Cadie, Lying to the Southwest of Cape Breton. Together with an Excellent Seuerall Treatie of All the*

*Commodities of the Said Countries, and Maner of the Naturall Inhabitants of the Same*, trans. Pierre Erondelle (London: George Bishop, 1609).

LINSCHOTEN, JAN HUYGEN VAN, *John Hvighen van Linschoten. His Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies*, trans. William Phillip (London: John Wolfe, 1598).

LINTON, ANTHONY, *Newes of the Complement of the Art of Navigation, and of the Mightie Empire of Cataia together with the Straits of Anian* (London, 1609).

LIPSIUS, JUSTUS, *Sixe Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine*, trans. William Jones (London: William Ponsonby, 1594).

LOCKE, JOHN, *A Catalogue and Character of Most Books of Voyages and Travels*, in John Locke, *Works*, 10 vols. (no place: 1823; repr. Germany: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963).

LOPEZ, EDUARDO, *A Reporte of the Kingdom of Congo, a Region of Africa. And of the Countries that Border rounde about the Same*, trans. Abraham Hartwell (London, 1597).

MACHIAVELLI, N., *The Prince*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981).

MONARDES, NICHOLAS, *Ioy Full Newes out of the New-Found Worlde. Wherein are Declared, the Rare and Singuler Vertues of Divers Herbs, Trees, Plantes, Oyles & Stones, with Their Applications, as Well to the Use of Phisicke, as of Chirurgy: which Being Well Applied, Bring Such Present Remedie for All Diseases, as May Seeme Altogether Incredible: Notwithstanding by Practice Found out to be True*, trans. John Frampton (London, 1596).

MARKHAM, GERVASE, *The Most Honorable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight* (London: Richard Smith, 1595).

MARTINENGO, COUNT NESTORE, *The True Report of All the Successe of Famagosta, of the Antique Writers Called Tamassus, a Citie in Cyprus. In which the Whole Order of All the Skirmishes, Batteries, Mines, and Assaultes Geuen to the Sayd Fortresse, may Plainly Appeare*, trans. William Malim (London, 1572).

MARTYN, WILLIAM, *Youths Instruction* (London, 1612).

MARTYR D'ANGHIERA, PETER, *De orbe nouo Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis protonotarij, & Caroli quinti senatoris decades octo*, ed. Richard Hakluyt (Paris, 1587).

—————, *De Nouo Orbe or The Historie of the West Indies, Contayning the Actes and Aduentures of the Spanyardes, which haue Conquered and Peopled Those Countries, Inriched with Varietie of Pleasant Relation of the Manners, Ceremonies,*



*Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians*, trans. R. Eden and M. Lok (London: Thomas Adams, 1612).

—————, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India, Conteynyng the Nauigations and Conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the Particular Description of the Moste Ryche and Large Landes and Ilandes Lately Founde in the West Ocean Perteynyng to the Inheritaunce of the Kinges of Spayne. In which the Diligent Reader may not only Consyder what Commoditie May hereby Chaunce to the [W]Hole Christian World in Tyme to Come, but also Learne Many Secreates Touchynge the Lande, the Sea, and the Starres, Very Necessarie to be Knowe[n] to Al Such as Shal Attempte any Nauigations, or otherwise haue Delite to Beholde the Strange and Woonderfull Woorkes of God and Nature*, trans. Richard Eden (London: R. Jug, 1555).

MARVELL, ANDREW, *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 2 vols. (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, revised by Pierre Legouis and E. E. Duncan-Jones, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

MEDINA, PEDRO DE, *The Arte of Nauigation wherein is Contained All the Rules, Declarations, Secretes, & Aduises, which for Good Nauigation are Necessarie & Ought to be Knowen and Practised: and are Very Profitable for All Kind of Mariners*, trans. John Frampton (London, 1581).

MEIERUS, ALBERTUS, *Certaine Briefe, and Speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners &c. Employed in Seruices Abrode or Anie Way Occasioned to Conuerse in the Kingdomes, and Gouvernementes of Forren Princes*, trans. Philip Jones (London, 1589).

MENDOZA, JUAN GONZALES DE, *The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China, and the Situation Thereof: Together with the Great Riches, Huge Citties, Politike Gouvernement, and Rare Inuentions in the Same*, trans. R. Parke (London: Edward White, 1588).

—————, *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof. Compiled by the Padre Juan Gonzales de Mendoza, and Now Reprinted from the Early Translation of R. Parke*, ed. Sir George T. Staunton, with an introduction by R. H. Major, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1<sup>st</sup> series, 14-15, 1853-54).

MERBURY, CHARLES, *A Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie, as of the Best Common Weale. Wherein the Subiect may Beholde the Sacred Maiesie of the Princes Most Royall Estate* (London, 1581).

METTON, SIR JOHN, *A Sixe-folde Politician together with a Sixe-folde Precept of Policy* (London: John Busby, 1609).



MIDDLETON, THOMAS, *Sir Robert Sherley, Sent Ambassasdovr in the Name of the King of Persia, to Sigismond the Third, King of Poland and Svvecia, and to Other Princes of Evrope. His Royall Entertainement into Cracovia, the Chiefe Citie of Poland, with His Pretended Comming into England. Also the Honourable Praises of the Same Sir Robert Sherley, Giuen vnto Him in That Kingdome, are Here Likewise Inserted* (London: John Budge, 1609).

MORÉRI, LOUIS, *The Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary Being a Curious Miscellany of Sacred and Profane History*, trans. and expanded Edmund Bohun (4<sup>th</sup> edition, corrected and enlarged by Monsieur le Clar, London: Henry Rhodes et al., 1695).

MOTE, HUMPHREY, *The Primrose of London, with Her Valiant Aduenture on the Spanish Coast* (London, 1585).

MULCASTER, RICHARD, *Positions wherein Those Primitive Circvmstances be Examined, which are Necessarie for the Training vp of Children, either for Skill in Their Booke, or Health in Their Bodie* (London: Thomas Chard, 1581).

NASHE, THOMAS, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, with corrections made by F. P. Wilson, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Thomas Nashe: The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works* ed. J. B. Steane (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971).

NECK, JACOB CORNELISZOOM VAN, *The Iovrnall, or Dayly Register, Contayning a Trve Manifestation and Historicall Declaration of the Voyage, Accomplished by Eight Shippes of Amsterdam, vnder the Conduct of Iacob Corneliszen Neck Admirall, & Wybrandt van Warwick Vice-Admirall, which Sayled from Amsterdam the First Day of March, 1598, Shewing the Course They Kept, and what Other Notable Matters Happened vnto Them in the Sayd Voyage*, trans. William Walker (London: Cuthbert Burby and John Flasket, 1601).

NICHOLAS, THOMAS, *A Pleasant Description of the Fortunate Ilandes, Called the Ilands of Canaria, vwith Their Straunge Fruits and Commodities Verie Delectable to be Read to the Praise of God, Composed by the Poore Pilgrime* (London, 1583).

NORDEN, JOHN, *Specvlvm Britanniae. The First Parte. An Historicall, & Chorographicall Discription of Middlesex. Wherin are also Alphabeticallie Set downe, the Names of the Cyties, Townes, Parishes Hamletes, Howses of Name &c. W[i]th Direction Spedelie to Finde Anie Place Desired in the Mappe & the Distance betwene Place and Place without Compasses* (London, 1593).

ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM, *Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm, The Theatre of the Whole World: Set forth by That Excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius* (London: John Norton, 1608).

PALMER, THOMAS, *An Essay of the Meanes hovv to Make our Trauailes, into Forraine Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* (London: Mathew Lownes, 1606).

[PARLIAMENT, BRITISH], *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America, 1542-1754*, ed. Leo Francis Stock, 5 vols. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1924).

—————, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America, 1754-1783*, ed. R. C. Simmons and P. D. G. Thomas, 6 vols. (New York: Kraus International Publications, 1982-87).

—————, *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I, 1558-1601*, ed. T. E. Hartley, 3 vols. (London: University of Leicester Press, 1981-1995).

PARMENIUS, STEPHEN, *De nauigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti, ad deducendam in novum orbem coloniam suscepta[m] carmen epibatikos* (London, 1582).

PECKHAM, GEORGE, *A Trve Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-found Landes: by That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight. Wherein is also Breefely Sette downe, Her Highnesse Lawfull Tytle therevnto, and the Great and Manifold Commodities, that is [sic] Likely to Grow thereby, to the Whole Realme in Generall, and to the Aduenturers in Particular. Together with the Easines and Shortnes of the Voyage* (London: John Hinde, 1583).

PETYT, WILLIAM, *Britannia Languens: or, A Discourse of Trade* (London: Richard Baldwin, 1689).

PITISCUS, BARTHOLOMEW, *Trigonometry, or The Doctrine of Triangles*, trans. Ra[lph] Handson (London: John Tappe, 1614).

LA POPELINIÈRE, LANCELOT VOISIN, SIEUR DE, *L'Amiral de France et par occasion, de celvy des autres Nations, tant vieilles que nouvelles* (Paris, 1584).

