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Travel Compilations in Sixteenth-Century England:
Eden and Ramusio as Hakluyt's Generic Precursors

by

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Abstract

Scholarship on Richard Hakluyt's compilations of travel writing regularly refers to his main literary predecessors: Richard Eden and Giovanni Battista Ramusio. However, such scholarship rarely engages in a sustained comparison of Hakluyt's, Eden's, and Ramusio's work. In George Bruner Parks' literary history *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, for example, Parks notes that Eden was Hakluyt's "forerunner," and that Hakluyt's books "outdistanced" Eden's, yet Parks does not specify the connections between the two.[1] Similarly, in a section on Hakluyt's Italian influences from his recent study *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books*, Anthony Payne writes that Ramusio was Hakluyt's "most notable" early literary influence, but Payne's further association of their work is cursory and ambiguous.[2] In this thesis, I continue the discussion of Parks, Payne, and other scholars about the bonds of influence and continuity shared by Eden, Ramusio, and Hakluyt. I begin by introducing the place of travel accounts in early sixteenth-century English and European cosmography. I then follow sections on Eden and Ramusio with a study of Hakluyt's early and later work that takes care to locate his place in a larger literary tradition. I conclude with a synopsis of Hakluyt's part in the continued development of travel writing after 1600. My hope is that this study of the connections between Eden's, Ramusio's, and Hakluyt's books will contribute to an enhanced appreciation of the emergence in England of a subgenre of cosmographical writing dedicated to accounts of travel.

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[1] George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, 2d. ed. (New York: F. Ungar, 1961), esp. 21–24, 56, 69.

[2] Anthony Payne, *Richard Hakluyt: A Guide to His Books and to Those Associated with Him 1580-1625* (London: Quaritch, 2008), 23–26.

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Introduction

While European mariners embarked on unprecedented voyages of exploration and discovery from the late fifteenth century on, their accounts of new worlds found a central place in the minds of countrymen interested in the manifold possibilities that a navigable globe spawned. The published narratives of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, in particular, initiated profound changes in European cosmography and politics by publicizing the discovery of the so-called antipodes and informing future voyages of exploration and conquest.[3] The translation into Latin and widespread circulation of Columbus' 1493 letter to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, with its descriptions of "many islands inhabited by men without number," sparked the Papal Bull of 4 May 1493, the Inter Caetera that granted much of the New World to Spain and motivated the series of Spanish and Portuguese treaties that demarcated global Roman Catholic territories.[4] Initially printed in 1504 under the title *Mundus Novus* (*The New World*), Vespucci's report of his 1501-1502 travels aboard a Portuguese voyage to South America inspired dozens of editions and versions within a few years of its release

[3] For a detailed analysis of early modern cosmography, see Klaus A. Vogel, "Cosmography," *The Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 469–496. Cosmography is the general discipline that refers to the "study of the entire universe, which included the central spheres of the four elements (earth, water, air, and fire) as well as the peripheral sphere of the planets and stars" (470). During the sixteenth century cosmography remained a recognized field of study, but it began to diverge into the modern disciplines of geography and astronomy in no small part because of the impetus provided by the accounts of mariners to previously unknown regions. In this thesis I use the terms cosmography and geography synonymously to reflect their early modern usage, although I generally prefer to imply that geography is a subset of cosmography.

[4] "Translation of the Columbus Letter," University of Southern Maine, Osher Map Library, Smith Center for Cartographic Education, accessed 22 January 2011, http://usm.maine.edu/maps/web-document/1/4/sub-/4-translation.

and prompted the revision of classical geographical texts to include the antipodes.[5] By countering prevalent theories that maintained an inhabitable 'upper' hemisphere and an uninhabited 'lower' hemisphere, Vespucci's account facilitated great advances in the work of European cosmographers and heralded the validity of the modern terrestrial globe.[6] Driven by the opportunity presented by their discoveries, the Portuguese established the Casa da Índia e da Guiné in the late 1400s to administer colonial trade, authorize and manage the manufacture of nautical charts and instruments, and keep official registers of navigation officers.[7] Spain followed suit, founding the Casa de la Contratación in 1503 and the Council of the Indies in 1524 to manage the commerce and bureaucracy of its colonies, respectively. With their interests abroad secured domestically, Spain and Portugal entered a period of unprecedented wealth and influence.

The publication of the accounts of prominent explorers and the institutionalization of new geographical discoveries by religious decrees, scientific inquiry, and political and commercial will were inextricably linked. The arrival of a Latin version of Columbus' letter in Rome gave rise to the Papal Bull, just as the spread of Vespucci's narrative engaged the attention of Europe's

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[5] *Mundus Novus: Albericus Vespuccius Laurentio Petri Francisci de Medicis Salutem Plurimam Dicit* (Paris: F. Baligault/Jehan Lambert, 1503-1504). For more on Vespucci, his voyages, and *Mundus Novus*, see Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo: The Man who Gave His Name to America* (New York: Random House, 2007).

[6] Vogel, 479–480.

[7] In addition to the opportunities presented by the so-called antipodes, a portion of which the Inter Caetera and the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas made available for Portuguese settlement, Portugal had major trading interests in Africa. As well, spurred by Bartholomeu Dias' 1487-1488 voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama sailed to India by the same route (1497-1498). Da Gama's success precipitated the shift of Europe's commerce with India from Venetian to Portuguese control. For more on Da Gama's first voyage see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) and Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, eds., *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

leading cosmographers and statesmen. The expediency with which bulls, treaties, and administrative and scientific treatises followed the dissemination of printed travel accounts in Europe testifies to the strong connection between such accounts and contemporary religious, economic, academic, and/or political discourses. As news of the voyages of other explorers such as Vasco da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, and Vasco Núñez de Balboa spread throughout Europe, the power of the printed word to reveal, argue, and conjecture became apparent in the books, letters, and print ephemera that proliferated on the subject of geographical discovery. In this respect, England's place in the newly enlarged, circumnavigated world can be inferred from the output of its writers, editors, and publishers.

A bibliographical study of English texts on geography and travel indicates that England's initial response to the implications of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries was quite subdued.[8] As E.G.R. Taylor writes, "an analysis of the geographical writings produced in England during the first half of the [sixteenth]

[8] George Bruner Parks offers a fairly representative bibliography in Appendix IV of *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (270–276). Although Parks includes books on navigation and maps, he records the publication of only 24 documents on geography and travel between 1500 and 1550. In the *Hand-List of Books Printed by London Printers 1501-1556* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913) E. G. Duff, W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, H. R. Plomer, A. W. Pollard, and R. Proctor reveal few texts missed by Parks, but their publication does reveal a possible cause for the neglect of cosmography by English publishers. While texts devoted solely to geography and travel were rare in the extreme, the early 1500s witnessed the great popularity of chronicles: volumes of historical events and facts. Many chronicles contained cosmographical information that, while typically slight and highly wanting, provides faint glimmers of the interest that proliferated on the continent. E. G. R. Taylor's judgement may be deemed correct, then, when she says that *Arnold's Chronicle* (London: John of Doesborowe, 1503), a popular book of general reference, "contains a geographical section which must be read as fulfilling the needs of the English reading public" (*Tudor Geography 1483-1583* [New York: Octagon Books, 1968], 6). The irony, of course, is that the section, entitled "The Copy of a Carete Cumposynge the Circuit of the World and the Cumpace of Every Yland," is both brief and crude. Taylor includes bibliographies of geographical and travel writing in the 1500s in *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 163–190, and *Tudor Geography 1583-1650* (London: Methuen and Co., 1934), 177–298.

century merely establishes the rule of neglect—the exception of interest."[9] Publisher William Caxton demonstrated the potential of the printing press by making standard medieval geographical texts available in the late fifteenth century, but during the early 1500s English manuscripts and publications on geography and travel comprised a motley patchwork of cosmographical knowledge.[10] Although accounts of European voyages circulated in a number of Spanish, Portuguese, and Latin editions, many writers in England retained Caxton's focus on medieval scholarship, and there is a marked lag in English contributions to the field when compared to contemporary continental texts. For example, in 1507 Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller published *Cosmographiae Introductio* in France.[11] In their book, Ringmann and Waldseemüller name the antipodes 'America' in Vespucci's honour and thereby validate the image of a spherical, terraquaeus earth that paved the way for Nicholas Copernicus' heliocentric model of the universe.[12] By contrast, the anonymous manuscript *Cosmographia*, written by a monk resident in London around 1510, references the work of select classical, medieval, and, to its credit, contemporary authors but treats the recent discoveries abroad summarily and

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[9] *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 1.
[10] Caxton's geographical publications include Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon* (London: 1480), and Vincent of Beauvais, *The Ymage or Mirrour of the Worlde* (London: 1480).
[11] Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller, eds., *Cosmographiae Introductio* (St. Dié: 1507). A facsimile edition was published in 1907 as *The Cosmographiae Introductio* (edited by Charles Herbermann [New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society]).
[12] Vogel, 479–480. For a rough summary of the connections between early modern print history and European cosmography see Andrew Pettegree, "Science and Exploration," in *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 273–296. Pettegree scarcely mentions the work of English writers.

assumes the classical tripartite world composed of Asia, Africa, and Europe.[13] That is, the antipodes are not fully described as such and remain distinct from the three inhabitable continents of the conventional 'upper' hemisphere. Generally speaking, the greatest advances in early sixteenth-century English cosmography came from authors with close links to continental scholarship, and, even then, unique contributions to the discourse were few and far between.

Similarly, published travel accounts of English voyages did little to expand the purview of English cosmography until continental texts became accessible. The narratives of English pilgrims and editions of Sir John Mandeville's still-accredited travels to the Levant and Cathay circulated widely, but the limited geographical scope of the former and the fantastical accounts of the latter limited the reliability (but not the appeal) of these texts as cosmographical references. English exploratory voyages during this period, which, admittedly, occurred on an inconstant basis and were frequently unsuccessful, received little mention in manuscripts and printed texts. For example, in contrast to the relatively prolific publication of pilgrimage narratives and Mandeville's *Travels*, John Cabot's 1497 and 1498 voyages, which made significant discoveries for England along the North American coast, left very little in the way of print testimonials.[14] Another momentous expedition, a previously

[13] Anonymous, *Cosmographia* (Royal MSS 13. E. VII, transcribed 1530, written 1510). Not seen by me. See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 13–14.

[14] Several letters, administrative documents, and a brief note in a Bristol chronicle known as the Fust MS comprise the only extant, contemporary sources of information about the 1497 expedition. The most important source of information on the 1498 voyage is a brief note in Robert Fabyan's chronicle *The Concordaunce of Hystoryes* (pub. by Richard Pynson in 1516 as *The New Chronicles of England and of France*), the manuscript of which has not been preserved. Fabyan's account was amended and published by several writers during the sixteenth century and is

unknown trip in 1499 or 1500 to the "new founde land" by William Weston, the first Englishman to lead such a voyage, has only recently been salvaged from obscurity by the fortuitous discovery of a letter by King Henry VII in which it is mentioned.[15] In the decades following these early voyages, as coastal discoveries yielded important new fisheries and engaged the labour of a small fleet of fishing vessels out of Bristol, English printers remained largely silent.

A comparison of the rapidity with which Columbus's and Vespucci's reports proliferated throughout Europe as distinct from the languid production of contemporary English records of travel evinces both the limited foci of English writers and the reluctance of early English printers to publish materials other than readily saleable religious and legal texts.[16] However, the disconnect between

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provided, along with John Cabot's 1496 letters patent from King Henry VII, by Richard Hakluyt at the beginning of his *Divers Voyages* (edited by D. B. Quinn [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967]). For a good history of Cabot's 1497 and 1498 voyages and copies of contemporary documents, see James A. Williamson, *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery under Henry VII* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1962). A version of Fabyan's account is given in *The Great Chronicle of London*, eds. A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1983), 287–288.

[15] See Evan T. Jones, "Henry VII and the Bristol Expeditions to North America: the Condon Documents," in *Historical Research* 83.221 (2009): 444–454. Jones provides a transcription of Henry VII's letter, which was first identified in the 1970s by a British archivist but never published. The king's use of the phrase "new founde land" indicates, says Jones, that Weston sailed after Cabot's 1498 voyage. Jones' argument that Weston led a previously unknown voyage in either 1499 or 1500 is a reminder of the inevitable uncertainties that attend the scholarship of early modern travel. Such uncertainties, I would say, stem largely from gaps in archival knowledge; that is, they result from insufficient contemporary documentation or from the inadequate preservation of such documents.

[16] *Duff* et al. *Hand-List of Books Printed by London Printers* shows the marked preference of English printers for texts on theological or legal matters. Although Pettegree's discussion of England's early print operations in *The Book in the Renaissance* is cursory and cannot be read as a thorough representation, he makes the valuable point that the growth of English printers was stymied by the small, albeit growing, market for vernacular texts and the availability of Latin texts from the continent. This combination of factors limited the range of texts that English printers could publish and remain commercially viable. As a result, the main printers at the time, Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, cultivated niche markets that largely excluded, as is evident from their respective outputs, cosmographical texts. As time went on, vernacular texts became the dominant niche of English printers—in the sixteenth century only about 10 percent of the books

continental and English writers and publishers of narratives concerning geography and travel was recognized by those at the forefront of English scholarship in the early 1500s and especially by those whom the humanist circle of Sir Thomas More included.[17] More's own work, *Utopia* (1516), tells the story of Raphael Hythloday, a fictional Portuguese traveler, who splits off from Vespucci's 1501-1502 voyage to South America and circumnavigates the globe, visiting the eponymous commonwealth and other places along the way.[18] While describing previously unknown parts of the world, Hythloday discusses the shortcomings of English polity in relation to the customs of the fictional Polylerites, Achorians, Utopians, and so on.[19] An implicit theme of More's book is that travel, and the cultivation and communication of knowledge about foreign countries that it engenders, begets an increasingly sophisticated, worldly context from which to judge local matters of state. That is, exploration and texts pertinent to overseas discovery were regarded as capable of edifying domestic discourse.

In order to reach a broad audience, More wrote *Utopia* in Latin, the primary language of European scholarship. It was not until 1551 that his explicit comments on English legal matters, and, by extension, his argument that direct and indirect contact with the world beyond Europe could be beneficial on a number of fronts, reached English audiences without Latin through the print

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published in England were in languages other than English (Pettegree, 124)—but, in the beginning, financial considerations motivated printers to make conservative choices.

[17] Through his friend Desiderius Erasmus, More was linked to a number of prominent continental scholars with cosmographical interests: Portuguese historian Damian à Goes, Swabian mathematician Simon Grynaeus, and Swiss poet Henricus Glareanus (Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 7–8).