—————, *Les Trois Mondes*, ed. Anne-Marie Beaulieu (Geneva: Libr. Droz, 1997).

POWELL, THOMAS, *Direction for Search of Records Remaining in the Chancerie, Tower, Excheqver, with the Limnes Thereof* (London: Paul Man, 1622).

PRYNNE, WILLIAM, *An Exact Abridgement of the Records in the Tower of London, from the Reign of King Edward the Second, unto King Richard the Third, of All the Parliaments Holden in Each Kings Reign, and the Several Acts in Every Parliament: Together with the Names and Titles of All the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, and*



*Barons, Summoned to Every of the Said Parliaments. Collected by Sir Robert Cotton* (London: William Leake, 1657).

PURCHAS, SAMUEL, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrims*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons, 1905-7).

—————, *Pvrchas his Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation vnto this Present* (London: Henry Fetherstone, 1614).

[RALEIGH, SIR WALTER], *A Report of the Trvth of the Fight about the Iles of Açores, This Last Sommer betvvixt the Revenge, One of Her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine* (London: William Ponsonby, 1591).

RALEIGH, SIR WALTER,) *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bevvtifvl Empire of Gviana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa (which the Spaniards Call El Dorado) and the Prouinces of Emeria, Arroimaia, Amapasa and Other Countries, with Their Riuers, Adioyning* (London, 1596).

—————, *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich and Bewtiful Empyre of Guiana*, ed. Neil L. Whitehead (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

—————, *The History of the World* (London: Walter Burre, 1614).

—————, *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ed. Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999).

—————, *The Sea-Mans Triumph. Declaring the Honorable Actions of Such Gentlemen Captaines and Sailers, as Were at the Takinge of the Great Carrick, Lately Brought to Dartmouth, with Her Burthen and Commodities, with the Maner of Their Fight, and Names of Men of Accompt. VVith the Burning of an Other Carrick at the Iland of Flowers of the Burthen of 900. Tunnes and vpward* (London: William Barley, 1592).

—————, *The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. Political, Commercial and Philosophical with His Letters and Poems*, ed. Thomas Birch, 2 vols. (London: R. Dodsley, 1751).

RAMUSIO, GIAN BATTISTA, *Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice 1563-1606* (facsim. edition with an introduction by R. A. Skelton and analysis of the contents by G. B. Parks, 3 vols.; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970).

[ROBERTS, HENRY], *Lancaster his Allarums, Honourable Assaultes, and Supprising of the Block-houses and Store-houses Belonging to Fernand Bucke in Brasill* (London: W. Barley, 1595).



\_\_\_\_\_, *Newes from the Levane Seas. Describing the Many Perrilous Events of the Most Woorthy Deseruing Gentleman, Edward Gelnham Esquire* (London: William Wright, 1594).

SANSOUINO, FRANCISCO, *The Quintessence of Wit, Being a Corrant Comfort of Conceites, Maximies, and Poleticke Deuises, Selected and Gathered Together by Francisco Sansouino*, trans. Robert Hitchcock (London, 1590).

SAUNDERS, THOMAS, *A True Discription and Breefe Discourse, of a Most Lamentable Voiage, Made Latelie to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a Ship Named the Iesvs: wherin is Not onely Shevved the Great Miserie, that Then Happened the Aucthor hereof and his Whole Companie, aswell the Marchants as the Marriners in that Voiage, According to the Curssed Custome of Those Barbarous and Cruell Tyrants, in Their Terrible Vsage of Christian Captiuies: but also, the Great Vnfaithfulnesse of Those Heathnish Infidels, in Not Regarding Their Promise. Together with the Most Wunderfull Iudgement of God, vpon the King of Tripolie and His Sonne, and a Great Number of His People, Being All the Tormentors of Those English Captiuies* (London: Edward White, 1589).

SAVILLE, HENRY, *A Libell of Spanish Lies: Fovnd at the Sacke of Cales, Discoursing the Fight in the West Indies, twixt the English Nauie Being Fourteene Ships and Pinasses, and a Fleete of Twentie Saile of the King of Spaines, and of the Death of Sir Francis Drake. With an Answere Briefely Confuting the Spanish Lies, and a Short Relation of the Fight According to Truth* (London, 1596).

SCOTT, EDMUND, *An Exact Discovrse of the Subtilties, Fashishions, [sic] Pollicies, Religion, and Ceremonies of the East Indians, as Well Chyneses as Iauans, there Abyding and Dwelling* (London: Walter Burre, 1606).

SEGAR, WILLIAM, *Honor, Military, and Ciuill, Contained in Foure Bookes* (London, 1602).

SELDEN, JOHN, *Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea*, trans. Marchmont Needham (London: William Du-Gard by the appointment of the Council of State, 1652).

SETTLE, DIONYSE, *A True Reporte of the Last Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions, &c. 1577. Worthily Atchieued by Capteine Frobisher of the Sayde Voyage the First Finder and Generall. With a Description of the People there Inhabiting, and Other Circumstances Notable* (London, 1577).

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. Kenneth Muir (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

SHELLEY, MARY, *The Novels and Selected Works of Mary Shelley*, i. *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus*, ed. Nora Crook (London: William Pickering, 1996).

SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP, *An Apology for Poetry, or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973).

—————, *The Prose Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. Albert Feuillerat, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

SMITH, JOHN, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles with the Names of the Adventurers, Planters, and Governours from Their First Beginning An: 1584 to This Present 1624* (London: Michael Sparkes, 1624).

SMITH, SIR THOMAS, *De Repvblica Anglorvm: The Maner of Gouvernement or Policie of the Realme of England* (London: Gregorie Seton, 1584).

SPEED, JOHN, *The History of Great Britaine, under the Conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes & Normans* (London, 1611).

—————, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London, 1612).

SPENSER, EDMUND, *A View of the State of Ireland*, ed. Andrew Hadfield and Willy Maley (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997).

—————, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London: Longman, 1977).

STEVIN, SIMON, *The Haven-finding Art*, trans. Edward Wright (London: R. B[arker], 1599).

STRACHEY, WILLIAM, *The Historie of Travel into Virginia Britania 1612*, ed. Louis B Wright and Virginia Freund (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 103, 1953).

STUBBE, H., *A Justification of the Present War against the United Netherlands. Wherein the Declaration of His Majesty is Vindicated, and the War Proved to be Just, Honourable, and Necessary: The Dominion of the Sea Explained, and His Majesties Rights thereunto Asserted* (London: Henry Hills and John Starkey, 1672).

TAYLOR, JOHN, *Great Britaine, All in Blacke for the Incomparable Losse of Henry, Our Late Worthy Prince* (London: I. Wright, 1612).

TENNYSON, LORD ALFRED, *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London: Longmans, 1969).



TURBEVILLE, GEORGE, *Tragicall Tales Translated by Turbeville in Time of His Troubles out of Sundrie Italians, with the Argument and Lenvouye to Eche Tale* (London, 1587).

VEGETIUS, F. R., *The Fovre Bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus, Briefely Contayninge a Plaine Forme, and Perfect Knowledge of Martiall Policye, Feates of Chiualrie, and whatsoeuer Pertayneth to Warre*, trans. John Sadler (London, 1572).

VERGIL, POLYDOR, *Vrbinatis Anglicae historiae libri XXVI* (Basle, 1534).

VIRGILIUS, PUBLIUS, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, revised by G. P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[VIRGINIA COMPANY] *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, ed. S. M. Kingsbury, 4 vols. (Washington, 1906-35).

WEBBE, RICHARD, *Richard Webbe His Travailes*, ed. E. Arber (London: Constable, 1895).

[WHETSTONE, GEORGE?] *The Cures of the Diseased in Forraine Attempts of the English Nation*, ed. Charles Singer (London, 1598; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915).

WHITBOURNE, RICHARD, *A Discovrse and Discovery of Nevv-Found-Land, with Many Reasons to Prooue How Worthy and Beneficiall a Plantation may there be Made, after a Better Manner than Now It Is* (London, 1622).

WILLES, RICHARD (ed.), *The History of Trauayle in the VWest and East Indies*, trans. Richard Eden (London, 1577).

WINGFIELD, ANTHONY, *A Trve Coppie of a Discourse Written by a Gentleman, Employed in the Late Voyage of Spaine and Portingale* (London: Thomas Woodcock, 1589).

WOOLF, VIRGINIA, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, ed. Anne Oliver Bell, with an introduction by Quentin Bell (London: Hogarth Press, 1977).