[18] *Utopia*, eds. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[19] See More, esp. book 1.

publication of translations. Another member of More's circle, his son-in-law John Rastell, realized that translation was thus an integral part of unlocking the edifying potential of cosmographical texts. In his play, *A New Interlude of the Nature of the Four Elements* (1520), he argues that "if cunning Latin books were translate / Into English, well correct and approbate, / All subtle science in English might be learned."[20] The cunning books that Rastell has in mind are continental materials on travel and geography; these, he says, furnish the basic appreciation of the world needed to ground the further study of God's works.[21] Inspired by his own abortive voyage to America in 1517, which was cancelled in Ireland because of the sailors' penchant for piracy rather than exploration, Rastell's play responds to the climate of doubt fomented by the lag in England's literary embrace of the New World.[22]

A great number of books, he says, "Of toys and trifles be made and imprinted, / And few of them of matter substantial; / For though many make books, yet unneth ye / In our English toungue find any works / Of cunning."[23] This lack of vernacular "works of gravity" constitutes a grave oversight because the interests of the common good are served by that which "bringeth them to

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[20] Rastell, *Interlude*, in *Six Anonymous Plays: First Series (c. 1510-1537)*, ed. John S. Farmer (Guildford: Charles W. Traylen, 1966), 1–45, qtd. 4.
[21] See esp. the Messenger's prelude.
[22] See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 8, and Parks, *English Voyages*, 8–9. E. J. Devereux records an appeal made to Rastell by members of the crew who "exortyd the seid Rastell . . . to gyff up his viage & to fall to robbyng upon the see" (*A Bibliography of John Rastell* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999], 9). Rastell mentions his failed voyage in the *Interlude*. He writes that the expedition sought to discover what commodities the New World held, but that they "could not be brought thereto; / But they that were th' adventurers / Have cause to curse their mariners, / False of promise and dissemblers, / That falsely them betrayed, / Which would take no pains to sail farther / Than their own list and pleasure; / Wherefore that voyage and divers other / Such caitiffs have destroyed" (25).
[23] Rastell, 3.

knowledge that ignorant be."[24] Rastell thus counters the view that the study of natural philosophy was too advanced for those without Latin, and he argues that such study would strengthen the commonwealth by making citizens attentive to their duties to their fellow countrymen and to God—their place in the world, as it were.[25] In the body of the play, Rastell's protagonist, Humanity, is variously educated and coerced by the other characters: Natura naturata informs Humanity of his ability to discover, through reason, the subtle wonders of God's creation; Studious Desire and Experience nurture Humanity's existential enlightenment by describing advances in cosmographical knowledge made by recent scholars and travelers; moreover, in the play's climax Sensual Appetite and Ignorance discourage Humanity's rationality by attacking and incapacitating Studious Desire and Experience. The moral, revealed to Humanity by Natura naturata in the conclusion, is that "if thou wilt learn no science, / Nother by study nor experience, / I shall thee never advance; / But in the world thou shalt dure then, / Despised of every wise man, / Like this rude beast Ignorance."[26] This moral imperative, combined with his earlier call for the translation of learned texts, anchors Rastell's point: unless English writers and printers labour to disseminate vernacular cosmographies and travel narratives, frivolous literary works will proliferate to the detriment of England's intellectual integrity.

Rastell's challenge thus juxtaposes the insufficient degree to which cosmographical texts had been circulated in England and the potential benefits of

[24] Rastell, 4, 6.
[25] Rastell writes that by knowing the works of God, one may "learn to do his duty, and also / To deserve of His goodness partner to be" (6).
[26] Rastell, 45.

making that knowledge widely available through translation. While Rastell provides a very well developed, highly researched vernacular cosmography of his own through the speech of Natura naturata, Studious Desire, and Experience, few followed his example over the next couple of decades.[27] Over 30 years passed before an English editor, Richard Eden, answered Rastell's call to translate travel accounts into the vernacular. Eden's first book, *A Treatyse of the Newe India, with Other Newe Found Ilandes, as well Eastward as Westward*, provided English readers in 1553 with their first vernacular introduction to the voyages to Asia and the West Indies by mariners such as Columbus, Balboa, and Magellan.[28] In his dedicatory epistle, Eden clarifies that his prime motivation in composing the book, which is a selection of materials translated from German cosmographer Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544), is the insufficient degree to which such voyages had been committed to English.[29] While drawing on his familiarity with other collections of exploratory narratives, Eden's *Treatyse* is a rather tentative foray into the comparatively well-developed literary sphere of European cosmography. His next work, *The Decades of the New World*, is the product of a much more confident editor.[30] As a partial translation both of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's monumental reports (of the same title) on the Spanish conquest of

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[27] Rastell culled material from many of the best contemporary continental sources. For discussions of his sources, see M.E. Borish, "Source and Intention of *The Four Elements*," *SP* 35 (1938): 149–163, Elizabeth M. Nugent, "Sources of John Rastell's *The Nature of the Four Elements*," *PMLA* 57 (1942): 74–88, and Johnstone Parr, "More Sources of Rastell's *Interlude of the Four Elements*," *PMLA* 60.1 (1945): 48–58.

[28] Richard Eden, "A Treatyse of the Newe India, with Other Newe Found Ilandes, as Well Eastward as Westward (1553)," in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), 3–42.

[29] Münster, *Cosmographia* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544). Not seen by me.

[30] Richard Eden, "The Decades of the New World (1555)," in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), 43–390.

the Americas and of a compilation of a bevy of texts pertinent to Europe's interest in Russia, Africa, and Asia, Eden's *Decades* constitutes a great leap forward for English cosmography.

Not only did Eden's books help redress the unequal access of geographical knowledge by readers only of English, but his insistence that experience and reason go hand in hand in successful scientific endeavours places his work on the same level as that occupied by other contemporary English contributions to cosmography. In the decades preceding and following Eden's initial publications, vernacular cosmographical texts began to be written and published to a greater extent in England. Translations formed the mainstay of these new materials, which included technical navigational aids and classical and contemporary theoretical treatises. As well, atlases that reflected current European advances in cartography were produced alongside chorographic descriptions of the British Isles. In contrast to the dearth of earlier texts, from around 1540 onwards English writers and printers increasingly became participants in the discourse of European cosmographical science. However, in the vernacular or not, much of the material was highly technical and required an audience versed in esoteric features of the science.[31] In short, whereas mathematical and chorographical geographies evinced the sophisticated methods integral to the advancement of the science, a few editors like Eden realized that the political, economic, and social ramifications of exploring the unknown were more readily apparent in the

[31] Navigational treatises sometimes presupposed a familiarity with geometry, cartography, and the use of complex and newly invented instruments that was beyond the grasp of mariners. This is true, for example, in the case of John Dee's 1576 instructions to Martin Frobisher and Christopher Hall. See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 108–109, 262–263.

observations of mariners themselves.[32] As Eden writes in the preface of his *Treatyse*, "experience [is] most certayn which is joyned with reason or speculation, and . . . reason [is] most sure which is confirmed with experience."[33] In a nod to the edifying potential of geographical discourse foreseen by More and Rastell, then, for Eden narrative accounts testify to the everyday utility and impact of long-distance travel; they record the experiences that necessarily accompany and inform science's theoretical advances and therefore deserve publication.

Eden's contributions to English letters and the rise of vernacular cosmographical texts were timely given England's invigorated interest in the future of long-range trade and discovery. Driven by flagging trade in the Levant and at the risk of reprisal by Portugal, beginning in 1551 a series of English voyages to Guinea and the Barbary coast were launched.[34] As well, intrigued by the possibility of a Northeast Passage to Asia, expeditions to skirt the supposed northern coast of Cathay and gain entrance to the Pacific were planned.[35] In the view of John Dee, a prominent cartographer and planner, such northerly expeditions could rendezvous in the Pacific with other parties sent from the Atlantic around Cape Horn. While a planned 1551 voyage to the northeast failed to come to fruition, in 1553 Sebastian Cabot successfully launched, but did not accompany, an expedition that discovered a previously unknown route to Russia. Though it was not Cathay, Russia provided all of the commercial incentives that

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[32] Lesley B. Cormack nicely summarizes the developing branches of geographical science during this period in her essay "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England," in *ISIS* 82.4 (1991): 639–661.
[33] Eden, *Treatyse*, 9.
[34] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 11, and Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583,* esp. 92–94.
[35] See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583,* 79–98.

English merchants needed to establish long-distance trade connections. The immediate realization of profit by the Muscovy Company (est. 1555), which held a monopoly on voyages to the northeast, effectively ended plans to reach Cathay by that route. By the mid-1560s, however, mariners were beginning to turn their thoughts to the possibility of a Northwest Passage and the future of English activities in the Americas.

After publishing his *Treatyse* and *Decades*, Eden translated Martin Cortes' *The Arte of Navigation* and Joannes Taisnier's *Booke Concerning Navigation*.[36] Cortes' book was the official navigational treatise of Spain's Casa de la Contratación and became standard in England as well, while Taisnier's explains matters related to shipbuilding, tides, and the use of compasses.[37] While the period from 1550 to 1580 witnessed an unprecedented print publication in English of scientific documents that advanced cartographical and navigational science (e.g. Eden's translations of Cortes and Taisnier), there was a marked lag in the published records of England's broadening geographic horizons.[38] Contemporary

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[36] Martin Cortes, *The Arte of Navigation*, trans. by Richard Eden (London: Richard Jugge, 1561); Joannes Taisnier, *A Very Necessarie and Profitable Booke Concerning Nauigation . . . Named a Treatise of Continuall Motions*, trans. by Richard Eden (London: Richard Jugge, 1575).
[37] Parks, *English Voyages*, 19.
[38] It should be recalled that the Newfoundland coast had harboured English fishermen since the early 1500s, but that this humble industry spawned a very little literary output in the form of print publications. By contrast, the rather more exoterically appealing pursuits of English mariners in northern Africa or the uncharted waters of the Baltic Sea would seem to have been a well-spring of literary interest. However, the lack of published materials in this regard did not necessarily correspond to a general lack of writing about English travels; from at least the time of the Company of Merchant Adventurers' 1553 expedition to Russia, navigators were required to keep logs and itineraries of their travels, and both the Muscovy and Guinea trades were documented in inventory and transaction records. It is reasonable to assume that a great deal of such material, including diplomatic and political documents, was regarded as sensitive, and thus unfit for wide dissemination. Translated continental texts, meanwhile, which were more readily made available, were fair game. For more on the importance of commercial and navigational records to Richard

English endeavours to Africa, Russia, and the Americas did not receive the same systematic representation that Eden afforded narratives of turn-of-the-century Portuguese and Spanish voyages. This literary oversight eventually formed the basis of the lifework of academic and clergyman Richard Hakluyt.

Born in 1552, Richard Hakluyt completed two degrees at Oxford and became a minister at around the same time that the Northwest Passage and colonial opportunities in North America engaged his countrymen. He applied himself to the dissemination of geographical knowledge in the service of his associates, and between 1580 and 1625 he was responsible either directly or indirectly for the authorship, translation, and/or publication of at least 26 books on recent voyages and discoveries.[39] These books are intrinsically important for making groundbreaking discoveries accessible to English readers, and each one bears historical significance as a text that broadened the context of colonialist, commercial, religious, and political discourse. Further, they testify to Hakluyt's polymathic interest in all areas of geographic exploration and study, the strong connections that he enjoyed with his literary peers, and his commitment and focus as a methodical, impassioned scholar. Hakluyt is especially well-known for the collections of geographical and travel accounts that he edited and compiled himself. These include *Divers Voyages*, *A Discourse on Western Planting*, and *Principal Navigations*. These collections constitute a body of work that informed

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Hakluyt's documentary project, see Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. 2–11.

[39] See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 83–116.

the early stages of England's colonization of North America and facilitated the growth of literature about English voyages.[40]

Divers Voyages and *Principal Navigations* include sundry texts such as letters, maps, passports, official documents, navigational guides, and so on. Narrative records of long-distance voyages, however, constitute the bulk of these books. While many of the miscellaneous items were published for the first time by Hakluyt, they occupy a secondary, supplemental role in relation to the travel accounts, which more readily fill the void left by earlier publications and offer immediate testimonials of European voyages and discoveries. *A Discourse on Western Planting*, meanwhile, is not, strictly speaking, a compilation of travel documents. Rather, it is a summary, by Hakluyt, of the envisioned benefits of establishing English colonies in North America. However, Hakluyt peppers his arguments with references to reports on contemporary voyages to such an extent that the book can indeed be read as a collection of sorts. Hakluyt's judicious use of the writings of mariners and historians to support his colonialist rhetoric gives travel records a central place in his book. In the *Discourse*, then, as in the *Divers*

[40] *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Great Necessitie and Manifolde Commodyties That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted (1584)*, introduction by Leonard Woods (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1877); *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoueries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time with the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres (1589)*, facsimile edition with preface by D. B. Quinn and R. A. Skelton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-land, to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth, at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres: Devided into Three Severall Volumes, According to the Positions of the Regions, whereunto They Were Directed*, 3 vols. (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Robert Barker, 1598-1600). Please note that an extra 'L' at the end of 'Principal' distinguishes the first edition of *The Principal Navigations* from the second.

Voyages and *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt positions travel records at the forefront of his literary project.

In the preface to the first edition of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt describes his motivation for publishing travel reports:

> I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that *Peregrinationis historia*, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which somme that I could name have published as their owne, being in deed most untruly and unprofitablie ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.[41]

For Ptolemy, the classical geographer most widely recognized in the sixteenth century, and Hakluyt, *peregrinationis historia*, the history of travel, is a testament to humanity's conception of the world.[42] As in More's *Utopia*, then, so in Hakluyt's preface the cultivation of knowledge about foreign lands begets an increasingly sophisticated, worldly outlook. However, writing in the vernacular and, so, unlike More, Hakluyt did not seek a broad European audience for his work; the edifying power of travel literature had been realized by European scholars for decades.[43] As demonstrated by the gaps in English literature, the need in Hakluyt's time was that adduced sixty years earlier by Rastell. Translated,

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[41] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.

[42] Hakluyt thus puts an interesting spin on the oft-referenced idea of his Flemish peer, the royal geographer of Spain, Abraham Ortelius, who maintained that geography was the eye of history [*historiæ oculus Geographia*] (*Parergon Theatri*, 1579, title page).

[43] Hakluyt's correspondence with prominent continental cosmographers will be discussed in more detail later. Continental writers were interested in the English voyages to the extent that they unveiled new geographical data. See Mercator's letter to Hakluyt, in E.G.R. Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935), vol. 1, doc. 26, in which Mercator is principally interested in the Northeast Passage. See also doc. 71 to Ortelius' cousin. No letters from Ortelius to Hakluyt have been preserved (ibid., 446 n.1).

vernacular cosmographical knowledge was required to bring the English to the "certayne and full discoverie of the world."

Labouring for an English readership, Hakluyt sought to amend both the inadequacy of the national literature and the problems with earlier cosmographies. Faulting earlier, unnamed publishers of texts on geography and travel for their questionable editorial practices, Hakluyt implicitly sets up his own work, and his own practices, as corrective. Generally speaking, while Hakluyt's most immediate English predecessor was Eden, and while Hakluyt's work should be read in relation to Eden's as part of the same literary tradition, which might justly be described as national, he owed a great deal of his editorial methodology to a Venetian humanist, Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Building from his interest in classical geography, Ramusio compiled *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (3 vols., 1550-59) from available voyage accounts and geographical treatises in much a way that Hakluyt's approach would resemble 30 years later.[44]

Ramusio states his editorial aim in the dedicatory epistle of the first volume of the *Navigationi*:

> Seeing and considering that the map's of Ptolemy's *Geographia* describing India and Africa were very imperfect in respect of the great knowledge that we have of those regions, I thought it proper and perhaps not a little useful to bring together the narrations of writers of our day who have been in the aforesaid parts of the world and spoken of them in detail, so that, supplementing them from the description in the Portuguese nautical charts, other maps could be made so as to give the greatest satisfaction to those who take pleasure in such knowledge.[45]

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[44] Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, 3 vols., intro. R. A. Skelton (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1970).
[45] Cited and translated by Skelton, *Navigationi*, vi.

Ramusio thus saw the publication of accounts written by travelers as a necessary supplement to the business of revising outdated geographical maps and treatises. This differs significantly from the views, explicit or implicit in their works, of earlier scholars. While Spanish and Portuguese explorers were required to keep logs and itineraries of their voyages, and while these texts form the basis of the histories kept by writers like Pietro Martire and Francisco López de Gómara, Ramusio was the first to compile and publish comprehensive collections of such documents, which doubtless rendered more accessible otherwise obscure information such as navigational details like distances and coordinates.

Ramusio distinguishes the three volumes of the *Navigationi* on the basis of their geographical foci: volume 1 relates to Africa and routes to the east, volume 2 to Asia, and volume 3 to the Americas. While singular travel narratives appeared from time to time in isolation, especially when the voyage in question was particularly momentous, such as those of Columbus or Vespucci, Ramusio's approach had the benefit of forming a kind of atlas of recent discoveries. The generalizations of historians like Martire and Gómara, who excised masses of primary material at will, were as inadequate to Ramusio as "untruly and unprofitablie ramassed and hurled together" cosmographies were to Hakluyt. For Ramusio, first-hand accounts, logs, and itineraries of travel were the foundational texts of sophisticated inquiries into geographical science, and he restored them to their rightful centrality in his *Navigationi*.