WORDSWORTH, WILLIAM, *The Prelude or Growth of a Poet's Mind*, ed. Ernest de Selincourt (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised by Helen Darbishire, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959)

c) *Inspected Copies of Hakluyt's works*

*Divers Voyages* (1582)

Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University

STC 12624



Chicago, Newberry Library  
Ayer\*110H2 1582

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland  
H.28.d.17

London, British Library  
C.21.b.35  
G.6532

New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art  
Virginia 8vo

New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library  
PML 8029  
PML 127291

New York, Public Library  
\*KC 1582 Hakluyt

Oxford, Bodleian Library  
4to E 2(4) Jur

Philadelphia, Free Library  
Elkins 43

Princeton, Princeton University  
Kane Collection

Providence, John Carter Brown Library  
D582/H155d/Copy 1  
D582/H155d/Copy 2

San Marino, Huntington Library  
RB 17921

*Principall Navigations (1589)*

Berkeley, Bancroft Library, University of California  
fG240 H22 1589 copy 1  
fG240 H22 1589 copy 2

Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University  
\*46-1433F  
\*595-164  
fSTC 12625

Boston, Public Library  
G351.24

Cambridge, Christ's College  
Rouse 13.8

Cambridge, Trinity College  
VI.3.50

Cambridge, University Library  
Young 224  
Syn.4.58.8  
Syn.4.58.4  
Hanson G.132

Charlottesville, Alderman Library, University of Virginia  
McGregor A 1589.H35  
McGregor A 1589. H35a

Chicago, Newberry Library  
Ayer f\*110 H2 1589

Durham, Durham University Library  
SR.4.E.12

London, Middle Temple  
RBR Ashley

London, Royal Geographical Society  
26691

New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University  
Eca +589hb  
Pequot +H12  
Taylor 188

New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art  
Virginiana 4to

New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library  
PML 15594

New York, Public Library  
\*KC+1589 Hakluyt  
\*KC 1589 Hakluyt copy 1

\*KC 1589 Hakluyt copy 2  
Arents Coll.

Oxford, All Souls College  
h.8

Oxford, Bodleian Library  
Ashm 1690  
Douce H 419

Oxford, Christ Church College  
f.1.34

Oxford, New College  
Ω.35.8

Oxford, Worcester College  
No shelfmark

Philadelphia, Free Library  
Elkins 51

Philadelphia, Library Company  
Kirkland Am 1589 Hak  
Log 1050.F  
244.F.1

Princeton, Princeton University  
Taylor Coll.  
Kane Coll.

Providence, John Carter Brown Library  
D589/P954n/1.size/[F]/copy 1  
D589/P954n/1.size/[F]/copy 2

San Marino, Huntington Library  
RB 3437  
RB 3439  
RB 9608

Sheffield, Central Library  
910.8 STC

Taunton, Hydrographical Office  
Sa12



Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library  
STC 12625 copy 1  
STC 12625 copy 2  
STC 12625.2

Washington, Library of Congress,  
G240.H142  
Kraus no. 27  
Thacher 726

*Principal Navigations (1598-1600)*

Berkeley, Bancroft Library, University of California  
G240 H22 1598

Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University  
fSTC 12626

Cambridge, Christ's College  
Rouse 13.9-10

Cambridge, Emmanuel College  
MSS 3.2.21,22

Cambridge, King's College  
M.24.19,20

Cambridge, Trinity College  
Capell E.1-2

Cambridge, University Library  
Pet.D.11.7  
Syn.4.59.2-4

Charlottesville, Alderman Library, University of Virginia  
McGregor A 1598.H35 v.1-3

Chicago, Newberry Library  
Ayer f\* 110 H2 1598

Durham, Durham University Library  
Bamburgh H.VI.28-29  
Howard Library B68 MacD 102

Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library

JY1105-6  
E.B.F.9104 Hak

Gloucester, Gloucester Cathedral  
SEL.1.11

Llanhydrock, Llanhydrock House  
No shelfmark

London, British Library  
G.6605-6  
683.h.5,6

London, Guildhall Library  
AN.6.2.11

London, Lambeth Palace Library  
1598.15  
Sion ARC 4to

London, Lincoln's Inn  
Strong Room

London, Middle Temple  
RBR 5

New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University  
Pequot +H13  
Taylor 215  
Z3 011  
1981 +41

New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art  
Virginiana (4to)

New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library  
PML 8030-2

New York, Public Library  
\*KC+1598 Hakluyt  
\*KC+1599 Hakluyt 5  
Arents Collection

Oxford, Balliol College  
575.d.10

Oxford, Bodleian Library  
Don.d.25  
Douce H 238, 239  
Savile X 12

Oxford, St John's College  
1.33-34

Oxford, Trinity College  
Old Library B.12.4-5

Oxford, Worcester College  
No shelfmark

Philadelphia, Free Library  
Elkins 58

Philadelphia, Library Company  
\*Am 1598 Hakl 7862.F

Princeton, Princeton University  
Taylor Coll.

Princeton, Scheide Library, Princeton University  
No shelfmark

Providence, John Carter Brown Library  
D598/P957n v1-3  
D598/H156p/1.size/copy 2

Sheffield, Sheffield University  
\*Q910.8(H)

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library  
STC 12626 v. 1-2, 3

Washington, Library of Congress  
G240.H144  
G240.H145  
Kraus no. 30

*Principal Navigations (1599-1600)*

Berkeley, Bancroft Library, University of California  
G240 H22 1599 copy 1



G240 H22 1599 a

Birmingham, Birmingham Central Library  
Q094/1599/10A-B

Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University  
\*595-165  
fSTC 12626a  
Tower dep.  
WKR 13.4.1

Boston, Museum of Comparative Zoology  
No shelfmark

Boston, Public Library  
G 280.55

Cambridge, King's College  
P.3.1, 2

Cambridge, Queen's College  
No shelfmark

Cambridge, St John's College  
Aa.4.35-36

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College  
B.3.15a, b

Cambridge, Trinity College  
Grylls 31.148-9

Cambridge, University Library  
\*L 9.34- (C)

Charlottesville, Alderman Library, University of Virginia  
McGregor A 1599.H35

Chicago, Newberry Library  
Case fG12.38

Durham, Ushaw College  
XIV.A.4.6-7

Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library  
JA 683-4

JY 846-7

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland  
E.124.c12-14  
HS.221-222

Hereford, Hereford Cathedral  
G.9.7

Leeds, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds  
Brotherton Coll. Trv.q. HAK

London, British Library  
212.d.2-3  
984.g.1-2  
Maps C.8.a.12

London, Royal Geographical Society  
266.g.2, 266.g.3

London, Science Museum  
O.B. HAK Q

London Wellcome Institute  
EPB 3046

London, Westminster Abbey  
S.3.19

New Haven, Yale Centre for British Art  
Virginiana (4to)

New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library  
PML 32261, 32262

New York, Public Library  
\*KC+1599 Hakluyt 1  
\*KC1599 Hakluyt 2  
\*KC+1599 Hakluyt 3  
\*KC+1599 Hakluyt 4  
Arents Collection

Oxford, Bodleian Library  
H.8.15(1,2)Art  
H.8.16

Oxford, Exeter College  
9M 12626a

Oxford, Hertford College  
GGG.5.7/1-3

Oxford, New College  
Ω39.9-10

Oxford, Radcliffe Science Library  
RR.x.19(1, 2)

Oxford, St Edmund Hall  
Fol. R 6,7

Princeton, Princeton University  
(Ex) 1003.425  
Kane Coll.

Providence, John Carter Brown Library  
D599/H156p/1.size/[R]

San Marino, Huntington Library  
RB 3438  
RB 3440

Taunton, Hydrographical Office  
Sa 14

## 2. Secondary Sources

ADAMS, HAZARD, 'Titles, Titling and Entitlement To', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 46 (1987), 7-22.

ADAMS, PERCY G., *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1983).

ANDERSEN, JENNIFER and ELIZABETH SAUER (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

ANDERSON, BENEDICT, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Verso, 1991).



- ANDREWS, KENNETH R., 'Beyond the Equinoctial: England and South America in the Sixteenth Century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 10 (1981), 4-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Christopher Newport of Limehouse, Mariner', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 11 (1954), 28-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering during the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'New Light on Hakluyt', *Mariners Mirror*, 37 (1951), 299-308.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'On the Way to Peru: Elizabethan Ambitions in America South of Capricorn', *Terrae Incognitae*, 14 (1982), 61-75.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Aims of Drake's Expedition of 1577-1580', *American Historical Review*, 73 (1968), 724-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Elizabethan Seaman', *Mariners Mirror*, 68 (1982), 245-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Voyage of the *Jacquet* of Falmouth to the West Indies and Newfoundland 1595-1586 [sic]', *Mariners Mirror*, 59 (1973), 101-03.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Thomas Fenner and the Guinea Trade, 1564', *Mariners Mirror*, 38 (1952), 312-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- ANGLO, SYDNEY (ed.), *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990).
- ARBER, E. (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, 5 vols. (London: Privately Printed, 1875-94; repr. New York: Peter Smith, 1950).
- ARMITAGE, DAVID (ed.), *An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History 1450-1800*, xx: *Theories of Empire 1450-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?' *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 427-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

- ARMSTRONG, CHARLES E., 'The "Voyage to Cadiz" in the Second Edition of Hakluyt's "Voyages"', *Bibliographical Society of America Papers*, 49 (1955), 254-62.
- ARMSTRONG, JOHN A., *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982).
- ARMSTRONG, PHILIP, 'Spheres of Influence: Cartography and the Gaze in Shakespearean Tragedy and History', *Shakespeare Studies*, 23 (1995), 19-38.
- ARTESE, CHARLOTTE, 'King Arthur in America: Making Space in History for *The Faerie Queene* and John Dee's *Brytanici Imperii Limites*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 33 (2003), 125-41.
- ASH, ERIC H., "'A Note and a Caveat for the Merchant": Mercantile Advisors in Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33 (2002), 1-32.
- ASHCROFT, BILL, GARETH GRIFFITHS and HELEN TIFFIN (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 1994).
- BACH, REBECCA ANN, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).
- BAKER, HERSCHEL, *The Race of Time: Three Lectures on Renaissance Historiography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).
- BAKHTIN, M. M., 'The Dialogic Imagination', trans. M. Holquist and C. Emerson, in Pam Morris (ed.), *The Bakhtin Reader: Selected Writings of Bakhtin, Medvedev, Volashinov* (London: Arnold, 1994), 74-80.
- BAL, MIEKE, 'Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting', in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 97-115.
- BALAKRISHNAN, GOPAL (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso in association with *New Left Review*, 1996).
- BALDWIN, T. W., *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greek*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944).
- BARBOUR, PHILIP L., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter 1606-1609* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 136-37, 1969).
- BARKER, FRANCIS, PETER HULME and MARGARET IVERSEN (eds.), *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).