As E.G.R. Taylor notes, "Ramusio's volumes . . . formed the foundation of Hakluyt's cosmographical studies."[46] Parks concurs and argues that "there is some sign that Hakluyt had himself once thought of continuing Ramusio's work."[47] While Hakluyt recognized the value of translating the entire *Navigationi* into English but ultimately neglected to do so, he followed Ramusio's general approach in his own books by printing collections of previously unpublished primary texts.[48] Hakluyt's collections are similarly grouped into geographical regions; the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*, for example, is divided into sections on voyages to the south and southeast, those to the north and northeast, and those to the west, southwest, and northwest. As well, especially in his early work, Hakluyt uses the *Navigationi* as a source text and regularly republishes translations of Ramusio's accounts. Although Hakluyt displays an affinity for the editorial choices of Ramusio, the materials that Hakluyt and Ramusio chose to include in their compendia differ somewhat because of their nationalist foci; Hakluyt concentrates on the past and future of English voyages, while Ramusio documents the interests of his Italian associates and contemporaries. While Hakluyt echoes Ramusio in certain regards, and while the *Navigationi* can therefore be thought of as an influence on and precursor to Hakluyt's books, there are important differences that set their works apart. As Hakluyt drew on Ramusio's books for guidance in his own, he developed his own preferences as he

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[46] *Original Writings*, vol. 1, 171 n.1. Taylor's argument is based on the lists of geographical authorities and writer/mariners that Hakluyt provides at the beginning of the *Divers Voyages*. As Taylor notes, many of the writers and travelers in the lists were only known to Hakluyt through Ramusio's volumes.

[47] Parks, *English Voyages*, 124–125.

[48] See Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Divers Voyages*, and Parks, *English Voyages*, 125.

became increasingly familiar with the needs of his Elizabethan readers; to follow the logic of Parks' argument, it is fair to say that Hakluyt continued Ramusio's work, but that he attuned his collections for the edification of an English audience. Hakluyt was thus indebted to the example set by Eden's books, and, in a sense, he continued Eden's work, too (qua More and Rastell), by making cosmographical texts, especially those that herald the centrality of travelers' experiences in geographical discourse, available in the vernacular.

Prolific by any standard, Hakluyt did much to redress the paucity of English accounts of Europe's expanding worldview in the sixteenth century. In the interest of appreciating the originary context of Hakluyt's books, his present-day readers not only should be aware of the importance of his work in relation to English and European cosmography but also should recognize the extent of his debt to his literary predecessors, principally Eden and Ramusio.[49] To this end, this thesis includes sections on Eden, Ramusio, and Hakluyt in which I explicate their individual intentions as editors and compilers of geographical texts. As their editorial decisions often reveal commercial, scholarly, and political motivations, I will align the literary choices of Eden, Ramusio, and Hakluyt with the contemporary significance of their collections. By concluding with a reflection on the similarities and differences between their respective books, I draw particular

[49] Reading his work anachronistically as a prologue to British imperialism, critics have produced a number of hagiographic biographies and literary analyses that largely neglect Hakluyt's indebtedness to his influences. For instance, in an oft-quoted review Victorian critic James Anthony Froude refers to the *Principal Navigations* as "the Prose Epic of the modern English nation" for documenting the exploits of budding colonialists ("England's Forgotten Worthies," *Westminster Review* [July 1852]). This assignation of literary value belies the complexities of context and influence.

attention to the manifold pressures that shaped the development of a subgenre in cosmographical writing dedicated to narratives of foreign travel.

From Seed to Oak: Eden's *Treatyse* and *Decades*

Richard Eden was born around 1520, the time of Rastell's call for vernacular texts on travel and geography, and, coincidently, Eden was the first to significantly answer this appeal. He was a student at Cambridge during the 1530s and 1540s, after which he worked in the civil service as an exchequer clerk.[50] He had an aptitude for chemistry, and in December 1547 he was offered the position of distiller of waters in the royal household. The king's death in January prevented Eden from taking up this post, but his interest in chemistry and alchemy in particular endured. In about 1549, an out-of-work Eden found employment with Richard Whalley, a Nottinghamshire gentleman, who asked Eden to research the production of gold from base metals. Although alchemy was illegal, Eden laboured at this enterprise until 1551, when Whalley was repeatedly jailed for his involvement in unsavoury political intrigues in the wake of Henry VIII's death. Specifically, Whalley was guilty of attempting to persuade others to restore the recently deposed Lord Protector, Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset, in favour of John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland.[51] Whalley's political and legal troubles were compounded by his frustration with Eden's lack of success manufacturing gold. Tensions between the two culminated when Eden confessed

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[50] The best biographical account of Eden is Edward Arber, "The Life and Labours of Richard Eden," in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), xxxvii–xlviii. Arber's account is expanded by David Gwyn, "Richard Eden Cosmographer and Alchemist," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.1 (1984): 13–34, and John Parker, *Richard Eden, Advocate of Empire* (Minneapolis: Associates of the James Ford Bell Library, 1991). Few substantive records of Eden's life exist, and the versions by Arber, Gwyn, and Parker include speculations and tangents that I have tried to avoid giving credence to here.

[51] See Gwyn, 19.

his illicit employment to local officials; Whalley was imprisoned, and Eden escaped with a £200 bond charging him to refrain from alchemy.

Eden's failure to achieve a respectable career as a chemist did not hinder his eventual rise as a literary agent. During the years that preceded his falling out with Whalley, Eden translated a large part of *Pyrotechnia*, Italian metallurgist Vanuccio Biringuccio's extensive treatise on metalworking. The exact date of Eden's translation is unknown, but he appears to have prepared the *Pyrotechnia* less for Whalley than for himself. Indeed, his association with Whalley, a sympathizer of Somerset, runs contrary to advice that Eden had received years earlier. While unemployed in 1549, before he and Whalley met, Eden sought to find a job at the Southwark mint, and to that end he cultivated an acquaintance with Sir John York, the assay master at the mint. York advised Eden to dedicate his as yet unfinished translation of the *Pyrotechnia* to Dudley, the new protector. Eden failed to act on this advice, and his *Pyrotechnia* became part of his disputes with Whalley, who stole Eden's manuscript.[52] Writing years later, Eden remembers that he "was once mynded to have translated into Englyshe the hole woorke of *Pyrotechnia* wherof I fynysshed xxii chapitures . . . and lefte the copie therof in the hands of one whome I coulde never get it ageyne (omyttynge to speake of other ingratitudes) I was therby discouraged to proceade any further in

[52] See Gwyn, 18. York's advice corresponds to a book of translations that Eden had made of various alchemical writers (see Eden's letter to Whalley, reprinted in C. J. Kitching, "Alchemy in the Reign of Edward VI: an Episode in the Career of Richard Whalley and Richard Eden," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), 308–315). This indicates that Eden's work as a translator was ongoing, and that his partial treatment of Biringuccio's *Pyrotechnia* was likely a polished piece intended for eventual publication. It is tempting to speculate that such a translation, upon fruition, may have been dedicated to Dudley, and that Whalley's theft of the book was a matter of political vindictiveness.

that woorke."[53] Eden's brush with the law, and his disappointment at the suppression of his translation, was a lesson in the gravity of patronage; in hindsight, he should have avoided Whalley and dedicated his work to Dudley. In the tense political climate of Edward VI's reign, guilt by association was a real possibility. For a writer, the dedication of a work carried the weight of one's political affiliations and intentions. Even a relatively innocuous book on metallurgy, treated lightly, could lead one to peril.

Eden's rather cursory punishment for practicing alchemy may have stemmed from his betrayal of Whalley. By acting as an informant in their favour, Eden brought himself to the attention of the political elite. There is no evidence that he sought to ingratiate himself by damning Whalley, who remained in prison until Mary succeeded to the throne, but he could not have chosen a more expedient route to employment. In 1552, he found work as Sir William Cecil's private secretary.[54] Cecil had acted as a statesman in the service of Northumberland but had more recently become secretary of state and chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Eden was chosen perhaps for his scholarly past, his abilities as a translator, or his scientific prowess, and his first task as Cecil's secretary seems to have been the preparation of a book to supplement England's emerging interest in finding a Northeast Passage to Cathay.

The general trajectory of Eden's career up to this point, from exchequer clerk to aspiring mint-worker to alchemist, suggests an enduring fascination with money. It is fitting, then, that his newfound employment was intrinsically tied to

[53] Arber, 355.
[54] Arber, xxxviii.

the economic projects of his superiors. Northumberland's attentions were engaged by the flagging state of England's trade. While cloth exports boomed in the first half of the century, the war against France (1522-1525) precipitated the debasement of the pound over the next thirty years. The weakness of the pound made English exports cheap on the continent but also increased the cost of imports. As economic historian F. J. Fisher writes, "in so far as the later stages of the export boom had been based upon currency devaluation they had been inherently unstable. As internal prices rose the advantages of economic depreciation were bound to dwindle and already in 1550 there were complaints of overproduction."[55] Further devaluations of the pound by the government led to a situation where the price of wool fell faster than English internal prices, and a "catastrophic slump" in wool exports and a sharp rise of bankruptcies in London resulted.[56] In his search for solutions to England's economic woes, Northumberland first toyed with an ill-advised plan to collaborate with the French to raid Spain's silver mines in Peru. Subsequently, he recalled a comparatively sound, though no less adventurous, plan suggested decades earlier: to replace Antwerp with London as the capital of European commerce by establishing trade connections with Cathay and India, with routes spanning the Arctic and rounding the southern coast of Africa, respectively.[57]

Three voyages to Guinea and the Barbary Coast occurred between 1551 and 1553, but they did little to spark the nation's commercial optimism. At

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[55] In "Commercial Trends and Policy in Sixteenth-Century England," *The Economic History Review* 10.2 (1940): 95–117, qtd. 103.
[56] Fisher, 97.
[57] See Gwyn, 20–26, and Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 89–98.

Northumberland's encouragement, a number of London merchants pooled funds to outfit an expedition to the northeast, and a group of experts in surveying, mathematics, and navigation collaborated to train mariners and examine possible routes. On 21 May 1553, three ships led by Sir Hugh Willoughby and chief pilot Richard Chancellor left the royal docks on the Thames and sailed north along the coast of Norway. In the interest of publicizing the venture and out of service to Northumberland, Eden published *A Treatyse of the Newe India, with Other Newe Found Ilandes, as Well Eastward as Westward* the following month. The exact nature of Cecil's involvement with Eden's book is unknown. However, as David Gwyn notes, "one of Eden's colleagues in Cecil's service, Ralph Robinson, translated More's *Utopia* in 1551, . . . [and] it is hard to resist the possibility that the translation might have been intended at least in part as a means of arousing public interest in the idea of trading with distant peoples."[58] Robinson was a clerk for Cecil and Eden a secretary, so it is plausible that Cecil's role was to oversee the publicity of England's commercial aspirations abroad.

The very likelihood of a connection between Eden's *Treatyse* and Robinson's translated *Utopia* illustrates the dearth of published vernacular materials on geography and travel. More's reference to Vespucci is slight in the extreme, and the book rather expresses an idealistic interest in travel than explores the practical realities involved. However, although Hythloday's trip to Utopia is not real, his narrative is the premise for More's critique of the norms of English

[58] Gwyn, 24.

polity; even fictional travels, that is, may serve real needs.[59] Eden's *Treatyse*, by contrast, represents the transition of travel narratives from fiction to fact in England, Robinson's efforts notwithstanding. England's reinvigorated interest in world exploration called for the publication of actual, not speculative or fantastical, voyage narratives in a manner that had not been previously attempted.

To be fair, Eden was not the first to publish, in English, a compilation of voyage narratives describing Europe's recent overseas discoveries. That distinction goes to a Dutch printer, Jan van Doesborch, who, around 1511, issued *Of the Newe Landes*. This slim volume contains three tracts that include accounts of as many as five voyages to the Levant, Africa, and India.[60] As well, the first tract mentions the arrival of Vespucci (who is unnamed) in a "lande not nowe knowen for there have no masters therof wryten nor it knowete and it is named Armenica [*sic*]."[61] *Of the Newe Landes* has its roots in the first substantial European collection of travel narratives and came to England in a rather roundabout way.[62] In 1507, humanist editor Fracanzano da Montalboddo published a book entitled *Mondo Novo e Paesi Novamente Ritrovati* that features a narrative of Vespucci's 1501-1502 voyage to South America gleaned from

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[59] In his book, More coins a number of words that emphasize the fictive nature of Hythloday's travels. The name 'Hythloday' stems from the Greek *hythlos* (idle talk, nonsense) and either *daiein* (to distribute) or *daios* (knowing, cunning) and thus means nonsense peddlar or expert in nonsense (More, 5n.9). Similarly, 'Utopia' is formed from the Greek adverb *ou* (not) and the noun *topos* (place): hence, Utopia is a 'notplace' or 'noplace' (More, xi).

[60] See P. J. A. Franssen, "Jan van Doesborch (?-1536), Printer of English Texts," in *Quærendo* XVI.4 (1986): 259–280.

[61] Jan van Doesborch, "Of the Newe Landes," in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., 1895), xxiii–xxxvi.

[62] See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 6–7.

Vespucci's 1504 report, *Mundus Novus*.[63] As well, also in 1507, Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller published a Latin translation of Vespucci's four voyages entitled "Quattuor Americi Vesputii Navigationes" as a supplementary section in their *Cosmographiae Introductio*. Material from *Mondo Novo* and the "Navigationes" formed the basis of two Dutch tracts that Van Doesborch printed separately in 1508 and then collected, with another one that lists extant Christian nations, and translated for *Of the Newe Landes*. The book that reached English readers was thus a jumbled smattering of information that had been variously broken down and reconstituted. The travels of Prester John and Balthasar Sprenger, among others, were combined with Vespucci's in a dizzying blend of ethnographic oddities, rough navigational data, and fantastical locales. In spite of its convoluted lineage and crude composition, it was the first English book to mention America, misspelled or not. Aside from brief mentions here and there, as in More's *Utopia* or Rastell's *Interlude*, the discovery of a fourth continent to accompany Asia, Europe, and Africa was not documented in English with any degree of expeditiousness.[64] Indeed, *Of the Newe Landes* contained the fullest English report on Vespucci's exploits available until Eden's *Treatyse* was released some 40 years later.

Eden, belatedly following the advice given to him four years earlier, dedicated his book to Northumberland. In the dedicatory epistle, he notes his

[63] Fracanzano da Montalboddo, ed., *Mondo Novo e Paesi Novamente Ritrovati* (Venice: J. Jacobo & Fratelli da Lignano, 1507).
[64] See More, 10–11, 120, and Rastell, 25–29.

displeasure at the limited extent to which the exploratory voyages of the previous 60 years had been recorded. On *Of the Newe Landes*, he writes:

> there chaunced of late to come to my hands, a shiete of printed paper, (more worthy so to bee called then a boke) entytuled of the newe founde lands. . . . [T]here seemed too me no lesse inequalitye between the title and the booke, then if a man woulde professe to wryte of Englande, and entreated onelye of Trumpington a village within a myle of Cambrydge.[65]

His *Treatyse*, motivated partly by his "good affeccion . . . to the science of Cosmographie" and his desire to redress the inequity of English presses, may thus be seen as a corrective supplement to van Doesborch's "shiete."[66] Eden also attributes his book to "ye good will, whych of duetie I beare to my natyve countrey and countreymen, which have of late to their great praise (whatsoever succede) attempted with new viages to serche ye seas and newe found landes."[67] Citing Northumberland's support of such voyages, Eden maintains that, had such political patronage been complemented and fostered by the literary efforts of English writers, the wealth of Peru "might longe since have bene in the towre of London" instead of Spain.[68] Clearly hearkening to Northumberland's abortive plot to raid Peru, Eden thus fashions his book as both a literary and scientific advance and a companion piece to England's political and economic expansion abroad.

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[65] Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.
[66] Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.
[67] Eden, *Treatyse*, 5.
[68] Eden, *Treatyse*, 6.

Eden's *Treatyse* is a translation of the fifth book, of six, of German cartographer Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544).[69] In the first book, Münster explains aspects of contemporary geographic theory, and he instructs readers in the mathematical surveying techniques integral to the practice of cartography. The following five books break the known world into regional sections and, in addition to geographical details, describe a bevy of general interest subjects such as

> strange animals, trees, metals and so on, things both useful and useless, to be found on land and in the sea; [also] the habits, customs, laws, governments of men . . . the origins of countries, regions, cities, and towns, how nature has endowed them and what human inventiveness has produced in them, [also] what notable things have happened everywhere.[70]

That said, almost half of *Cosmographia* relates to Germany, while, by the approximation of scholar Matthew McLean, the passages on Asia, America, and Africa account for only 16 percent of the book.[71] The slim fifth book, Eden's choice for translation, hastily covers Southeast Asia, India, Cathay, and the parts of the Americas discovered by Spanish and Portuguese explorers at the turn of the century.

Although the depth of its geographical coverage is limited and sections describing rhinoceroses and elephants occupy as much space as those on the islands of Southeast Asia, the *Treatyse* fulfills Eden's literary and scientific goals

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[69] There is a short section at the end of the *Treatyse* that is not from the *Cosmographia* (Gwyn, 24).
[70] Cited from the preface of the *Cosmographia* by Matthew McLean, in *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation* (Abingdon: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2007), 191.
[71] McLean, 193.

by greatly improving on the knowledge of the New World provided by *Of the Newe Landes*. Eden's translation is particularly renowned for being the first sustained, English treatment of the voyages of Columbus and Vespucci, among others. However, at first glance the *Treatyse* seems to fall short of Eden's lofty patriotic aims. For while he maintains that mariners "may in this smal boke as in a little glasse, see some cleare light, not only how to learne by the example, dammage, good successe, and adventures of other, how to behave them selves and direct theyr viage to their most commoditie," it is not entirely clear how Eden saw his book as a contribution to contemporary voyages to Africa and the northeast.[72] His exclusive translation of the fifth book is particularly odd. Münster's fourth book, which covers Scandinavia and Russia, or sixth book, which covers Africa, seem like they would have been more practical and relevant at the time. Even a translation of Münster's first book on the theory of geography and cartography might have been more intrinsically useful to English explorers.

In general, the fifth book relates more to the proposed destinations of mariners like Willoughby and Chancellor than to the countries that they would pass in the course of their journeys. As such, its applicability to contemporary voyages is quite limited. However, Eden's intention was never to simply replicate Münster's sweeping, encyclopaedic representation of the world to help mariners move from points A to B to C. Rather, Eden characterizes the pedagogical benefit of his book in another way. After noting his hopes that the *Treatyse* would serve the needs of his countrymen abroad, Eden writes that

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[72] Eden, *Treatyse*, 5–6.

> if dew successe herein shoulde not chaunce according unto theyr hope and expectation (as oftentimes chanceth in great affaires), yet not for one foyle or fal, so to be dismayd as with shame and dishonor to leave wyth losse, but rather to the death to persist in a godly, honeste, and lawful purpose, knowing that whereas one death is dewe to nature, the same is more honourably spent in such attemptes as may be to the glorye of God and commoditie of our countrey, then in soft beddes at home.[73]

In light of the cancelation of Northumberland's plans to attack Peru, and in the weeks immediately following the departure of Willoughby and Chancellor north, Eden's message is simply one of resolve and perseverance. In this respect, the fifth book's focus on America, Cathay, and the East Indies—storied destinations replete with fantastic wealth—makes the book a source of inspiration for those interested in improving England's weakened economic state by finding and developing new trade connections. With a concerted effort led by political leaders and mariners, galvanized by writers, and persisting in the face of setbacks, foreign wealth could be brought to England for the "glorye of God" and "commoditie" of England. Eden's *Treatyse* might have served the practical needs of sailors better had it included other sections of Münster's book, but it is fairly well suited as propaganda.

As Eden's *Treatyse* is a simple translation of Münster's work, Münster's literary accomplishments must not be mistaken for Eden's. Münster's editorial style in the *Cosmographia* is that of periegesis, a commonly used classical literary method in which a narrative takes the form of a progressive journey. As McLean writes, in Münster's application of periegesis

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[73] Eden, *Treatyse*, 6.

> the world is divided into continents which are discussed in sequence; the discussion of each continent is subdivided and discussed by an orderly progression through its contingent territories; these territories are again broken down, and a tour of their constituent parts is made; and so on. This form of cosmography is, in one sense, a completed series of chorographies, uniform in format, if unequal in the depth of detail in which their respective lands are studied.[74]

While Münster's systematic, methodical approach is compatible with Eden's desire to contribute to cosmographical science in England, periegesis also suits Eden's patriotic intentions.

In his preface to the reader, Eden quotes Aristotle's axiom that "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit prius in sensu."[75] Eden follows this with a metaphor that he also uses to characterize his later work; he writes that "reason using sense, taketh his principles and fyrst sedes of thinges sensyble, and afterward by his owne discourse and searching of causes, encreaseth the same from a seede to a tree, as from an acorne to an oke."[76] In other words, reason is derived from experience, and experience is enriched by reason.[77] This relationship directly pertains to the mimetic quality of Münster's periegesis. The *Cosmographia* mimics a journey by describing regions of the world sequentially; such a device allows readers the sensation of travel by proxy. Although the diegetic sections of the *Cosmographia*, Münster's narratives of the voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, et al., are less occupied with mimetic representations of places than with the actions of European explorers abroad, diegesis is compatible with periegesis, and

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[74] McLean, 192.
[75] Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses. Eden, *Treatyse*, 9.
[76] Eden, *Treatyse*, 9.
[77] As Eden says, "neyther practyce is safe without speculacion, nor speculacion without practyse" (*Treatyse*, 9).

readers are nonetheless connected to lived experience. Münster's stylistic choices thus suit Eden's propagandistic goal of inculcating his readers with a nationalist ethos of commercial expansion. That is, the *Treatyse* contains the "sedes" of sensation and experience from which, in the peripatetic sense, the reason of the intellect develops. By providing his readers with the experience of traveling through the East and West Indies, Eden prepares them for the speculative discourse integral to the success of further exploratory voyages (i.e. the transition from seed to oak).[78]

The *Treatyse* is therefore a text grounded by Eden's commitment to a close relationship between speculation and experience. Almost fittingly then, Eden's foray into the literary world found him caught between his own well-reasoned intentions and his experience of being in the limelight. As in the misadventures that attended his translation of the *Pyrotechnia*, issues around patronage jeopardized Eden's future, literary and otherwise. The publication of the *Treatyse* in June 1553 barely preceded the turmoil that accompanied the death of King Edward VI and the accession of Queen Mary I. Edward's desire that Mary, a Roman Catholic, not be allowed to take the throne led him to write his "Devise for the Succession" between early 1553 and late June, which countered Henry VIII's Third Succession Act by making Lady Jane Grey next in line for the crown instead of his sister.[79] Northumberland likely helped Edward write the

[78] Eden notes that "Wherefore . . . men of great knowledge and experience, are to great affaires, theyr attemptes have for the moste parte good successe, as doeth maste playnly appeare in all histories" (*Treatyse*, 9).
[79] "Devise for the Succession," (Inner Temple, Petyt MS 538, volume 47 folio 317). See Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

"Devise," and, after Edward's death on July 6, he oversaw Jane Grey's placement on the throne. Mary responded by assembling a military force and riding to London. Northumberland's support crumbled under Mary's popularity, and Jane Grey was deposed after a nine-day reign. Northumberland was executed for high treason, and on October 1, Mary became queen.

In hindsight, then, Eden's dedication of the *Treatyse* to Northumberland seems remarkably ill-timed. He certainly found himself in an awkward position. For one thing, his father and his uncle, both Protestant cloth merchants, were loyal to Northumberland; they had invested in his proposal to find a Northeast Passage, they assisted in the accession of Jane Grey, and they may have been among the troops that Northumberland assembled in his last-ditch attempt to stave off Mary. When Mary's intention to wed Philip, Prince of Spain, became known shortly after her coronation, Eden's father and uncle began to contribute to the support of political and religious exiles, and his uncle emigrated.[80] While these exiles began a fierce propaganda campaign to denounce the Spanish presence in England, Eden chose to commemorate the union by publishing another book, *The Decades of the New World* (1555).[81]

Although little is known about his life between the rise of Mary and the publication of the *Decades*, Eden seems to have avoided the dangers posed by his familial and literary connections to Northumberland. Indeed, he made out quite well under the new rulers. He continued his employment with Cecil until a few

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2002), esp. 172–174, and Eric Ives, *Lady Jane Grey: A Tudor Mystery* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 137–168.

[80] Gwyn, 26–27.

[81] See Gwyn, 28.

months after Mary and Philip's wedding in July 1554, at which point, "by the favour of certain Spanish nobles," he obtained a position in Spain's English Treasury.[82] This new appointment coincided with the London arrival of an immense quantity of Peruvian silver for the mint and once again brought Eden into close proximity with England's financial heartbeat.[83] Eden may have been granted his appointment with the Treasury to provide him an income while he prepared his book, which, as he writes in his dedicatory epistle, he began shortly after being inspired by Mary and Philip's triumphant marriage procession through London on August 18.[84]

Eden finished the *Decades* over the course of the next year. As evinced by his dedicatory epistle and preface to the reader, and in keeping with his motivations for preparing the *Treatyse*, Eden's aims with the *Decades* were literary, scientific, and patriotic. As with the *Treatyse*, the *Decades* greatly enhanced the scope of contemporary English cosmographical literature by bringing a wealth of information, especially on the early history of Spain's empire in the West Indies, to English readers for the first time. The political orientation of the *Decades* differs greatly from that of the *Treatyse*, though. To begin, the dedicatory epistle has none of the bravado that led Eden to voice his support for Northumberland's plan to sack Peru in the *Treatyse*. As Peruvian silver reached England by the bond of Mary and Philip, the persecution of dissidents turned such headstrong statements into treasonous last words.

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[82] Arber, xxxix.
[83] See Arber, xxxix.
[84] See Gwyn, 30, and Eden, *Decades*, 46.

While he had hitherto successfully navigated the shifts of the Marian regime, as is evinced by his position with the Treasury, Eden's *Decades* needed tactfully to whitewash over his previous allegiances and unequivocally affirm his new loyalties. In his dedicatory epistle to Mary and Philip, written in Latin because Philip could not read English, Eden waxes poetic about the splendour of their union and the opportunities it presented; in particular, Eden lauds the providential nature of Philip's inheritance of the Americas.[85] The *Decades*, he writes, honours the Spanish discoveries by helping to commit them to posterity.[86] Again using the metaphor of a seed growing into a tree, Eden remarks that he who plants an orchard, or Philip and his forefathers, collects the fruit, the wealth of empire, of which the *Decades* forms a part.[87] Unlike his *Treatyse*, which provided his readers with the seeds of experience needed to initiate English commercial and exploratory ventures, then, the *Decades* is oriented from the outset to a national history already thoroughly invested in colonial enterprises. Aside from a short passage that implies that the *Decades* will allow English readers to survey the prosperity of the empire to which their monarch was allied, the value of the *Decades* for its audience, which is essentially a question of England's role in its partnership with Spain, is not divulged in the dedicatory epistle.[88]

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[85] See Eden, *Decades*, 46–48.
[86] Eden, *Decades*, 49–51.
[87] He writes: "Quem admodum enim qui pomarium aut vineam plantavit ac maturos inde fructus collegit, illi merito primitias solvit a quo prima semina primasque arborum insitiones habuit, ita et ego qui a majorum vestrorum rebus gestis primis sumptis seminibus, hos qualescumque fructus aedidi, videor profecto mihi, debito vestro honore vos defraudasse, nisi eosdem vestro nomini ac numini obtulissem" (Eden, *Decades*, 48).
[88] See Eden, *Decades*, 47.

Indeed, it would have been inappropriate, not to mention imprudent, for Eden to offer his political views and suggestions in the dedication, which stresses his supplication to the new monarchs above all else. He is rather more forthcoming in his preface to the reader. Eden begins by amplifying the rhetoric that he used to praise Spain's recent history of conquest in the dedication; with references to classical mythology and the bible, Eden favourably compares Spanish actions in the New World to the voyages of Jason and the Argonauts, the wars of Moses and the Israelites against the Midianites, and the state-building and wealth accumulation of King Solomon.[89] Calling the discovery of the antipodes under King Ferdinand II a miracle, Eden likens the work of the Spanish historians whose reports he translates to other monuments of great religious significance: the Tabernacle of Moses, Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, and the Great Pyramids in Egypt. His *Decades*, then, is the means by which Eden helps to extol Spain's recent history in the Americas "above the famous actes of Hercules and Saturnus and such other which for theyr glorious and vertuous enterpryses were accoumpted as goddes amonge men."[90]

But behind his enthusiastic celebration of Spain's colonial past, Eden remains true to his commitment to the future of England's expansion abroad (raids on Peru notwithstanding). While he wisely acknowledges the validity of the Inter Caetera, Pope Alexander VI's donation of any lands southwest of the Azores to Spain and Portugal and reprints a copy of the Bull in his *Decades*, Eden

[89] See Eden, *Decades*, 49–51.
[90] Eden, *Decades*, 50.

maintains a place for England in the regions not covered by the donation, namely, to the northwest of the Azores.[91] He writes that

> besyde the portion of lande perteynyg to the Spanyardes . . . and beside that which perteineth to the Portugales, there yet remayneth an other portion of that mayne lande reachynge towarde the northeast, thought to be as large as the other, and not yet knowen but only by the sea coastes, neyther inhabyted by any Christian men: whereas neverthelesse . . . in this lande there are many fayre and frutefull regions.[92]

Generally speaking, then, Eden uses Spain's foreign policy as a model of what England may achieve in the New World. He notes that in their missionary work, especially, "the Spanyardes have shewed a good exemple to all Chrystian nations to folowe."[93] As ministers of "grace and libertie," he continues, the Spanish have beneficently introduced indigenous peoples, or "newe gentyles," into Christendom.[94] Further, in Eden's schema religious growth is compatible with economic expansion, which is also beneficial to the locals; "[the Spanish] have taken nothynge from [indigenous peoples] but such as they them selves were well wyllynge to departe with, and accoumpted as superfluities, as golde, perles, precious stones and such other: for the which they recompensed theym with suche thynges as they muche more estemed."[95] Eden recommends that England follow a course similar to Spain's by encouraging voyages of exploration and conquest, which will both fulfill the religious duty to proselytize and help to redress the economic uncertainty that persisted after Edward's death.

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[91] Eden, *Decades*, 201–204.
[92] Eden, *Decades*, 55.
[93] Eden, *Decades*, 55.
[94] See esp. Eden, *Decades*, 50, 55.
[95] Eden, *Decades*, 50.

Much of the material in the *Decades*, then, pertains to Spanish experiences in the New World, ostensibly to honour Spain and the union of Philip and Mary, but also to edify English readers in matters such as the extent and chronology of the Spanish empire and the realities of colonisation. Roughly one-third of the book is devoted to a translation of the first three "decades," or sections, of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's *De Orbe Novo Decades*, which Martire wrote while working as a chronicler for the Council of the Indies, the administrative arm of Spain's colonies.[96] Each decade consists of ten reports, written as letters or narrative accounts, on Spanish voyages, discoveries, and political intrigues abroad. Martire's chronicles, essentially the first collected history of Spain's America, are accompanied in Eden's *Decades* by the selected writings of later Spanish colonial historians. Eden draws from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés' *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* and Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*.[97] His choice of texts is interesting in that it suggests a possible disconnect between his avowed attempt to glorify Spain and his interest in England's colonial future.