- BARON, HANS, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966).
- BARTELS, EMILY C., 'Imperialist Beginnings: Richard Hakluyt and the Construction of Africa', *Criticism*, 34 (1992), 517-38.
- , *Spectacles of Strangeness: Imperialism, Alienation and Marlowe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).
- BARTHES, ROLAND, 'The Death of the Author', trans. Stephen Heath, in id. (ed.), *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana, 1977), 142-48.
- LA BÉDOYÈRE, GUY DE, 'John Evelyn's Library Catalogue', *The Book Collector*, 43 (1994), 529-52.
- (ed.), *Particular Friends: The Correspondence of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997).
- BEER, ANNA R., *Sir Walter Raleigh and His Readers in the Seventeenth Century: Speaking to the People* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).
- BEIER, A. L., *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England 1560-1640* (London: Methuen, 1985).
- BELL, GARY M., *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509-1688* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1990).
- BELL, BILL, 'Victorian Paratexts', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 1 (1999), 327-35.
- BENNETT, H. S., *English Books and Readers 1558-1603: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).
- BENSON, PAMELA J., 'Rule Virginia: Protestant Theories of Female Regiment in *The Faerie Queene*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 15 (1985), 277-92.
- BHABHA, HOMI K. (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).
- BINDOFF, S. T., 'The Stuarts and their Style', *English Historical Review*, 60 (1945), 192-216.
- BJORN, CLAUS, ALEXANDER GRANT and KEITH J. STRINGER (eds.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen: Academic Press, 1994).



- BOLGAR, ROBERT RALPH, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).
- BOUTCHER, WARREN VINCENT, 'Florio's Montaigne: Translation and Pragmatic Humanism in the Sixteenth Century', D. Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1991).
- , 'Pilgrimage to Parnassus: Local Intellectual Traditions, Humanist Education and the Cultural Geography of Sixteenth-Century England', in Y. L. Too and N. Livingstone (eds.), *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 110-47.
- BOWER, JACQUELINE, 'Kent Towns 1540-1640', in M. Zell (ed.), *Early Modern Kent 1540-1640* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press and Kent County Council, 2000), 141-76.
- BRADDICK, MICHAEL J., *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- BRADSHAW, BRENDAN, 'The Tudor Commonwealth: Reform and Revision', *Historical Journal*, 22 (1979), 455-76.
- , 'Transalpine Humanism', in J. H. Burns and Mark Goldie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95-131.
- and JOHN MORRILL (eds.), *The British Problem c.1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).
- and PETER ROBERTS (eds.), *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- BRADY, JENNIFER and W. H. HERENDEEN (eds.), *Ben Jonson's 1616 Folio* (Newark: Delaware University Press, 1991).
- BRAUDEL, FERNAND, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Collins, 1972).
- BRENNAN, MICHAEL, 'The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield', *Connotations*, 6 (1996/97), 227-45.
- BRENNER, ROBERT, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- , 'The Social Basis of English Commercial Expansion 1550-1650', *Journal of Economic History*, 32 (1972), 361-84.

BREUILLY, JOHN, 'Approaches to Nationalism', in Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso in association with *New Left Review*, 1996), 146-74.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982).

BRIDGES, R. C., 'William Desborough Cooley and the Foundation of the Hakluyt Society', in R. C. Bridges and P. E. H. Hair (eds.), *Compassing the Vaste Globe of the Earth: Studies in the History of the Hakluyt Society 1846-1996* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 183, 1996), 51-81.

BRIGGS, W. D., 'Political Ideas in Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Studies in Philology*, 28 (1931), 137-61.

BROTTON, JERRY, "'This Tunis, sir, was Carthage": Contesting Colonialism in *The Tempest*', in Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (eds.), *Post-Colonial Shakespeares* (London: Routledge, 1998), 23-42.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Trading Territories: Mapping the Early Modern World* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

BROWN, CEDRIC C. and ARTHUR F. MAROTTI (eds.), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

BURGESS, GLENN (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603-1715* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999).

BUSH, D., *The Renaissance and English Humanism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1939).

BUSHNELL, REBECCA W., *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

BYRNE, MURIEL ST CLARE and GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON, "'My Lord's Books": The Library of Francis, Second Earl of Bedford, in 1584', *Review of English Studies*, 7 (1931), 385-405.

CALHOUN, CRAIG, *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997).

CAMPBELL, MARY B., *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

CANNY, NICHOLAS, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 30 (1973), 575-98.



- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, i: The Origins of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and ANTHONY PAGDEN (eds.), *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- CAREY, VINCENT, 'The Irish Face of Machiavelli: Richard Beacon's *Solon his Follie* (1594) and Republican Ideology in the Conquest of Ireland', in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political Ideology in Ireland 1541-1641* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 83-109.
- CARLSON, DAVID R., *English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
- CARTER, HENRY, *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- CAWLEY, R. R., *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyages on Elizabethan Literature* (London: Frank Cass, 1967).
- CEFALU, PAUL A., 'Rethinking the Discourse of Colonialism in Economic Terms: Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Captain John Smith's Virginia Narratives, and the English Response to Vagrancy', *Shakespeare Studies*, 28 (2000), 85-120.
- CELL, G. T., 'The Newfoundland Company: A Study of Subscribers to a Colonizing Venture', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 22 (1965), 611-25.
- CHARLTON, KENNETH, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).
- CHARTIER, ROGER, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London: Polity Press, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Publishing Drama in Early Modern Europe* (London: British Library, 1999).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London: Polity Press, 1994).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and GUGLIELIMO CAVALO, *A History of Reading in the West*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London: Polity Press, 1999).



- CHENEY, EDWARD, 'England and Denmark in the Latter Days of Queen Elizabeth', *Journal of Modern History*, 1 (1929), 8-39.
- CHEW, SAMUEL C., *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937).
- CHRISTOPHERS, R. A., 'The Chained Library of The Royal Grammar School Guildford', *The Book Collector*, 22 (1973), 17-34.
- CLARK, SANDRA, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: Athlone Press, 1983).
- CLEGG, CYNDIA SUSAN, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- COLLEY, LINDA, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1857* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
- COLLINS, D. C., *A Handlist of News Pamphlets 1590-1610* (London: South West Essex Technical College, 1943).
- COLLINSON, PATRICK, 'The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 69 (1987), 394-424.
- , 'Truth and Legend: The Veracity of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio's Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands*, (Zutphen: De Walburg Press, 1985), 31-54.
- CONDREN, CONAL, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994).
- CORMACK, LESLEY B., *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
- CRANE, MARY THOMAS, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- CRESSY, DAVID, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- , 'National Memory in Early Modern England', in J. R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 61-73.

- CREWE, JONATHAN, *Unredeemed Rhetoric: Thomas Nashe and the Scandal of Authorship* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).
- CRIBB, T. J., 'Writing up the Log: The Legacy of Hakluyt', in Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire* (London: Zed Books, 1999), 100-12.
- CROSKEY, ROBERT M., 'Hakluyt's Accounts of Sir Jerome Bowes' Embassy to Ivan IV', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 61 (1983), 546-64.
- CROSSLEY, JAMES, (ed.), *Chetham Miscellanies Volume 1: The Autobiographical Tracts of Dr John Dee, Warden of the College of Manchester* (Chetham: Chetham Society, 24, 1851).
- CROUSE, NELLIS M., *The French Struggle for the West Indies 1665-1713* (London: Frank Cass, 1966).
- DARNTON, ROBERT, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (London: Allen Lane, 1984).
- , *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990).
- DAVIES, K. G., *The Royal African Company* (London: Longmans, 1957).
- DAVIS, LENNARD J., *Factional Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
- DEUTSCH, KARL W., *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1953).
- DOOLEY, BRENDON and SABRINA BARON (eds.), *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2001).
- DRENNAN, WILLIAM R., 'Sidney's Debt to Machiavelli: A New Look', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 7 (1986), 83-96.
- DUFF, DAVID, 'Paratextual Dilemmas: Wordsworth's "The Brothers" and the Problem of Generic Labelling', *Romanticism*, 6 (2000), 234-61.
- DUNN, KEVIN, *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
- DUNNING, CHESTER, 'James I, the Russia Company, and the Plan to Establish a Protectorate over North Russia', *Albion*, 21 (1988), 206-26.