The great irony of Eden's book is that, despite his high rhetoric to the contrary in the dedication and preface, Eden selects a great deal of material from his sources that is not particularly laudable. On the contrary, Martire's text frequently reveals the damage that accompanied Spain's conquests; in a history

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[96] Martire, *De Orbe Novo Decades* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi, 1516). Martire published a total of eight decades between 1511 and 1525; these were collected and published as a full set in 1530 (*De Orbe Nouo Decades* [Alcalá de Henares: Miguel de Eguía]). Eden, perhaps in an attempt at brevity, translated the 1516 edition, which includes only the first three decades.
[97] Oviedo, *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (Toledo: 1526). Gomara, *Historia General de las Indias* (Zaragoza, 1552).

replete with scenes of desperate warfare, Martire describes power struggles amongst the Spanish and atrocities committed against indigenous peoples. By contrast, Oviedo's account of this history is relatively more sedate; his discourse on the provinces and *gobernaciones* of the Caribbean is an ordered chronology that charts the regional progress of discovery and conquest to, in the words of critic Jesús Carrillo, make "apparent the historical network supporting the legitimate claims of the Spanish Crown on the different territories."[98] Oviedo's administrative logic is thus oriented towards jurisdictional and legal claims: history through the eyes of a bureaucrat.[99] Had Eden been inclined merely to salute Spain's territorial dominance in the West Indies, Oviedo's account might well have been more suitable than Martire's.[100] As it is, Eden includes passages from Martire's history, laden with bloodshed, but largely drops Oviedo's historical material in his selections from the *Sumario*. Instead, Eden favours Oviedo's thoughts on wealth extraction, the need for missionary work, navigational and geographical matters, and botany and zoology, material, that is, that does not explicitly honour Spain's actions abroad but instead instructs readers

[98] Jesús Carrillo, "The *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo," in H*untington Library Quarterly* 65.3 (2002): 321–344, qtd. 326.
[99] See Carrillo, 326.
[100] See Kathleen Ann Myers, *Fernández de Oviedo's Chronicle of America: A New History for a New World* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007). Myers clarifies that Oviedo was a lifelong supporter of the *encomienda* system by which Spaniards assumed the right to the labour and tribute of Native Americans (see esp. 113–135). In his *Sumario*, the part from which Eden draws, Oviedo regularly justifies *encomienda* policies by describing the natives as "natural slaves" (Myers, 120). As Oviedo wrote after Martire, at a time when most of the West Indies had been conquered, his account is oriented more to Spain's management of its new territories (i.e. through *encomienda*, etc.) than to the conflicts that led to that dominion. As such, Oviedo's account does more to naturalize Spain's empire than Martire's does; Oviedo's history may have therefore fit better with the goals that Eden expresses in his dedicatory epistle.

in practical concerns requisite for future colonial undertakings.[101] Eden's use of Gómara's *Historia General* is even more provocative. Eden includes a section, which is not entirely sympathetic to Spain, on the tensions between the Spanish and the Portuguese that led to the papal bull of donation before he combines information on the Americas from both Gómara and Sebastian Cabot. Eden's translation of Gómara's work is problematized by the fact that in 1553 the Council of the Indies outlawed the *Historia General*; a penalty was instituted for anyone found guilty of reprinting the book.[102] Perhaps that is why Eden never refers to Gómara's book by its title, separates Gómara's writings in the *Decades*, and intersperses them, without clear delineations, with those of Cabot. His inclusion of Gómara further compounds Eden's historiographical subtlety. In all, Eden's selection of materials to translate and publish constitutes, at its most politically benign, an ambiguous attempt to commit Spain's empire to posterity, and critics have done well to identify subversive undertones in his writing.[103] His appropriations of Martire, Oviedo, and Gómara may indeed constitute a veiled criticism of Spain.

It should be remembered that the *Decades* is not entirely composed of material on the Spanish empire. In addition to assorted cosmographical material and a partial translation of Biringuccio's *Pyrotechnia* resuscitated from his earlier

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[101] See Eden, *Decades*, 205–242.

[102] The reason for the ban is unknown. See Cristian A. Roa-de-la-Carrera, *Histories of Infamy: Francisco Lopez de Gomara and the Ethics of Spanish Imperialism* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), esp. 54–61.

[103] The brutality that Martire's *Decades* relates was actively cited by Protestant dissidents, exiles from England, to condemn Spain. See Andrew Hadfield, "Peter Martyr, Richard Eden and the New World: Reading, Experience and Translation," in *Connotations* 5.1 (1995-1996): 1–22, esp. 13, and Gwyn, 28. Also see Claire Jowitt, "'Monsters and Straunge Births': The Politics of Richard Eden. A Response to Andrew Hadfield," in *Connotations* 6.1 (1996/97): 51–64.

alchemical work, Eden includes substantial passages from a number of continental authorities on Scandinavia and Muscovy, Cathay, the eastern coast of North America, and Africa—regions, that is, directly related to England's own interests abroad.[104] Indeed, in its provision of materials pertinent to English voyages, particularly to the northeast, the *Decades* is a marked improvement on the *Treatyse*.

In keeping with the *Treatyse*, and in contrast to the sections from Martire, Oviedo, and Gómara, Eden's material on the northeast, Cathay, America, and Africa is predominately periegetical.[105] The assembled texts constitute a series of chorographies punctuated by voyage narratives that serve rather more as prosaic portolans, in some cases, than forays into history qua Martire et al.[106] The reader is drawn from Greenland to Iceland, Norway to Sweden, and on in a manner that imitates a voyage. Again, as with the *Treatyse*, *Decades* gives readers the 'seeds' of experience to foster the speculation that he perceived as integral to a nascent foreign policy of exploration and expansion. The main difference between the Spanish material and that which directly relates to England's interests is precisely the relative development of each; Eden uses Martire, Oviedo, and Gómara to portray the historical advancement of an empire. This Spanish history is valuable as an example of what is possible, in the generation of wealth, proselytization, and

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[104] See Eden, *Decades*, 281–334, 344–346, 371–390.
[105] Martire's work is predominately a political history, though there are periegetic geographical sections. Likewise, Eden's selections from Oviedo and Gómara are less chorographical than they are scientific (i.e. in botany and zoology) and political. The section that mixes the writings of Gómara and Cabot, of course, does contain a large amount of periegetic material, but I am inclined to attribute much of it to Cabot—especially the parts touching on North America.
[106] The narratives of the first and second voyages to Guinea are an obvious exception to this (375–388).

so on, but English readers, without a comparable past, lacked the basic geographical information that they needed for their own ventures. By providing this material through periegetic and largely mimetic texts, Eden heralds the future of England's own voyages and the consequent development of more diegetic, narrative-driven writing.

What the *Decades* ends up honouring, then, is the discovery of the Americas by Spain and the resultant economic gratification of Europe; however, for all of his prefatory overtures to Spanish glory, Eden retains his commitment to furthering English voyages. In all, Spanish and English interests remain discrete. The sophistication of the *Decades*, in both observing political proprieties under the new regime and advocating an English foreign policy removed from direct Spanish influence, testifies to Eden's savvy navigation of the perilous waters of patronage.[107] Answering Rastell's call for translated voyages and geographies and successfully balancing literary and patriotic goals, Eden recognized the political *gravitas* of writing, in general, and of travel literature especially. The seed was planted.

[107] Eden was accused of heresy by Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, immediately after the publication of the *Decades* (Arber, xl). However, Watson died two months later. Eden escaped serious punishment, but he lost his position with the Treasury.

Ramusio's Classical Nationalism

Richard Eden's familiarity with continental cosmographical texts is most readily evinced by his selections from the work of Martire, Oviedo, Gómara, and Münster. It would be easy to overlook Eden's passing, unacknowledged reference in the *Decades* to his most illustrious Italian counterpart, Giovanni Battista Ramusio. Following his selections from Oviedo's *Sumario*, Eden includes passages on Magellan's 1519-1522 circumnavigation from the first volume of Ramusio's massive collection of texts on geography and travel, the *Navigationi et Viaggi*.[108] Intended as a supplement to Münster's treatment of the voyage, and thus as an addendum to the *Treatyse*, Eden's section on Magellan is a rare instance of his use of first-hand narratives written by mariners.[109] For the most part, the historians that Eden cites in the *Treatyse* and the *Decades* based their writings on the primary accounts of travelers; they crafted their own narratives of events from original documents, and they tended not to reprint or cite their source materials. Martire's first two decades, for instance, were written as letters to friends and patrons who were curious about the early years of Spain's discoveries,

[108] Eden translates the appendix on precious stones and spices that Ramusio added to his section on Duarte Barbosa's experiences in India (1.320–323). He also translates Ramusio's discourse on Spain's circumnavigation, portions of Maximilianus Transilvanus' and Antonio Pigafetta's writings on the same (1.346–370), and, almost as an afterthought, a short blurb on Alvise Cadamosto's voyage to Africa (1.96D–110B).

[109] See Eden, *Decades*, 249. Antonio Pigafetta was one of the fortunate few who survived the circumnavigation. Eden prints, via Ramusio, an abridged translation of Pigafetta's reflections on the voyage. Transylvanus collected the stories of Pigafetta's shipmates upon their return to Spain; his records therefore consist of primary materials. However, Eden translates only a small part of Transylvanus' epistle to his interviews.

and he did not attribute his sources.[110] As Andrew Hadfield remarks, it is thus often impossible to know how Martire acquired his information: "was it by way of interviews with the returning *conquistadores,* second-hand retelling, or imaginative reconstruction?"[111] At first glance, then, the reproduction of first-hand travel accounts by editors like Ramusio, and Eden via Ramusio, seems unambiguously to answer bibliographic questions about source attribution by establishing the authorship of texts. Further, just as Thomas More uses Hythloday's narrative in *Utopia* to demonstrate the potential that travel accounts have to edify readers, editors of such literature published primary materials for didactic purposes. In the words of David B. Quinn, Ramusio, where possible, "used the words of the actors in events to tell their own tale of discovery, and this brought them to his readers in a fresh and direct form, giving them the impression that they could learn intimately from them how discoveries took place and what their impact was on the men who made them."[112]

Eden's *Decades* is the first English collection of geographical and travel literature to include accounts written by travelers themselves largely because of Ramusio's decision to focus on primary documents.[113] Indeed, Eden was one of

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[110] See Michael G. Brennan, "The Texts of Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1504-1628): A Response to Andrew Hadfield," in *Connotations* 6.2 (1996-1997): 229–230.
[111] See Hadfield, 4.
[112] David B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967), qtd. 2.
[113] In addition to the primary materials that Eden translated from the *Navigationi*, he published an account of the second English voyage to Guinea that he received from an unnamed "experte pylot" (Eden, *Decades*, 379). See the *Decades*, 379–388. As Eden says, he composed the material on the Guinea voyages in haste after the bulk of the *Decades* had been readied for print at the behest of English merchants (see esp. *Decades*, 373). His use of the pilot's account is therefore highly irregular in his corpus as a whole, not only because of its authorship, but also because of its unusual preparation.

the first of many editors to be indebted to Ramusio. The *Navigationi* is widely lauded for introducing improved editorial standards to geography and travel writing; scholars typically, and somewhat anachronistically, draw parallels between Ramusio's organized use and accreditation of primary materials and modern citation methods and historiographical practices. Ramusio prepared his collection towards the end of his life, with a methodology learned over the course of decades, so a brief discussion of his earlier literary career is necessary to introduce the techniques that he used to organize the *Navigationi*.

Born in Treviso in 1485, Ramusio studied the humanities at Padua with fellow students Girolamo Fracastoro and Andrea Navagero, both of whom aided Ramusio greatly in the development of his literary pursuits. Ramusio was not a professional writer but worked rather in the public service from 1506 until his death in 1557, initially as a clerk in the Venetian chancellery and secretary to Venice's ambassador to France, and afterwards as a secretary first of the Senate and then the Council of Ten.[114] Overall, his career path seems to have had no great bearing on his scholarship. As well, as George Parks convincingly documents, Ramusio's letters, which attest to his broad study of classical and contemporary authors, indicate no great preoccupation with travel writing before 1525.[115] Rather, Ramusio read widely and engaged himself in the various

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[114] See Skelton, *Navigationi*, vi, and George B. Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," in *Studies in Philology* 52.2 (1955): 127–148. One of the fullest accounts of Ramusio is Antonio del Piero, "Della Vita e Degli Studi di Gio. Battista Ramusio," in *Nuovo Archivo Veneto* 4 (Venice: Visentini, 1902): 5–112. Parks, however, while drawing substantially from del Piero's study, does much to supplement and amend biographical and literary, especially bibliographical, knowledge about Ramusio's life and work. See also Jerome Randall Barnes, "Giovanni Battista Ramusio and the History of Discoveries" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Arlington, 2007), esp. 1–42.

[115] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," esp. 131–133.

interests of his friends, especially those of his aforementioned schoolmates and the scholar Pietro Bembo.

In his correspondence with Bembo, Ramusio remarks on early Tuscan poetry and Bembo's dialogue on love, *Gli Asolani* (1505), and passes along portions of Baldassare Castiglione's dialogue on court life, *Il Cortegiano* (1528). Bembo, meanwhile, writes to Ramusio on matters of contemporary Italian literature and academia, or he requests Ramusio's service in the provision of material for Bembo's history of Venice.[116] Ramusio helped to curate the Bessarion collection of manuscripts and incunabula in Venice's Biblioteca Marciana, and Bembo prevailed on him for his unique access to classical texts. In the course of his work at the library, Ramusio also found and translated Greek medical references for his friend Fracastoro's scientific research.[117] In letters to Navagero, meanwhile, Ramusio relates his study of works by the authors Columella, Caesar, Lucretius, Pliny, and Ptolemy.[118] He aided Navagero in 1514 by seeing his friend's edition of Quintilian's *Institutio* to the press. Significantly, when Navagero served as Venice's ambassador to Spain from 1525 to 1528, Ramusio began to evince his emerging interest in travel literature by requesting that Navagero secure him materials on the West Indies.[119] Navagero complied, and it may be supposed that Ramusio began to accumulate the texts that would eventually constitute the *Navigationi*. After Navagero's death in 1529, Ramusio

[116] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 131, 133.
[117] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 133.
[118] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 131.
[119] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 134–136.

edited his literary remains for publication.[120] This consisted of a revision of Cicero's *Orations* and translations of Martire's *Decades* and Oviedo's *Sumario*, all of which, published in 1534, nicely linked Ramusio's classical and contemporary literary foci.

As Ramusio cultivated a collegial relationship with both Bembo and Fracastoro on the basis of his familiarity with classical manuscripts, Ramusio's assistance to Navagero led him from the works of Quintilian and Cicero to those of Martire and Oviedo. Parks remarks that "classical and contemporary travel literature engaged [Ramusio's] attention interchangeably throughout his life; that indeed travel literature was only one of his several intellectual interests, and that he was nearly fifty years old before he published or even showed any great active interest in it."[121] Ramusio's foray into travel literature, then, was his 1534 publication, as the *Historia de l'Indie Occidentali*, of Navagero's translations of Martire and Oviedo. Navagero's selections, which were possibly re-edited by Ramusio, form the first two parts of the *Historia*.[122] To this, Ramusio added a third part, the "Libro Ultimo," which contains translated passages from two first-hand accounts of Peru recently published in Spain.[123] Although he was not

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[120] In a letter characterized by its prescience, Navagero writes to Ramusio from Spain with directions on the management of his garden lest it fall into disrepair in his absence: "You will wonder that I have time to think of such things in the midst of my work; but I am a true epicurean, and should like to spend my whole life in a garden. Therefore, as you love me, dear Ramusio, take care of my garden, and tend my flowers, while I am absent from home" (cited in Alice E. Wilson's introduction to her edition of Navagero, *Lusus* [Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1973], 9.)

[121] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 128.

[122] George B. Parks, "Columbus and Balboa in the Italian Revision of Peter Martyr," in *Huntington Library Quarterly* XVIII (1955): 209–225, see esp. 215, 225.

[123] Ramusio translates and combines material from the anonymous *La Conquista Del Peru* (Seville, 1534) and Francisco Xerez, *Verdadera Relacion* (Seville, 1534). See Alexander Pogo, "The Anonymous *La Conquista Del Peru* and the *Libro Vltimo Del Svmmario Delle Indie*

indebted to Navagero for the text of the "Libro Ultimo," numerous emendations and additions that appear throughout the *Historia* may have been made by Ramusio with information he received from Navagero and other sources.[124]

In all, the *Historia* is an odd product of Ramusio's labours particularly because, while he increasingly began to collect texts on geography and travel after 1534, he declined to publish anything else until 1550. Indeed, were it not for the eventual publication of the *Navigationi*, Ramusio's work on the *Historia* and Cicero's *Orations* might have been construed as a simple gesture of loyalty to a departed friend. The connection between classical literature and contemporary travel narratives in Navagero's translations may hint at an explanation of Ramusio's scholarly activities from 1525 to 1550. Navagero's versions of Martire and Oviedo were largely incidental to his position as ambassador in Spain; his primary literary interests were classical, and his translations and editorial choices in the *Historia* material correspond stylistically to those of his classical works.[125]

Occidentali," in *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 64.8 (1930): 177–286.

[124] One item of special interest is an anonymous woodcut map of the New World. As Kirsten A. Seaver notes, the map is "known to be the work of Diogo Ribeiro who, as Pilot Major in Seville, had for several years been responsible for updating the *padrón general*, Spain's master chart on which all information from explorers and navigators was recorded. . . . Despite the fact that making the *padrón* available to outsiders was against Spanish law, Ramusio . . . managed to publish a map derived from the master chart and drawn by the Pilot Major himself" (from "Norumbega and 'Harmonia Mundi' in Sixteenth-Century Cartography," in *Imago Mundi* 50 [1998]: 34–58, qtd. 45). The map was one of two procured by Navagero that found print in the *Historia*, and the quality of the map, not to mention its illegality in Spain, evinces Ramusio's privileged access to the finest contemporary documents. See also Parks, "Columbus and Balboa," esp. 210–211.

[125] I do not think that this correspondence in Navagero's writing is merely circumstantial. Take, for instance, Navagero's imitation of Horace and Virgil in his neo-Latin pastoral poem *Lusus*. Following Horace, Navagero's primary criteria in the poem are unity, coherence, and fitness in dramatic construction; he also imitates "the classical poets according to the method Horace describes in the familiar image of the bee that flits from flower to flower, drawing from each the substance to be transmuted into a new creation" (Wilson, 11). I find there to be a very close correspondence between these stylistic modes and the formal and rhetorical choices, and the

In the words of R. A. Skelton, Navagero and Ramusio were part of a generation of scholars who "assiduously sought manuscripts of classical authors and . . . copied them for their own enjoyment and use. In [their] time manuscript libraries of greater or less pretension were being formed for reference, or simply as a projection of the collector's personality."[126] Navagero's "enjoyment and use" of his classical scholarship was manifested in his selection of manuscripts to translate and in his authorship of classically-inspired poetry. In contrast to Navagero's, Ramusio's main interest became the study of contemporary travel literature, but he retained the primacy of collecting manuscripts as an offshoot of his investment in classical scholarship, manuscripts and other primary materials, that is, that narrated the accounts of travelers abroad.

Rather than simply commit his friend's work to posterity, then, Ramusio may have ultimately been spurred to ready Navagero's materials, including the Cicero, for print in the winter of 1534 by the publication in Spain the previous summer of the Peruvian narratives that formed the "Libro Ultimo." The *Historia*, with all of Ramusio's changes and additions to Navagero's translations, may therefore be thought of as the first product of Ramusio's nascent interest in travel literature. Meanwhile, he had other texts, including some from Navagero, that he chose to retain for himself as a sort of manuscript library for his own "enjoyment and use," as it were. The *Historia* thus occupies a transitory point in Ramusio's literary career; on one hand, he remains grounded in the norms of classical

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differences between the Latin and Italian versions, which Parks notes in his study of Navagero's translations of Martire and Oviedo (see esp. "Columbus and Balboa," 213–215).

[126] Skelton, *Navigationi*, vii.

scholarship; on the other, he simultaneously signals his engagement with contemporary travel. In this sense, Ramusio's additions to Navagero's translations in the *Historia* are best explained as early attempts on his part to produce a thorough survey of the West Indies, edited in his preferred manner and faithful to his scholarly rigours. In other words, the *Historia* is a clear prodrome to the *Navigationi*.

It is unclear just how much material Ramusio had, but retained for his own purposes, when he prepared the *Historia*. In a letter that he sent Ramusio in 1525, Navagero writes: "I can find no books here on the Indies; but in time I will send enough matter to weary you. I have means of learning everything from Pietro Martire, who is my close friend, as well as from the president of the Council of the Indies and from many other members of the Council."[127] Ramusio evidently drew on Navagero for the corrective notes that pepper the *Historia*, but he also received accounts of Italian and Portuguese travels to Asia from his friend that would later appear in the *Navigationi*.[128] From 1525 on, and increasingly after 1534, Ramusio collected contemporary materials in the manner of his classicist peers.

Although the exact provenance and time of acquisition of the *Navigationi* texts are largely unknown, Parks has done much to untangle Ramusio's bibliographic webs. In his paper "Ramusio's Literary History," Parks provides a

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[127] Cited by Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 135.
[128] This Asian material, which includes the travels of Ludovico Varthema, Odoardo Barbosa, and Tomé Pires, would have been out of place in the *Historia*. See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 137–138, and "The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigationi*," in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 59.6 (1955): 279–313, esp. 285, 289–290.

general timeline of Ramusio's activities after 1534 that gives a sense of the Venetian's earnest dedication to the literature. A letter from Bembo indicates that in 1536 Ramusio was translating accounts of classical Greek voyages, and in 1539 Ramusio was thanked by Gregorio Cortese, then a scholar at Padua, for the gift of a Greek translation, a world map, and a description of Portugal's affairs in the East Indies.[129] Also in 1539, acting on the advice of Fracastoro, Ramusio cultivated a correspondence with Oviedo, who wrote to him from Hispaniola on a variety of scientific and historical matters related to the Americas.[130] The two sent material back and forth to each other; Oviedo, it must be remembered, was steadily amassing documents for envisioned second and third parts to his *Sumario*. Parks notes that Ramusio's gift of materials to Oviedo is hardly the action that one might expect from someone with the intent to publish a collection of his own.[131] However, Ramusio certainly benefitted from the exchange by gaining access to Oviedo's unique perspective on the New World, and a number of documents in the *Navigationi* stem from this correspondence.[132]

If one returns to the timeline of Ramusio's collections, it seems that he was working on African geography from 1539 on, and in the early 1540s he

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[129] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 140–141.
[130] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 140–147.
[131] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 142.
[132] One commentator says the following about their correspondence: "The epistolary relation that ensued between Oviedo and Ramusio, who never met in person, was essentially one between an informant from the periphery and a metropolitan broker of knowledge" (Stephanie Jed, "The Tenth Muse: Gender Rationality, and the Marketing of Knowledge," in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Margo Hendricks, Patricia A. Parker [Abingdon: Routledge, 1994]: 195–208, qtd. 201). The needs of both men were served by their exchanges, as Ramusio gained an insider's account of Hispaniola, and Oviedo was provided with materials that circulated in Europe while he was abroad.

picked up documents on medieval interactions between Venice and the East.[133] He continued to send material to Cortese, including rare documents written by Spanish officials, and he evidently acquired an account of the Portuguese missionary Francisco Álvares' travels in Ethiopia by 1545. Indeed, Parks remarks that the Álvares text was one of the last to be collected by Ramusio and that by late 1545 most of the first two volumes of the *Navigationi* was accounted for, though perhaps not yet translated.[134]

Ramusio's activities between 1545 and 1550, or between the completion of his collection and the publication of the first volume, are obscure. Before 1548 there is no indication that he intended to publish anything, and he continued freely to distribute material to friends. However, when one estimates the time needed to translate, assess, arrange, and otherwise edit the copious text of the *Navigationi*, and when the time required for the printer's preparations is taken into account, it seems counterintuitive to suggest that the *Navigationi* was not underway earlier than 1548. At the very least, Ramusio appears to have translated texts as he received them; substantial portions of his work as a translator may well have occurred before 1548. The sole documented proof of Ramusio's efforts towards publication is in a 25 January 1548 letter to him from Fracastoro. In commenting on a few travel accounts sent to him by Ramusio, Fracastoro writes that "[i]f you have [these narratives] printed with the other geographies, besides the benefit which you will give the world, everyone will receive as great pleasure as [comes]

[133] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 140–141.
[134] See Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 146–147.

from things long printed."[135] In this comment, Fracastoro might be congratulating a book in an advanced stage of development, or, conversely, he might be steering Ramusio towards the publication of his collection; Fracastoro, that is, may have helped provide the impetus for the *Navigationi*. It is likely that Ramusio had his materials prepared before 1548 in much the same way that they appeared in the *Navigationi*, but, without knowing the content of Ramusio's letters to his friend, either reading of Fracastoro's comment is possible.[136]

Putting dates aside for a moment, one notes an aspect of Fracastoro's comment that recommends a study of the *Navigationi*'s genealogy through its literary context. Fracastoro's assurance that readers will enjoy a compilation of travel narratives as much as "things long printed," such as the classics with which Ramusio was so familiar, signals the marked similarity between the editorial methodologies and practices that inform the *Navigationi* and those prevalent in other fields of literature. Skelton points out that the *Navigationi* "owed its motive, its inception, the method by which it was compiled, and (to a considerable extent) its structure and its literary form" to Ramusio's prevailing interest in the works of Greek and Latin authors.[137] In his preface to the first volume, Ramusio notes that he was driven by a desire to address the shortcomings of Ptolemy's canonical *Geographia* by publishing recent, first-hand travel accounts; he planned to "offer the original documents recording the experiences and observations of modern

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[135] Cited by Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 147–148.
[136] As Parks writes, "it is a pity that we have letters to, but not by, Ramusio, letters which more likely reflect their authors' interests than his, and which make his activities secondary to theirs" ("Ramusio's Literary History," 133).
[137] Skelton, *Navigationi*, vi.

travelers, which were to furnish the data—latitudes and longitudes, place names—required for the construction of correct maps. . . . From these source materials the systematic description of the earth could be undertaken."[138] By collecting material in the manner favoured by contemporary classical scholarship, that is, by compiling a library of manuscripts and primary works, Ramusio thus offered a corrective of the *Geographia* grounded in classicist methods; Skelton's assertion as to the classicism of the motive, inception, and manner of collection of the *Navigationi* therefore holds true.

However, Skelton's claim that, to a considerable extent, the *Navigationi* owes its structure and literary form to Ramusio's classical interests needs clarification because, in a way, the structure of the *Navigationi* is quite similar to that of Münster's *Cosmographia*; both books invoke diegetic narratives to represent geographical regions using periegesis, which is, after all, a classical literary mode popularized by Pausanias' *Hellados Periegesis*.[139] The first book of the *Navigationi* focuses on Africa and the East Indies, the second relates to the Middle East, Russia, and central Asia, and the third covers the New World. This begs the question: did Münster and Ramusio both return to the classics for their inspiration, or is it more likely that they referred to, and emended, the use of periegesis in other contemporary travel literature, such as Montalboddo's *Mondo Novo e Paesi Novamente Ritrovati* (1507) or Simon Grynaeus' *Novus Orbis* (1532)? The answer probably lies somewhere in between. Neither editor was

[138] Skelton, *Navigationi*, vii.
[139] Pausanias' book is translated into English by W. H. S. Jones as *Description of Greece*, 5 vols. (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1960-1964).

ignorant of classical models, but the development of sixteenth-century geographical literature is replete with revisionary changes made by individual agents working to correct past errors in form as well as substance. Skelton's claim, then, should be qualified by identifying the *Navigationi* with the *Paesi*, the *Novus Orbis*, and the *Cosmographia* as a contemporary application of periegesis. However, Ramusio's use of primary narratives distinguishes his book from the others by its obvious overtures to the organisational rigorousness of documentary collections in other generic fields. In book one, particularly, Ramusio intersperses travel accounts and associated supplementary texts such as letters and itineraries with short editorial commentaries of his own that connect and inform the accounts. As Skelton notes, this was an editorial principle practiced in areas of canon law and classical literature.[140] Parks concurs, calling the *Navigationi* "the first large published collection of historical documents other than collections of laws and decretals."[141] By methodically synthesizing primary texts on travel under the rubric of certain geographical regions and generally, but not exclusively, ordering his materials chronologically, Ramusio created "the first approach to the concept of a documented history of travel and geography."[142] Ramusio's *Navigationi*, then, shares facets of its form, such as its general application of periegesis, with other earlier collections of voyages, but it also owes its structure to his unique experience in working with classical manuscripts, and to his appropriation of the generic model provided by collections of legal and

[140] Skelton, *Navigationi*, v.
[141] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 127.
[142] Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 127.

classical texts. The structure of the *Navigationi* thus straddles the classical and the contemporary in its motive, inception, compilation, and structure.

The *Navigationi*, with its embeddedness in the classical and generic precepts of its day, is easy to read solely as an offshoot of Ramusio's proclivities as a scholar, as the published library, that is, of an armchair traveler. Such a reading belies the explicitly nationalistic impulses in Ramusio's historiographical method. Consider the following passage, from Ramusio's preface to the travels of Marco Polo in volume 2, which refers to the work of Ptolemy as the classical context of the scholarly engagement of the *Navigationi* with geographical science:

> towards the North, [Ptolemy's] knowledge carries him beyond the Caspian, and he is aware of its being shut in all round like a lake—a fact which was unknown in the days of Strabo and Pliny, though the Romans were already lords of the world. But though his knowledge extends so far, a tract of 15 degrees beyond that sea he can describe only as Terra Incognita; and towards the South he is fain to apply the same character to all beyond the Equinoxial. In these unknown regions, as regards the South, the first to make discoveries have been the Portuguese captains of our own age; but as regards the North and North-East the discoverer was the Magnificent Sir Marco Polo, an honoured nobleman of Venice, nearly 300 years since.[143]

He later qualifies his affirmation of Portugal's success by informing readers that Alvise Cadamosto's 1455 trade expedition along the West African coast opened the route for the Portuguese. In fact, Ramusio says, Cadamosto's coastal voyage represents the starting point for all subsequent European explorations, including

[143] From *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 volumes, 3d. edition, edited and translated by Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (London: J. Murray, 1903), 2.

those to India and the New World.[144] The limits of Ptolemy's writing are thus redressed by Venetian and Italian efforts, be they by Polo, Cadamosto, or, indeed, Ramusio himself. As such, the *Navigationi* is replete with accounts of Italian voyages; Ramusio includes the exploits of Vespucci, Columbus, Sebastian Cabot, Antonio Pigafetta, Giosafat Barbaro, Ambrogio Contarini, and Giovanni da Verrazzano, among others. Broadly speaking, he uses the travels of his countrymen, such as Polo's narrative, to assert a heroic Italian past of world exploration. In Columbus' case, for instance, Ramusio writes that "it must have affected [Spanish] honour, it being publicly known to the world, that a foreigner, a Genoese, was able to do that which [the Spanish] had never known how to accomplish."[145] The *Navigationi* is thus a revisionary history that insists upon the primacy of Italian contributions to the enlightenment of European geographers.