- DYKE, G., 'The Finance of a Sixteenth-Century Navigator, Thomas Cavendish of Trimley in Suffolk', *Mariners Mirror*, 44 (1958), 108-15.
- EARLE, PETER, *The Last Fight of the Revenge* (London: Collins and Brown, 1992).
- ECCLES, MARK, 'Brief Lives: Tudor and Stuart Authors', *Studies in Philology*, 79:4 (1982), 1-135.
- EDWARDS, PHILIP, *Threshold of a Nation: A Study of English and Irish Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- (ed.), *Last Voyages: Cavendish, Hudson, Raleigh* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).
- EINARSSON, STEFÁN, *A History of Icelandic Literature* (New York: Johns Hopkins Press for the Scandinavian Foundation, 1957).
- EISENSTEIN, ELIZABETH L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- ELLIS, STEVEN G. and SARAH BARBER (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725* (London: Longman, 1995).
- ELSKY, MARTIN, *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).
- ELTON, G. R., 'Reform and the "Commonwealth-Men" of Edward VI's Reign', in P. Clark, A. G. R. Smith and N. Tyacke (eds.), *The English Commonwealth 1547-1660: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), 23-38.
- , *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).
- EVANS, JOAN, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).
- EVANS, N. E., 'The Anglo-Russian Royal Marriage Negotiations of 1600-1603', *Slavonic and East European Review*, 61 (1983), 363-87.
- FARRINGTON, ANTHONY, *The English in Japan, 1613-1623* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993).
- (ed.), *The English Factory in Japan*, 2 vols. (London: British Library, 1991).



- FEBRVE, LUCIEN and HENRI-JEAN MARTIN, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard, ed. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London: NLB, 1976).
- FERGUSON, ARTHUR B., *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1979).
- , *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986).
- FIDELER P. A. and T. F. MAYER (eds.), *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep Structure, Discourse and Disguise* (London: Routledge, 1992).
- FISHER, R. M., 'William Crashaw's Library at the Temple, 1605-1615', *The Library*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 30 (1975), 116-24.
- FISHER, WILL, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 155-87.
- FITZMAURICE, ANDREW, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Literature of Discovery 1570-1630', D. Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1995).
- , 'Classical Rhetoric and the Promotion of the New World', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 58 (1997), 221-43.
- FOGLE, F. R. and L. A. KNAFLA, *Patronage in Late Renaissance England*, (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1983).
- FOUCAULT, MICHEL, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, trans. D. F. Bouchard and S. Simon, ed. D. F. Bouchard (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977).
- FOWLER, ELIZABETH and ROLAND GREEN (eds.), *The Project of Prose in Early Modern Europe and the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- FOX, ADAM, 'Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 597-620.
- FOX, ALICE, 'Virginia Woolf at Work: The Elizabethan *Voyage Out*', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 84 (1981), 65-84.
- FOX, LEVI (ed.), *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Oxford University Press for the Dugdale Society, 1956).

FREEMAN, THOMAS, "The Good Ministrye of Godlye and Vertuouse Women": The Elizabethan Martyrologists and the Female Supporters of the Marian Martyrs', *Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000), 8-33.

FRENCH, PETER J., *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

FROUDE, JAMES ANTHONY, 'England's Forgotten Worthies', in *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (London: Longman and Green, 1867), 294-333.

FRYDE, E. B., *Humanism and Renaissance Historiography* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983).

FULLER, MARY C., *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

FUSSNER, F. SMITH, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580-1640* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).

—————, *Tudor History and Historians* (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

GARGANIGO, ALEX, 'Coriolanus, the Union Controversy, and Access to the Royal Person', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1800*, 42 (2002), 335-59.

GASKELL, PHILIP, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974; repr. Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographics, 1995).

GEARY, PATRICK T., *The Myth of Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

GELLNER, ERNEST, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983).

GENETTE, GÉRARD, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

—————, 'Structure and Functions of the Title in Literature', trans. Bernard Crampé, *Critical Inquiry*, 14 (1988), 692-720.

GEYL, PIETER, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, 1609-1715*, 2 vols. (London: Ernest Benn, 1964).

GILBERT, PAUL, *The Philosophy of Nationalism* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1998).

GINZBURG, CARLO, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992).



- GODFREY, WALTER H. (ed.), *Diocese of Chichester Guide to the Church of Saint Nicholas, Worth* (Worth: Worth Parish Church Council, no date).
- GOODMAN, ANTHONY and ANGUS MACKAY (eds.), *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (London: Longman, 1990).
- GOODMAN, JENNIFER R., *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998).
- GORDON, A. G., 'Mapping La Popelinière's Thought: Some Geographical Dimensions', *Terrae Incognitae*, 9 (1977), 61-74.
- GORDON, BRUCE (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, i: The Medieval Inheritance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996).
- GOUGH, E. KATHLEEN, 'Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayars of Malabar', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 82 (1952), 71-88.
- GOULD, ELIGA H., 'A Virtual Nation: Greater Britain and the Imperial Legacy of the American Revolution', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 476-89.
- GRABES, HERBERT (ed.), *Writing the Early Modern English Nation: The Transformation of National Identity in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Amsterdam, Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2001).
- GRAFTON, ANTHONY, *Bring Out Your Dead: The Past as Revelation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).
- , *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- , 'Is the History of Books a Marginal Enterprise? Guillaume Budé and His Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 91 (1997), 139-57.
- , 'Renaissance Readers and Ancient Texts: Comments on Some Commentaries', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 38 (1985), 615-49.
- , *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997).
- and ANN BLAIR (eds.), *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).
- with APRIL SHELFORD and NANCY SIRAIISI, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1992).



- GRANT, A. and K. J. STRINGER (eds.), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- GREEN, L. C. and OLIVE P. DICKASON, *The Law of Nations and the New World* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989).
- GREENBLATT, STEPHEN, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
- , *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
- GREENFELD, LIAH, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- GREENGRASS, MARK (ed.), *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the State in Early Modern Europe* (London: Edward Arnold, 1991).
- GRIFFITHS, G. M., 'An Account Book of Raleigh's Voyage 1592', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 7 (1952), 347-53.
- GUY, JOHN, 'The Privy Council: Revolution or Evolution', in id. (ed.), *Politics, Law and Counsel in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 59-85.
- , 'The Tudor Commonwealth: Revising Thomas Cromwell', in id. (ed.), *Politics, Law and Counsel in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 681-87.
- , *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).
- (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I: Court and Culture in the Last Decade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- GWYN, DAVID, 'Richard Eden, Cosmographer and Alchemist', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15 (1984), 13-34.
- HADFIELD, ANDREW, 'English Colonialism and National Identity in Early Modern Ireland', *Eire-Ireland*, 28 (1993), 69-86.
- , 'Late Elizabethan Protestantism, Colonialism, and the Fear of the Apocalypse', *Reformation*, 3 (1998), 303-22.
- , *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation', *Connotations*, 5 (1995/6), 1-22.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *Amazons, Savages and Machiavels: Travel and Colonial Writing in English 1550-1630, an Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- HAIGH, CHRISTOPHER (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984).
- HALASZ, ALEXANDRA, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- HALL, DAVID D., *Cultures of the Book: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996).
- HALLER, WILLIAM, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963.)
- HAMLIN, WILLIAM, 'Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot and Raleigh in the Americas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57 (1996), 405-28.
- HAMMER, PAUL E. J., 'Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 621-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Polarization of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- HAMPTON, TIMOTHY, *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).
- HANDOVER, P. M., *The Second Cecil* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1959).
- HANKINS, JAMES, 'Rhetoric, History and Ideology: The Civic Panegyrics of Leonardi Bruni', in id. (ed.), *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 143-78.
- HARDISON, O. B., *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973).
- HARLECH, LORD, 'The Brogyntyn Library of Printed Books', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 5 (1948), 165-74.



HARLEY, J. B., 'Maps, Knowledge and Power', in Denis Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-311.

—————, 'Meaning and Ambiguity in Tudor Cartography', in Sarah Tyacke (ed.), *English Maps and Map-Making 1500-1650* (London: British Library, 1983), 22-45.

HARRISON, JOHN and PETER LASLETT (eds.), *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, new series, 13, Oxford University Press, 1965).

HART, JONATHAN (ed.), *Imagining Culture: Essays in Early Modern History and Culture* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996).

HASTINGS, ADRIAN, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

HEALY, THOMAS, *Christopher Marlowe* (no place: Northcote House and British Council, 1994).

HELTERS, JAMES P., "'The Explorer or the Pilgrim?'" Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology*, 94 (1997), 160-86.