Ramusio intersperses Italian travels with those of the Spanish, Portuguese, and French to not only advance geographical science, then, but also defend Italy's faded glory in Europe. Venice, in particular, was diminished substantially between 1500 and 1550; in a string of military defeats, it lost both mainland and colonial territories.[146] As well, Venice's control of the Mediterranean trade was challenged by rivals and was greatly supplanted by Portuguese shipping routes around the Cape of Good Hope to India. Roughly a third of Italy, meanwhile, was controlled by the Hapsburgs, which further aggravated concerns over Spain's

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[144] See Liz Horodowich, "Armchair Travelers and the Venetian Discovery of the New World Author(s)," in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 36.4 (2005): 1039–1062; cited 1045. Cadamosto's account is in Ramusio, 1.96D–110B.
[145] Trans. by Horodowich, 1045, from Ramusio, 3.4.
[146] Horodowich, esp. 1040–1041.

growing influence.[147] However, Venice was a major centre of Europe's publishing industry and was only rivalled by Paris in the production of texts about America.[148] Ramusio's response to Italy's decline, using the considerable literary means at his disposal, was twofold. First, in the words of historian Liz Horodowich, he characterized the accomplishments of Italy's neighbours abroad as "recent, and of no comparison to the historic founding and long traditions of travel and trade practiced by the Romans and Italians. Italians might still be the *padroni* of trade with the Indies, Ramusio reasons, had it not been for the arrival of the Germanic tribes."[149] Second, Ramusio crafted his work as a model of cinquecento classicism, which was perfectly relevant to Italian scholars and ideal for expressing the tradition of Italian prestige through the narratives of Genoese, Milanese, and Venetian mariners. Furthermore, Ramusio's translations served the purpose of unifying the language of discovery in the first great collection of travel narratives to amend the work of the ancients.[150] Intimately familiar with Bembo's treatise on the use of the vernacular, *Prose della Volgar Lingua* (1525), which stresses the nationalist possibilities of a unified, popular Italian language, Ramusio thus brought a cosmopolitan array of voyages under the fold of Italy's historical *gravitas*.[151] Geographers, or indeed anyone, including statesmen,

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[147] Horodowich, 1041.
[148] See Horodowich, esp. 1041–1042.
[149] Horodowich, 1044.
[150] For a philological analysis of the *Navigationi*, see Fabio Romanini, '*Se Fussero Più Ordinate, e Meglio Scritte...*': *Giovanni Battista Ramusio Corretorre ed Editore delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (Rome: Viella, 2007).
[151] Ramusio was privy to Bembo's book in manuscript form, and the two corresponded about it (Parks, "Ramusio's Literary History," 131). I do not mean to suggest that Bembo and Ramusio shared exactly the same types of ideals regarding translations and the vernacular, but there is a marked correspondence in the general trajectory of their writing. On Bembo and the vernacular,

merchants, or generals, who wanted the latest first-hand accounts of travelers abroad were obliged to reckon with the Italian tongue rather than the familiar, and likely preferred, Latin. As Theodore J. Cachey Jr. remarks, the *Navigationi* "sought to shore up the integrity and centrality of an 'Italian' subject perspective by presenting in its three volumes . . . a kind of *Canzoniere* of the world."[152] With one foot in the milieu of classical scholarship and the other in the ever-competitive world of contemporary European politics, Ramusio outlined the future of travel literature while honouring Italy's catalytic role in the age of discovery.

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see Carol Kidwell, *Pietro Bembo: Lover, Linguist, Cardinal* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004), esp. 218–237.

[152] Theodore J. Cachey Jr., "Italy and the Invention of America," in *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2.1 (2002): 17–31, qtd. 28.

Hakluyt's Early Work as a "Trumpet"

From around 1540, and during the peak of Eden's and Ramusio's literary endeavours, England witnessed a continued rise in the local production of texts on travel and geography. Eden's work notwithstanding, the bulk of this new material comprised scientific treatises. Touchstones of this outpouring were written by John Dee when he returned in 1551 from his studies in Belgium and France with Gemma Frisius and Gerardus Mercator, two of Europe's leading cartographers, and began to compose a series of Latin cosmographies that were unrivalled in their breadth and erudition by the efforts of his countrymen.[153] The period also saw the increased translation into English of important classical and continental cosmographical texts.[154] As well, writers laboured to both revise key English works of the past and to produce comprehensive chorographical accounts, maps, and navigational guides, or 'rutters' (i.e. 'routiers'), of the British Isles.

The 1550s saw the infrequent publication of narratives by English travelers abroad, perhaps the most significant of these being Richard Chancellor's 1554 *Voiage into Moscovia* and *The Booke of the Great and Mighty Emperor of Russia*. The Northeast Passage expedition that set out at Northumberland's encouragement, it will be remembered, consisted of two ships under Sir Hugh

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[153] Dee owed much to his time in Europe. Although he spent the greater part of the 1540s at Cambridge in his studies, he later wrote that his philosophical system "'laid down its first and deepest roots'" while he studied at the University of Louvain, in Belgium, with Mercator in the latter part of the decade (cited by William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* [Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1995], 6). For a fine synopsis of Dee's friendship and collaborations with Mercator, see Andrew Taylor, *The World of Gerard Mercator* (New York: Walker and Company, 2004).

[154] See Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 170–176.

Willoughby, which perished in a Sápmi fjord in the winter of 1554-1555, and Chancellor's ship, which reached the White Sea and anchored off Arkhangelsk. Chancellor made the trek overland to Moscow, where he established friendly relations with Tsar Ivan the Terrible before returning to England in the summer of 1554 and writing his accounts of the voyage and of Russia.

With Chancellor's success, the Muscovy Company, a joint stock company organized to control the Russian trade, was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1555. The company operated a successful, long-lasting commercial connection with Russia, and to Persia via Russia, which inspired a number of publications on northern expeditions.[155] Willoughby and Chancellor were succeeded in their travails by the brothers Stephen and William Borough, both of whom accompanied Chancellor in 1553 and pursued naval careers in conjunction with the Muscovy Company's annual voyages to Moscow from Arkhangelsk or the Baltic. The brothers led expeditions with the assistance of technical lessons furnished by translated navigational guides and British mathematicians and scientists like Dee, Robert Recorde, Leonard Digges, and William Cuningham.[156]

However, the brothers were adamant pragmatists, and they strongly advocated for the unity of reason and experience, qua Eden, in nautical expeditions. For all of their manifold advances and benefits, the complex applications of arithmetic and geometry to navigation proposed by English

[155] Included in these texts are the sections on Scandinavia, Muscovy, and Cathay in the *Decades*.
[156] See Robert Recorde, *The Pathway to Knowledge* (London: R. Wolfe, 1551), Leonard Digges, *A Prognostication of Right Good Effect* (London: T. Gemini, 1553), and William Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glass* (London: J. Day, 1559).

scientists ran the risk of being overly esoteric and thus impractical for mariners.[157] In 1562, Stephen Borough unsuccessfully petitioned the Queen and Council for the establishment in England of the office of Chief Pilot "with the prime object of securing a supply of thoroughly instructed English pilots."[158] William Borough, for his part, was largely self-taught. In an autobiographical address to the Queen in 1578, he writes:

> My mind earnestly bent to the knowledge of navigation and hydrography from my youth . . . hath eftsoons been moved by diligent study to search out the chiefest points to them belonging: and not therewith sufficed hath also sought by experience in divers discoveries and other voyages and travels to practice the same . . . setting down always with great care and diligence true observations and notes of all those countries, islands, coasts of the sea, and other things requisite to the arts of navigation and hydrography.[159]

The travel accounts of mariners thus relate an integral part of the new knowledge: that learned by direct observation. Indeed, for William travel accounts are practical and applicable in a more primary sense than scientific treatises. In the same 1578 address, he notes that "none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematical, without convenient practise at the sea, can make just proof of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason upon experience."[160] Eden's commitment to translated and first-hand narratives, which joins Rastell's

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[157] For example, John Dee gave Martin Frobisher and Christopher Hall instructions and instruments to aid them on their 1576 voyage. In a letter thanking Dee, Frobisher and Hall write that when "we use [the instructions and instruments] we do remember you, and hold ourselves bound to you as your poor disciples, not able to be Scholars but in good will for want of lerning, and that we will furnish [data from the instruments] with good will and diligence to the uttermost of our powers" (qtd. in Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 262). From this it appears that Dee's instructions and instruments were not as helpful as he might have wished (see ibid., 108–109).
[158] Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 96.
[159] Qtd. in Parks, *English Voyages*, 20.
[160] Qtd. in Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 97.

entreaty with Ramusio's method to sow the requisite seeds of experience in readers of new discoveries, thus prevailed in the occasional publication from 1550 to 1580 of the testimony of travelers overseas. In sum, there was an underlying, yet infrequently realized belief that naval interests would be well served, and scientific texts necessarily supplemented, by the publication of more books containing the observations of mariners abroad.

While the Muscovy Company held a monopoly for undertaking voyages to the north, northeast, and northwest, the success of the Russian trade led to the "practical abandonment of the search for Cathay" in the 1560s.[161] By the late 1570s, though, there was sufficient interest in the discovery of a Northwest Passage to launch the voyages of Martin Frobisher and Sir Humphrey Gilbert. These voyages were motivated in part by the growing pains of the Russian trade; the Danes had begun to exact tariffs on English ships passing into the Baltic Sea, and the cost to outfit expeditions, maintain a Russian ambassador, and give gifts to the Tsar was becoming exorbitant for some English merchants.[162] In 1575, with the backing of the Privy Council, Frobisher received a licence from the Muscovy Company to mount a voyage to the northwest. He departed in June 1576 and,

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[161] Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483*-1583, 97. In the winter of 1565-1566, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Anthony Jenkinson, who was active in Northeast Passage plans, debated with the Privy Council the merit of voyages to the northwest (Taylor, *Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 98). Their arguments were based on a new world map published by Belgian cartographer Abraham Ortelius in 1564. It shows an open expanse of water (and a drawing of a ship) beyond the northern coast of North America, which terminates so as to exclude most of present-day Canada (reprinted as Fig.3 in Giorgio Mangani, "Abraham Ortelius and the Hermetic Meaning of the Cordiform Projection," *Imago Mundi* 50 [1998]: 59–83). That is, water essentially occupies the place of Canada. In Ortelius' 1570 revision, which extends the continental landmass northwards in a rough approximation of Canada, a waterway remains between the continent and the *Terra Septentrionalis Incognita*, or unknown northern lands (see Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* [Antwerp: Gilles Coppens de Diest, 1570]).

[162] Hakluyt summarizes the obstacles to the Russian trade in his *Discourse*, 15–16. Writing in 1584, he notes the recent death of Ivan, which was a further impediment to commercial stability.

sailing north from Labrador, reached Baffin Island before returning to England in October. He discerned Asiatic features in the Inuit whom he encountered, and he inferred that he had reached Cathay by a genuine Northwest Passage. As well, he returned with a sample of ore that he believed to be gold. This was enough incentive to fund two more expeditions in 1577 and 1578, but they were less successful than their investors, including the queen, would have liked. Although Frobisher claimed a small portion of Baffin Island for England, a planned colony was scuppered by the dissent of his crew, skirmishes were fought with local Inuit, scientific instruments and instructions from John Dee proved too sophisticated for the mariners to deploy, and the large quantities of ore that the ships returned with proved to be iron pyrite: fool's gold.

However, in 1578, before Frobisher's failures were widely recognized as such, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was granted letters patent by Elizabeth "to discover, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, . . . and the same to have, hold, occupie and enjoy to him."[163] Emboldened by his long-standing faith in the imminent discovery of a Northwest Passage, Gilbert sought to establish an English base on the North American coast to solidify future ventures in the largely unknown region.[164] His first expedition west, in 1578, was disastrous; his fleet was scattered by storms and failed to cross the Atlantic. One

[163] Gilbert's letters patent is reproduced in William Gilbert Gosling, *The Life of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970), 165–171.
[164] Gilbert published a revised version of his *Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia* in 1576 as propaganda for Frobisher's voyage, but, in fact, he wrote the treatise ten years earlier as part of his own plans to sail for the northwest. A facsimile of Gilbert's *Discourse* was published in 1972 (Menston: Scolar Press). Also see Robert Lacey, *Sir Walter Ralegh* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 27–29.

of the wayward ships in his party, captained by Walter Raleigh, crossed into a Spanish trading route and was crippled in an ill-advised act of piracy.[165] Undeterred, Gilbert retained his interest in the New World over the next several years by selling rights to territories and commodities to entrepreneurs willing to spearhead commercial and colonial ventures in America.[166] In the early 1580s, as his letters patent approached its expiry, Gilbert used his connections to finance and lead another attempt at the crossing.[167] He was aided in his bid for investment by the literary efforts of young clergyman Richard Hakluyt.

Born in 1552, by 1580 Hakluyt was an aspiring participant in the circle of business leaders, government officials, mariners, and geographers with an interest in finding a route to Cathay. Completing a B.A. and M.A. at Oxford in 1574 and 1577, he studied the classics and theology, was ordained as a clergyman, and lectured on geography.[168] Indeed, it seems that geography was his main passion from at least 1574, when he acquired a set of Ramusio's *Navigationi* and, in the words of Quinn, "found the voyagers' world coming to life for him."[169] His immersion into this world led him to collect the stories first of Bristol mariners, survivors of piracy at Madeira, in 1578, and then of crewmen aboard John Winter's *Elizabeth*.[170] Winter led his ship to the Strait of Magellan in company

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[165] See Gosling, 145–182.
[166] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt*, 3–6.
[167] See Gosling, 183–205.
[168] The chronology of Hakluyt's ordination is unknown, but on 21 December 1580 he was admitted as one of the twenty Theologi in Christ Church, a position intended for priests, so he must have already been ordained by that time (see the excellent timeline of Hakluyt's life by D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology," in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. D. B. Quinn, 2 vols. [London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974], 1.263–331).
[169] Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt*, 3.
[170] See Taylor, *Original Writings*, 1.16–18.

with Sir Francis Drake's 1577-1580 circumnavigatory expedition, but foul weather forced the *Elizabeth* to return home from South America in 1579. Hakluyt commemorated Winter's arrival with a pamphlet entitled "A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus" (1579-1580), which argues that control of the strait would afford England control of both the East and West Indies to the great detriment of her Spanish and Portuguese rivals.[171] To flesh out his position, and in a move that foreshadows the centrality of first-hand accounts in his later writings, Hakluyt includes notes gleaned from his interviews of Winter's crewmen. Later in 1580, Hakluyt covered the cost of having his friend, John Florio, translate the narratives in the *Navigationi* of Jacques Cartier's 1534-1536 voyages to what would become Atlantic Canada.[172] A preface to the translation that most critics attribute to Hakluyt states that the document aimed to bolster support for colonial ventures undertaken by assignees of Gilbert's letters patent.[173] Citing France's inability to establish control over Cartier's discoveries and John Cabot's 1497 voyage in service of Henry VII as proof of England's superior territorial claims in the New World, Hakluyt urges investors quickly to "transporte a sufficient number of men to plant a Colonie in some convenient Haven."[174] With the pamphlet and Florio's translation, Hakluyt thus announced

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[171] The pamphlet is reproduced in Taylor, *Original Writings*, 1.139–146.
[172] The translation was published as *A Short Narration of Two Navigations to New France* (London: H. Bynneman, 1580). It is reprinted, as Hakluyt originally intended, as an addendum to the *Divers Voyages* in David Quinn's facsimile edition. For more on Florio and his work with Hakluyt see Frances A. Yates, *John Florio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), esp. 55–60, and Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt*, 6–9.
[173] See Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt*, 3–6.
[174] *Divers Voyages*, 127.

his inclusion in the discussions surrounding England's commercial and colonial future abroad.