HELGERSON, RICHARD, *Forms of Nationhood: Elizabethan Writing in England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

HERZ, JUDITH S., 'Of Circles, Friendship and the Imperatives of Literary History', in Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds.), *Literary Circles and Cultural Communities in Renaissance England* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 10-23.

HILL, CHRISTOPHER, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution Revisited* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

HILL, SPEED W. (ed.), *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, Papers of the Renaissance English Texts Society 1985-1991* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, and Renaissance English Texts Society, 1993).

HINMAN, CHARLTON, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

HOBBSBAWM, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).



\_\_\_\_\_ and TERENCE RANGER (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

HODGEN, MARGARET T., *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971).

HOFMANN, THEODORE, et al., 'John Evelyn's Archive at the British Library', *The Book Collector*, 44 (1995), 143-209.

HULME, PETER, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Polytropic Man: Tropes of Sexuality and Mobility in Early Colonial Discourse', in Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley (eds.), *Europe and Its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference of the Sociology of Literature, July 1984*, 2 vols. (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985), ii. 17-32.

\_\_\_\_\_ and TIM YOUNGS (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

HUNTER, LYNETTE, 'Why Has Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* Such an Intelligent Editor?', in Maureen Bell et al. (eds.), *Reconstructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 9-21.

HUPPERT, G., *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

HUTCHINSON, JOHN, *Modern Nationalisms* (London: Fontana, 1994).

HUTSON, LORNA, 'Chivalry for Merchants; or Knights of Temperance in the Realms of Gold', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 20 (1996), 29-60.

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 1994).

IMPEY, OLIVER and ARTHUR MACGREGOR (eds.), *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

JACKSON, H. J., *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

JACKSON, WILLIAM A., 'Humphrey Dyson's Library, or Some Observations on the Survival of Books', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 43 (1949), 379-87.

JAGODZINSKI, CECILE M., *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999).

JAMES, PAUL, *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community* (London: Thousand Oaks, 1996).

JAMES, SYDNEY V., *Three Visitors to Early Plymouth* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, with a foreword by James W. Baker, and introduction by Samuel Eliot Morison, Bedford, Mass.: Applewood, 1997).

JARDINE, LISA and ANTHONY GRAFTON, *From Humanism to Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Duckworth, 1986).

————— and ANTHONY GRAFTON, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy”, *Past and Present*, 129 (1990), 30-78.

————— and JERRY BROTTON, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

JARDINE, NICK and MARINA FRASCA-SPADA (eds.), *Books and the Sciences in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

JARROTT, C., ‘The English Humanists’ Use of Cicero’s *De Officiis* and their Evaluation of Active and Contemplative Life’, Ph. D. thesis (Stanford University, 1954).

JAYNE, SEARS, *English Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956).

————— and FRANCIS R. JOHNSON (eds.), *The Lumley Library Catalogue of 1609* (London: British Museum, 1956).

JEFFREYS, M. D. W., ‘Maize and the Mande Myth’, *Current Anthropology*, 12 (1971), 291-320.

JEWELL, HELEN M., *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

JOHNS, ADRIAN, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

JONES, E. D., ‘An Account Book of Sir Thomas Myddleton for the Years 1583-1603’, *National Library of Wales Journal*, 1 (1939), 83-88.

JONES, HOWARD MUMFORD, ‘Origins of the Colonial Idea in England’, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 85 (1942), 448-65.



- JURICEK, JOHN T., 'English Claims to North America to 1660: A Study in Legal and Constitutional History', Ph. D. thesis (University of Chicago, 1970).
- , 'English Territorial Claims in North America under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts', *Terrae Incognitae*, 7 (1975), 7-22.
- KAMPS, IVO and JYOTSNA G. SINGH (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
- KASTAN, DAVID SCOTT, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- KEDOURIE, ELIE, *Nationalism* (4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1998).
- KEELER, MARY FREAR (ed.), *Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage 1585-6* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 148, 1981).
- KELLEY, DONALD R., 'New World, Old Historiography', in Michael Wolfe (ed.), *Changing Identities in Early Modern France* (Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1996), 275-93.
- and DAVID HARRIS SACKS (eds.), *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric and Fiction 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- KENDRICK, T. D., *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950).
- KENNEY, ARTHUR F., *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1500-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- KENNEY, E. J., *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).
- KIDD, COLIN, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- KISSLING, NICHOLAS K., *The Library of Robert Burton* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1988).
- KINTGEN, EUGENE R. *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).
- KNAPP, JEFFREY, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America and Literature from Utopia to The Tempest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).



\_\_\_\_\_, *Shakespeare's Tribe: Church, Nation and Theatre in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

KOEBNER, RICHARD, *Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

\_\_\_\_\_, "The Imperial Crown of this Realm": Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 26 (1953), 29-52.

KOHN, HANS, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1946).

KOSTARIDOU, MARIA, 'England's Travel: Empire and Experience in Hakluyt's "Voyages"', D. Phil. thesis (University of York, 1998).

KRAYE, JILL, (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

KRISTELLER, PAUL OSKAR, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic and Humanist Strains*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961-65).

LANDSMAN, NED C., 'Nation, Migration and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 463-75.

LANGLANDS, REBECCA, 'Britishness or Englishness?: The Historical Problem of National Identity in Britain', *Nations and Nationalism*, 1 (1999), 53-69.

LARMINIE, V. M., *The Godly Magistrate: The Private Philosophy and Public Life of Sir John Newdigate 1571-1610* (London: Dugdale Society, Occasional Paper 28, 1982).

LEEDHAM-GREEN, ELISABETH S., *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

\_\_\_\_\_, (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, 5 vols. (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies; Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1992-98).

LEVACK, BRIAN P., *The Formation of the British State: England and Scotland and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

LEVINE, JOSEPH M., *Humanism and History: Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

- LEVISON, JERROLD, 'Titles', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 44 (1985), 29-41.
- LEVY, F. J., *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1967).
- LINDSAY, R., 'Pierre Bergeron: A Forgotten Editor of French Travel Literature', *Terrae Incognitae*, 7 (1976), 31-88.
- LINTON, JOAN PONG, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- LOADES, DAVID, M., *Politics and the Nation 1540-1660* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition London: Fontana, 1985).
- , 'The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 24 (1974), 141-58.
- (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997).
- LOCK, F. P., 'Swift's Library: The Yale Copy of the Sale Catalogue Reconsidered', *The Book Collector*, 40 (1991), 31-56.
- LOEWENSTEIN, JOSEPH, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- LOHR, C. H., *Latin Aristotle Commentaries, ii: Renaissance Authors* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1988).
- LOOMBA, ANIA, *Colonialism/Post Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- LORRIMER, JOYCE, 'Raleigh's First Reconnaissance of Guiana? – An English Survey of the Orinoco in 1587', *Terrae Incognitae*, 9 (1977), 7-27.
- LOVE, HAROLD, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- LOWES, JOHN LIVINGSTON, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (New York: Vintage Books, 1959).
- LUBIMENKO, MADAME, 'A Project for the Acquisition of Russia by James I', *English Historical Review*, 29 (1914), 246-56.
- LYNAM, EDWARD (ed.), *Richard Hakluyt and His Successors* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 93, 1946).



MACINNES, C. M., *Ferdinando Gorges and New England* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1965).

MACMILLAN, KEN, 'John Dee's "Brytanici Imperii Limites"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 64 (2001), 151-59.

MAGUIRE, L. E. and THOMAS L. BERGER (eds.), *Textual Formations and Reformations* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998).

MALTBY, WILLIAM S., *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N. Carolina: Duke University Press, 1971).

MAQUERLOT, J. P., and M. WILLIAMS (eds.), *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

MARCHITELLO, HOWARD, *Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England: Browne's Skull and Other Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

—————, 'Recent Studies in Tudor and Early Stuart Travel Writing', *English Literary Renaissance*, 29 (1999), 326-47.

MARCUS-WILSON, E. M., *Medieval Merchant Venturers: Collected Studies* (London: Methuen, 1954).

MAROTTI, ARTHUR F., *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

—————, *Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

————— (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

————— and MICHAEL D. BRISTOL (eds.), *Print, Manuscript, Performance: The Changing Relations of Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000).

MARTINDALE, JOANNA (ed.), *English Humanism Wyatt to Cowley* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

MATAR, NABIL, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

MCBRIDE, G. K., 'Elizabethan Foreign Policy in Microcosm: The Portuguese Pretender 1580-89', *Albion*, 5 (1973), 193-210.



- MCCONICA, JAMES KELSEY, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
- , 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', *English Historical Review*, 94 (1979), 291-317.
- MCCOY, RICHARD, *The Rules of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
- MCCRONE, DAVID, *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- MCDERMOTT, JAMES, *Martin Frobisher, Elizabethan Privateer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
- , 'The Account Book of Michael Lok, Relating to the North-west Voyages of Martin Frobisher, 1576-78', M. Phil. thesis (University of Hull, 1984).
- (ed.), *The Third Voyage of Martin Frobisher to Baffin Island 1578* (London: Hakluyt Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 6, 2001).
- MCEACHERN, CLAIRE, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590-1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- and DEBORAH SHUGER (eds.), *Religion and Culture in Renaissance England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- MCGANN, JEROME J., *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- MCKENZIE, D. F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986).
- , *What's Past is Prologue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1993).
- MCKEON, MICHAEL, *The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
- MCKERROW, RONALD D., *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).
- MCKITTERICK, DAVID, 'Customer, Reader and Bookbinder: Buying a Bible in 1630', *The Book Collector*, 40 (1991), 382-406.

- MCLAREN, ANNE, 'Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism', *American Historical Review*, 107 (2002), 739-67.
- MIDDLETON, DOROTHY, 'The Early History of the Hakluyt Society 1847-1923', *Geographical Journal*, 152 (1986), 217-24.
- , *The Hakluyt Society 1846-1923* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1984).
- MIKALACHKI, JODI, *The Legacy of Boadicea: Gender and Nationhood in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- MILLER, E. H., *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959).
- MILLER, SHANNON, *Invested with Meaning: The Raleigh Circle in the New World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).
- MILLICAN, C. B., *Spenser and the Table Round* (London: Frank Cass, 1967).
- MOODY, JANE, 'Hoaxes, Puffs, and the Invention of Samuel Foote', a paper given at *Theatre and Celebrity 1660-2002*, Conference, University of York, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2002.
- MOORE-SMITH, G. C., *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913).
- MORAN, BRUCE T. (ed.), *Patronage and Institutions: Science, Technology and Medicine at the European Court 1500-1750* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991).
- MORGAN, EDMUND S., *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975).
- MORGAN, F. C., *Hereford Cathedral The Vicars Choral Library* (Hereford: Woolthorpe Club and City Library, 1958).
- MORGAN, P. E., 'The Library of Lady Hawkins' School, Kingston, Herefordshire,' *National Library of Wales Journal*, 24 (1985), 46-62.
- MULDREW, CRAIG, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).
- MUNBY, A. N. L., 'The Library of George Thackeray, 1777-1850, Provost of King's College, Cambridge', *The Book Collector*, 6 (1957), 143-49.
- MURPHY, A. (ed.), *The Renaissance Text* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).



- MYERS, ROBIN and MICHAEL HARRIS (eds.), *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920* (Folkestone: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1991).
- NEDERMAN, CORY J., 'Humanism and Empire: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini: Cicero and the Imperial Ideal', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), 499-515.
- NEEFS, JACQUES, 'Margins', *Word and Image*, 13 (1997), 135-58.
- NEVILLE-SINGTON, P. A. and ANTHONY PAYNE, *An Interim Census of Surviving Copies of Hakluyt's Divers Voyages (1582), and Principal Navigations (1589; 1598/9-1600)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997).
- NEVISON, J. L., 'Emmanuel van Meteren, 1535-1612', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, 19 (1956), 128-45.
- NEWY, VINCENT and ANN THOMPSON (eds.), *Literature and Nationalism* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1991).
- NEWTON, RICHARD C., 'Making Books from Leaves: Poets Become Editors', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (eds.), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 246-64.
- NICHOLL CHARLES, *The Creature in the Map: Sir Walter Raleigh's Quest for El Dorado* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995; repr. Vintage, 1996).
- OAKESHOTT, WALTER, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Library', *The Library*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 23 (1968), 285-327.
- O'CALLAGHAN, MICHELLE, *The 'Shepherds Nation': Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
- OHLMEYER, JANE, 'Seventeenth-Century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic Histories', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 446-62.
- OLSEN, V. NORSKOV, *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).
- ONG, WALTER J., *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: from the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958).
- OPPENHEIM, M. (ed.), *The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson*, 6 vols., *The Navy Records Society*, 22 (1902), vol. i.



OSLER, SIR WILLIAM, 'Robert Burton: The Man, His Book, His Library', *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1927), 163-83.

PAGDEN, ANTHONY, *European Encounters with the New World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

—————, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

————— (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

PAQUETTE, ROBERT L. and STANLEY L. ENGERMAN (eds.), *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).

PARKER, GEOFFREY, *Empire, War and Faith in Early Modern Europe* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 2002).

PARKER, JOHN, *Books to Build an Empire* (Amsterdam, N. Israel: Thime-Nijmegen, 1965).

PARKER, KENNETH (ed.), *Early Modern Tales of Orient: A Critical Anthology* (London: Routledge, 1999).

PARKER, PATRICIA, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (London: Methuen, 1987).

—————, *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

PARKS, GEORGE BRUNER, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (American Geographical Society, Special Publication, 10; New York: American Geographical Society, 1928).

—————, *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigazioni* (New York: New York Public Library, 1955).

PARRY, GLYNN, 'Elect Church or Elect Nation, the Reception of the *Acts and Monuments*', in David M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 167-81.

PARRY, GRAHAM, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

PARRY, J. H., *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940).

PATTERSON, ANNABEL, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

—————, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

PAYNE, ANTHONY, "Strange, Remote and Farre Distant Countreys": The Travel Books of Richard Hakluyt', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (Folkestone: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), 1-37.

—————, *Richard Hakluyt and His Books* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997).

PELTONEN, MARKKU, *Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

PENROSE, BOIES, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960).

PIESSE, A. J. (ed.), *Sixteenth-Century Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

PINCOMBE, MIKE, *Elizabethan Humanism: Literature and Learning in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Harlow: Longman, Pearson Education, 2001).

POCOCK, J. G. A., 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 8 (1974), page numbers not given; repr. in *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), 601-27.

—————, 'The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 490-500.

POLLARD A. W. and G. R. REDGRAVE, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, 3 vols. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised and enlarged W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katherine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1986).

POWELL, WILLIAM S., 'Books in the Virginia Colony before 1624', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 5 (1948), 177-84.

—————, *John Pory 1572-1636* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977).



- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Roanoke Colonists and Explorers: An Attempt at Identification', *North Carolina Historical Review*, 34 (1957), 202-26.
- PREST, WILLIAM R., *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (London: Longman, 1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Rise of the Barristers: A Social History of the English Bar 1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1986; 1<sup>st</sup> paperback edition with corrections, 1991).
- PREWITT, KENDRICK W., 'Gabriel Harvey and the Practice of Method', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 39 (1999), 19-39.
- PUCCI, MICHAEL S., 'Reforming Roman Emperors: John Foxe's Characterization of Constantine in the *Actes and Monuments*', in David M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 29-51.
- QUINN, DAVID BEERS, 'Advice for Investors in Virginia, Bermuda, and Newfoundland, 1611', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 23 (1966), 136-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ireland and Sixteenth-Century European Expansion', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), *Historical Studies*, 1 (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958), 21-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Notes by a Pious Colonial Investor 1608-10', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 16 (1959), 551-55.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 26 (1976), 73-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 89 (1945), 543-60.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Some Spanish Reactions to Elizabethan Colonial Enterprises', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 1 (1951), 1-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The First Pilgrims', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 23 (1966), 359-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Roanoke Voyages 1584-1590*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 104-105, 1955).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 83-4, 1940).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Thomas Harriot and the Virginia Voyages of 1602', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 27 (1970), 268-81.



- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 144-45, 1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_, C. A. QUINN and SUSAN HILLIER (eds.), *New American World*, 5 vols. (New York: Arno Press and Hector Bye, 1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and ALISON M. QUINN (eds.), *The English New England Voyages 1602-1608* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 161, 1983).
- \_\_\_\_\_ and NEIL M. CHESHIRE (eds.), *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).
- RABB, FELIX, *The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500-1700* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964).
- RABB, THEODORE K., *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England 1575-1630* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).
- RABIL, ALBERT JR. (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).
- RAMBUSS, RICHARD, *Spenser's Secret Career* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- RAMSAY, G. D., 'Clothworkers, Merchants Adventurers and Richard Hakluyt', *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 504-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence* (London: Macmillan, 1957).
- RAVEN, JAMES, HELEN SMALL and NAOMI TADMOR (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- READ, CONYERS, *Mr Secretary Walsingham*, 3 vols. (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1925; repr. no place: Archon Books, 1967).
- RHODES, NEIL and JONATHAN SAWDAY (eds.), *The Renaissance Computer* (London: Routledge, 2000).
- RIDDELL, JAMES A., 'Ben Jonson's Folio of 1616', in Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 152-62.
- ROBERTS, JULIAN and ANDREW WATSON (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1990).

- ROWSE, A. L., *Sir Richard Grenville of the 'Revenge'* (Bedford Historical Series, 9; London: Jonathan Cape, 1937).
- RUNDLE, DAVID, "Not so Much Praise as Precept": Erasmus, Panegyric, and the Renaissance Art of Teaching Princes', in Y. L. Too and N. Livingstone (eds.), *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148-169.
- RYAN, LAWRENCE V., 'Richard Hakluyt's Voyage into Aristotle', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12 (1981), 73-83.
- SAID, EDWARD W., *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995).
- SARGENT, RALPH M., *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).
- SAUNDERS, J. W., 'From Manuscript to Print: A Note on the Circulation of Poetic MSS. in the Sixteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary Historical Section*, 6 (1951), 507-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Stigma of Print": A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry', *Essays in Criticism*, 1 (1951), 139-64.
- SCANLAN, THOMAS, *Colonial Writing and the New World 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- SCOTT, WILLIAM R., *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-12).
- SCOTT-WARREN, JASON, 'News, Sociability, and Bookbuying in Early Modern England: The Letters of Sir Thomas Cornwallis', *The Library*, 7<sup>th</sup> series, 1 (2000), 381-402.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: The Textual Transactions of Sir Stephen Powle', in Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 18-37.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- SEED, PATRICIA, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest in the New World 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).



SEIGEL, JERROLD E., "Civic Humanism" or Ciceronian Rhetoric? The Culture of Petrarch and Bruni', *Past and Present*, 34 (1966), 3-48.

SHAPIN, STEVEN, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

————— and SIMON SCHAFFER, *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

SHAPIRO, BARBARA J., *A Culture of Fact: England 1550-1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

—————, *Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study of the Relationships between Natural Science, Religion, History, Law and Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

————— and R. G. FRANK, JR., *English Scientific Virtuosi in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1979).

SHARPE, J. A., *Early Modern England: A Social History 1570-1760* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Arnold, 1997).

SHARPE, KEVIN, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

—————, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

SHEAVYN, P., *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, revised J. W. Saunders, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967).

SHELL, ALISON, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

SHELTON, ANTHONY ALAN, 'Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World', in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (eds.), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 176-203.

SHERMAN, WILLIAM H., 'John Dee's *Brytannicae Reipublicae Synopsis*: A Reader's Guide to the Elizabethan Commonwealth', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1990), 293-315.

—————, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).



- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Used Books', *Shakespeare Survey*, 28 (2000), 145-49.
- SHIRLEY, JOHN W. (ed.), *Thomas Harriot, Renaissance Scientist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
- SHRANK, CATHERINE LUCY, 'English Humanism and National Identity 1530-1570', D. Phil. thesis (University of Cambridge, 1999).
- SIEBERT, F. S., *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952).
- SIMON, JOAN, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966).
- SKINNER, QUENTIN, 'Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, 8 (1969), 3-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).
- SLACK, PAUL, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1988).
- SLIGHTS, WILLIAM W. E., 'The Edifying Margins of Renaissance Books', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42 (1989), 682-716.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).
- SMITH, ALAN G. R., *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England, 1529-1660* (London: Longman, 1984).
- SMITH, ANTHONY D., *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Myth of the "Modern Nation" and the Myths of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 11 (1988), 1-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Origins of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12 (1989), 340-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1971).

- SMITH, MARGARET M., *The Title-Page: Its Early Development* (London: British Library, 2000).
- SOBEL, DAVA, *Longitude: The True Story of a Lone Genius who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time* (London: Fourth Estate, 1996).
- SPUFFORD, M., *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).
- STAGL, JUSTIN, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chir, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Methodising of Travel in the Sixteenth Century: A Tale of Three Cities', *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1990), 303-38.
- STEELE, COLIN, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens: A Bibliographical Study 1603-1726* (Oxford: Dolphin Book Company, 1975).
- STEELE, R. L., 'Humphrey Dyson', *The Library*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 1 (1910), 144-51.
- STEGGLE, MATTHEW, 'Charles Chester and Richard Hakluyt', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 43 (2003), 65-81.
- STERN, VIRGINIA F., *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
- STEWART, ALAN, *Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London: Pimlico, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Early Modern Closet Discovered', *Representations*, 50 (1993), 76-100.
- STONE, LAWRENCE, 'Elizabethan Overseas Trade', *Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 2 (1949-50), 30-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640', *Past and Present*, 28 (1964), 41-80.
- STRAYER, JOSEPH R. (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983).
- STRONG, ROY, *Henry Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986; repr. Pimlico, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973).



- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977; repr. Pimlico, 1999).
- SWEET, TIMOTHY, 'Economy, Ecology and *Utopia* in Early Colonial Promotional Literature', *American Literature*, 71 (1999), 399-427.
- SYPPER, GEORGE WYLIE, 'La Popelinière's *Histoire de France*: A Case of Historical Objectivity and Religious Censorship', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24 (1963), 41-54.
- TADIE, ANDREW A., 'Hakluyt's and Purchas's Use of The Latin Version of Mandeville's "Travels"', in Jean-Claude Margolin (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis* (Paris: Vrin, 1980), 537-45.
- TANSELLE, G. THOMAS, 'A Rationale of Collecting', *Raritan*, 19 (1999), 23-50.
- TAYLOR, E. G. R., 'A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee', *Imago Mundi*, 13 (1956), 56-68.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Harriot's Instructions for Raleigh's Voyage to Guiana 1595', *Journal of the Institute of Navigation*, 5 (1952), 345-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Instructions to a Colonial Surveyor in 1582', *Mariners Mirror*, 37 (1951), 48-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Samuel Purchas', *Geographical Journal*, 75 (1930), 536-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Haven-Finding Art* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1956).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 76-77, 1935).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (ed.), *The Troublesome Voyage of Captain Edward Fenton, 1582-1583* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 113, 1959).
- THIRSK, JOAN, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- THOMAS, GRAHAM, 'The Stradling Library at St. Donats, Glamorgan', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 24 (1986), 402-19.



- THOMAS, KEITH, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England* (London: University of London, 1983).
- TOMALIN, CLAIRE, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin, 2002).
- TONG, R., 'Captain Thomas Wyndham, Tudor Merchant Adventurer', *History Today*, 7 (1957), 221-28.
- [TREITSCHKE], *Treitschke's Origins of Prussianism: (The Teutonic Knights)*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969).
- TRIBBLE, EVELYN B., *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993).
- TROUSDALE, MARION, 'A Possible Renaissance View of Form', *English Literary History*, 40 (1973), 179-204.
- TUCK, RICHARD, *Philosophy and Government 1577-1651* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- TURVILLE-PETRE, THORLAC, *England the Nation: Language, Literature and National Identity 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- TYACKE, SARAH, *Before Empire: The English World Picture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001).
- ULLMAN, WALTER, 'This Realm of England is an Empire', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 175-203.
- VAN DORSTEN, JAN A., *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- VAN NORDEN, L., 'The Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', Ph. D. thesis (University of California, Los Angeles, 1946).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Peiresc and the English Scholars', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 12 (1948-49), 369-89.
- VIROLI, MAURIZIO, *For Love of Country: An Essay in Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).
- WALL, WENDY, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).
- WALLACE, JOHN M., "'Examples Are Best Precepts": Readers and Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Poetry', *Critical Inquiry*, 1 (1974), 273-90.

- WALSHAM, ALEXANDRA, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- WARKENTIN, G. (ed.), *Critical Issues in Editing Exploration Texts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).
- WATERS, DAVID H., *The Art of Navigation in England in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Times* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1958).
- WATSON, FOSTER, 'Hakluyt and Mulcaster', *Geographical Journal*, 49 (1917), 48-53.
- WATT, TESSA, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1556-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- WEIMANN, ROBERT, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- WEISS, ROBERTO, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969).
- WILKS, T. V., 'The Court Culture of Prince Henry and his Circle 1603-1613', D. Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1987).
- WILKINSON, C. H., 'Worcester College Library', *Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1927), 263-320.
- WILLAN, T. S., 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 399-410.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Studies in Elizabethan Foreign Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Early History of the Russia Company 1553-1603* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956).
- WILLIAMS, GWYN A., *Madoc: The Legend of the Welsh Discovery of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Welsh in Their History* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).
- WILLIAMSON, ARTHUR H., *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979).
- WILLIAMSON, HUGH ROSS, *The Gunpowder Plot* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951).



- WILLIAMSON, JAMES A., *Hawkins of Plymouth* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969).
- WILSON, EMMA LOUISE, "Al is Trewe that is Conteyned Herin": The Limits of Humanist Literary Taxonomy in Sixteenth-Century England', M.A. thesis (University of York, 2001).
- WOOLF, D. R., *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- , *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- WOOLFSON, JONATHAN (ed.), *Reassessing Tudor Humanism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).
- WOOLLEY, BENJAMIN, *The Queen's Conjuror: The Life and Magic of Dr Dee* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).
- WORDEN, BLAIR, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
- WOUNDHUYSEN, HENRY R., *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- WRIGHT, LOUIS B., *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (London: Methuen, 1964).
- , *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion 1558-1625* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965).
- (ed.), *The Elizabethan's America: A Collection of Early Reports by Englishmen in the New World* (London: Edward Arnold, 1965).
- WRIGHTSON, KEITH, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
- WÜRZBACH, N., *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*, trans. Gayna Walls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- YATES, FRANCES A., *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975; repr. Pimlico, 1993).
- YEWBREY, GRAHAM, 'John Dee and the "Sidney Group": Cosmopolitics and Protestant "activism" in the 1570s', D. Phil. thesis (University of Hull, 1981).