Hakluyt focused his energies under the guidance of his elder cousin, also named Richard Hakluyt (1535?-1591), who was a well-connected lawyer of the Middle Temple.[175] While his young cousin was a student at Oxford, the elder Hakluyt began offering advice to the Muscovy Company; the lawyer wrote a series of pamphlets on trade in the Levant and Persia, on the expeditions for a Northeast Passage, and on the westward voyages.[176] His writings on the Middle East are concerned largely with the viability of English wool exports, with the import of required dyes, and with marketing matters and facts of economic geography. His suggestions on the northeast and western ventures continue this commercial focus and expound upon the value of establishing naval bases, trading posts, and colonies abroad. The breadth, depth, and astute erudition of his recommendations suggest that he was an important consultant for the Muscovy Company, Frobisher's Cathay Company, the Levant Company, Gilbert's ventures, and so on, although it appears that he was not a regular employee or shareholder of these organizations.[177] Rather, his role was that of an expert advisor possessed of a close familiarity with matters of commerce and geography; he was therefore ideally suited to encourage the development of similar interests in his younger cousin.

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[175] For more on the elder Hakluyt see Parks, *English Voyages*, 25–55.
[176] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 40–46.
[177] Parks, *English Voyages*, 44–45.

Concurrent with the publication of Florio's translation, the two Hakluyts worked together to advise the Muscovy Company on the 1580 Northeast Passage voyage of Charles Jackman and Arthur Pet. It was at this time that the elder Hakluyt urged his cousin to establish a correspondence with Mercator on the geography of northern Asia, which brought the clergyman further into the sphere of the most prominent geographers of the time, including Dee.[178] However, with the failure of Jackman and Pet to find a route east, and Gilbert's revived interest in North America, the Hakluyts turned their attentions west. They were hardly unique in doing so, despite the earlier disappointments of Frobisher and Gilbert. Dom Antonio, claimant to the Portuguese throne and exile in England, sanctioned expeditions to Portugal's former possessions in the Americas, Africa, and India, and, spurred by the profits of Drake's circumnavigation, voyages under William Hawkins and Edward Fenton reached the West Indies and South America in 1582, with more such ventures in the planning stages.[179] The support of the Hakluyts, however, was affiliated primarily with Gilbert, whose rights under the letters patent were central in the minds of other eager American colonizers, including Dee, John Hawkins, and Sir Philip Sidney, who were grantees of vast tracts of land, and Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham, for whom colonization was a key to political stability and economic growth. In 1578 the elder Hakluyt wrote

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[178] As a result of his correspondence with Mercator, Hakluyt befriended the mapmaker's son, Rumold. Rumold worked in England's publishing industry and regularly sent his father geographical information acquired from his English connections including, presumably, Hakluyt, who thus retained ties to the great cartographer (see Andrew Taylor, *Gerard Mercator*, 198, 243). It will also be remembered that Hakluyt was acquainted with Abraham Ortelius, the two having discussed plans for Northwest Passage ventures in 1577 during Ortelius' time in London (see D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "Chronology," 268).

[179] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 68–69.

a set of instructions for the would-be colonizers of Gilbert's first voyage, and from 1581 to 1582 his younger cousin followed suit by preparing a book, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America*, to encourage and inform investment in Gilbert's second attempt.

The elder Hakluyt's involvement in the conception and publication of *Divers Voyages* is unknown, and there is no existing documentation to suggest that it was produced at the behest of Walsingham, Dee, or any other proponents of colonial projects. Judging from the connections between his early pamphlet, Florio's translation, and *Divers Voyages*, though, to say nothing of his later work, it is likely that while Hakluyt wrote with his associates in mind and was influenced politically by them, he acted on his own initiative and compiled materials in his own emergent, preferred style. The full title of the book, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America, and the Ilands Adjacent unto the Same, Made First of All by our Englishmen, and Afterward by the Frenchmen and Britons: and Certaine Notes of Advertisements for Observations, Necessarie for Such as Shall Heereafter Make the Like Attempt, with Two Mappes Annexed Heereunto for the Plainer Understanding of the Whole Matter*, gives a good sense of its nationalistic, didactic focus. The book is a collection of texts intended to solidify English claims to territory in the New World, help planners with their preparations, and inform mariners about what lay ahead of them.

Hakluyt begins with a series of documents that convey England's historic role in the exploration of America; he provides English and Latin versions of Henry VII's 1496 Letters Patent to John Cabot and his heirs, notes on the early

voyages of the Cabots from Robert Fabyan's *Concordaunce of Hystoryes* and Ramusio's *Navigationi*, and material from the estate of Robert Thorne that relates to both John Rut's 1527 Northwest Passage expedition under Henry VIII, and to Roger Barlow and Henry Latimer's 1526-1530 voyage to La Plata with Sebastian Cabot.[180] Then, along with two maps, one of the world and one of the North Atlantic region, Hakluyt translates three narratives from the *Navigationi* and Jean Ribault's *The Whole and True Discoverye of Terra Florida* (1563) that cover the voyages to the North American coast by Verrazano, Nicholas and Antonio Zeno, and Ribault. Next, Hakluyt prints the notes of advice that his elder cousin prepared for the expeditions of Jackman, Pet, and Frobisher. He concludes with a list of commodities found in North America.

Aside from material about the Spanish West, such as that provided by Eden, and the occasional report on France's attempts to establish a colony in Florida, very little had hitherto been published in England about North America. That is, there was little to convince potential colonial shareholders that they could expect a favourable return on their investments. Frobisher's failures, and Gilbert's ill-fated first voyage and subsequent hiatus from colonial projects had tested England's resolve in planting American colonies and finding a Northwest Passage. However, Hakluyt attests that lands from Florida to 67° N. "of equitie and right appertaine unto us" (i.e. his English countrymen) because of John

[180] For more on Fabyan, see note 14 above. Taylor argues that Thorne wrote the letter to Dr. Edward Lee in 1527, but that, contrary to Hakluyt's assertion, he did not write his appeal to Henry at the same time. Instead, Thorne likely wrote the appeal between 1530 and 1531 (*Tudor Geography 1483-1583*, 45–52). Thorne's letter to the king thus follows the return of Barlow and Latimer and (again, contrary to Hakluyt) should not be read as a promotional piece for Rut's voyage.

Cabot's patent.[181] By printing the patent, Hakluyt affirms England's legal title to North American territories. He uses the Cabot and Thorne materials, relating to precedent-setting voyages under Henry VII and Henry VIII, in order to convey an early, albeit broken history of English exploration westward.[182] Hakluyt's challenge to his readers is clear: given sufficient investment, English ships might once again sail to North America to plant colonies and solidify land claims "to advaunce the honour of our Countrie" and thus redress the neglect of such works and the initial disappointment of Frobisher and Gilbert.[183]

To maximize the interest of investors in Gilbert's proposed expedition and to allay the doubts of sceptics, Hakluyt uses his dedicatory epistle to Philip Sidney to emphasize his belief that an American settlement under Gilbert's patent was a necessary first step towards finding a route to Cathay. Hakluyt writes that "wee might not only for the present time take possession of that good land, but also in short space by Gods grace finde out that shorte and easie passage by the Northwest, which we have hetherto so long desired, and whereof wee have many good and more then probable conjectures."[184] Hakluyt lists eight such "conjectures," derived from the discourses of explorers and cartographers, which

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[181] See Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, esp. 5, 10–11.
[182] David Armitage writes that *Divers Voyages* aimed to "give continuity to England's endeavours in the New World by linking them back to the history of navigation from the voyages of the Cabots to his present, as if thereby to colonize the very idea of America for England" ("The New World and British Historical Thought," in *America in European Consciousness 1493-1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995], 52–78, qtd. 54).
[183] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 5.
[184] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 6.

he assumes are familiar to Sidney.[185] Among other points, Hakluyt notes that "the North part of America is divided into Islands," that the "people of Saguinay doe testifie that upon their coastes Westwarde there is a sea the ende whereof is unknowne unto them," and that Cathay lay a short distance from known regions of North America.[186] He includes the narratives of Verrazano, Ribault, and the Zeno brothers, all of which document the geography of the eastern North American coastline, to help prove the conjectural proposition that the Northwest Passage exists and is easily accessible.[187]

Combined with his elder cousin's advice on Northeast and Northwest Passage voyages, the texts selected by Hakluyt for the *Divers Voyages* constitute a judicious, timely treatise on North America. The book meets similar literary and scientific goals as those aimed for by Hakluyt's predecessors Eden and Ramusio. All three editors published material that was rare or had not yet seen print, and, in doing so, they showed their readers new worlds for the first time and contributed to the increasing sophistication of geographical knowledge. The three editors also infused their work with patriotic, propagandistic sentiments; Eden and Hakluyt express optimism about England's maritime future, and Ramusio charts a history of Italian influence and prestige. However, *Divers Voyages* differs from Eden's and Ramusio's books by advocating a specific program of colonial expansion.

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[185] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 6–8. Hakluyt refers to statements made by Sebastian Cabot, Gómara, Mercator, and natives in Canada and Florida. He also refers in passing to the experiences of Frobisher, Drake, Verrazano, Cartier, Ribault, and the Zeno brothers. While the general "conjectures" may have been known to Sidney, he was probably unfamiliar with all of the sources that Hakluyt lists.

[186] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 7.

[187] The map of the North Atlantic that Hakluyt includes in the *Divers Voyages* depicts eastern Canada as a cluster of islands and shows a "Mare de Verrazana" that covers North America from the Appalachian and Sierra Nevada Mountains northwards.

That is, Hakluyt selects documents to facilitate investment in Gilbert's proposed colony, which would be used as a base for commercial shipping around North America's northern coast to Cathay. By contrast, Eden's *Treatyse* is primarily a literary exercise designed to redress the inequity of English presses, and it does not directly pertain to voyages to Africa and the northeast in the early 1550s. Similarly, the bulk of the *Decades* is a documentary history of Spain's West Indies meant to bring important texts to English readers; its commitment to England's foreign policy is veiled by Eden's prefatory overtures to Spain's success, and the limited material that the *Decades* contains with respect to English spheres of interest abroad is necessarily introductory. For Ramusio's part, the *Navigationi*, viewed as a nationalistic text, is primarily oriented towards an Italian past; it is unclear how involved Ramusio was, if at all, with contemporary Italian naval matters. Beyond the general literary and scientific merits that it shares with the work of Eden and Ramusio, Hakluyt's book, with its dedication to an important prospective supporter, Cabot's letters patent, and material that suggests that North America abounds with commodities and lies within reach of Cathay, distinguishes itself as an incisive, measured intervention in colonialist plans.

Although the documents in *Divers Voyages* are selected primarily for their value as propaganda, in his use of first and second-hand travel accounts Hakluyt observes the same basic editorial principle as Eden: the observations and experiences of travelers are the fundamental building blocks of knowledge about unfamiliar places. At the end of his dedicatory epistle, pace Stephen Borough, Hakluyt writes that the best way to assure the success of long-distance voyages

would be to facilitate an "increase in knowledge in the arte of navigation, and breading of skilfulnesse in the sea men."[188] In a move that would supplement the self-taught approach of sailors like William Borough, Hakluyt proposes that a lectureship in navigation be established and that degrees be awarded to mariners on the basis of their education; masters and pilots would be required to attend lectures and be examined on "matters touching experience."[189] The success of this program would be evinced in the "saving of many mens lives and goods, which nowe through grosse ignorance are dayly in great hazerd, to the no small detriment of the whole realme."[190] In training for the teaching career permitted by his M. A., Hakluyt himself acted as "regent master," or lecturer, for at least two years at Oxford after 1577 and taught "both the old imperfectly composed and the new lately reformed mappes, globes, spheares, and other instruments of this art."[191] However, he left Oxford, and an endowment of a regular lectureship in navigation was not established until 1619.[192] The books and pamphlets of Hakluyt and his cosmographically-minded peers thus remained the best points of recourse to mariners who lacked the benefits of a continental education in navigation; however, Hakluyt's emergent preference for publishing travel accounts served to furnish his readers with accessible fare that was perhaps better suited for their immediate needs and interests than the complex manuals of scientists like Dee.[193]

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[188] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 8–9.
[189] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 9.
[190] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 9.
[191] From Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, *Principall Navigations*. See also Parks, *English Voyages*, 60–61.
[192] Parks, *English Voyages*, 61.
[193] It is important to remember that Hakluyt's target audience were investors who may have had a very limited knowledge of navigational matters, but who maintained a broad interest in the risks

Indeed, in a manner befitting its purported practicality, *Divers Voyages* seems to have struck a chord with at least two investors in Gilbert's enterprise. *Divers Voyages* was published on 21 May 1582, and the next day Sir Edmund Brudenell bought a copy. In early June, he and a number of associates agreed to invest in "the next intended voyage for possession or conquest of parts of America" in return for grants of land and commodities.[194] Philip Sidney invested in July and later wrote in a letter to Sir Edward Stafford, England's ambassador to France, that he "was haulf perswaded to enter into the journey of Sir Humphry Gilbert very eagerli; whereunto your Mr Hackluit hath served for a very good trumpet."[195] Hakluyt himself considered joining Gilbert's party but instead used the year following the release of *Divers Voyages* to gather travel accounts and other geographical ephemera. He also may have assisted with the publication of books by mariner David Ingram and naval commander Christopher Carleill.[196] Hakluyt received encouragement in his work in a letter of thanks from Sir Francis Walsingham. Informed by conferences with the Mayor of Bristol, Thomas Aldworth, and Sir George Peckham, both of whom were familiar with Hakluyt and *Divers Voyages*, Walsingham wrote as follows:

> I understand . . . that you have endeavoured and give much light for the discovery of the Westerne partes yet unknown: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same, wishing you to continue your trouble in these and like

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associated with their investments. This being the case, the travel accounts of *Divers Voyages* seem appropriately introductory.

[194] See D. B. Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940), 2.257–260. Also see Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt*, 32–33.

[195] Qtd. in Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 7.

[196] See D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "Chronology," 277.

> matters which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme.[197]

With the support of his countrymen, then, Gilbert sailed from England in the summer of 1583 and in early August took possession of Newfoundland in Queen Elizabeth's name. His return voyage ended disastrously on 9 September, when his flagship was swallowed by waves amidst a fierce storm, and Gilbert and his crew drowned.[198] Shortly before news was received in England of Gilbert's death, Hakluyt sailed to France to take a position as Stafford's chaplain and secretary. While living in Paris, Hakluyt continued his work as a specialist in world travel; he familiarized himself with French, Portuguese, and Spanish travels to the New World by studying available sundry documents and consulting with foreign experts. Further, he brought this information to the attention of English officials, notably Walsingham, in his correspondence with them. It is likely that his successful performance of this dual role as scholar and informant facilitated Hakluyt's involvement in the new colonial plans being prepared by Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh.

On 24 March 1584, Raleigh was granted letters patent that gave him almost identical rights to those that Gilbert had possessed.[199] Acting quickly, in April Raleigh sent two ships under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe on a reconnaissance voyage to what would become known as Virginia. Before their return, he sought the backing of investors; he especially desired an offer of public

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[197] Walsingham's letter is reprinted in Taylor, *Original Writings*, 1.196–197. Taylor also prints a letter from Walsingham to Aldworth and briefly explains Hakluyt's relationship to Aldworth and Peckham (1.196).

[198] For a longer discussion of Gilbert's 1583 expedition, see Gosling, 183–271.

[199] Raleigh's letters patent is reproduced in Francis Newton Thorpe, *The Federal and State Constitutions Colonial Charters* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 53–57.

funds from the queen. To secure the queen's support, he enlisted Hakluyt's labours as, to use Sidney's parlance, a "good trumpet." Raleigh recalled Hakluyt from the French embassy, and in July Hakluyt began to prepare a new book at Raleigh's behest, entitled *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Great Necessitie and Manifolde Commodyties That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoveries Lately Attempted*.[200]

Framed as a response to a number of looming threats to England's well being, the *Discourse* is a comprehensive, prosaic summary of the envisioned religious, economic, and socio-political benefits of establishing English colonies in North America. Hakluyt emphasizes the precariousness of contemporary trade connections predicated on the goodwill of increasingly guarded European states; extant domestic problems with overpopulation, crime, and unemployment, he writes, would only mount without commercial sustainability and growth.[201] Further, England's Protestant allies on the continent were waning under the aggression of the Spanish, who were bolstered by the wealth of the West Indies and South America, and Elizabeth herself faced danger from plots to supplant her in favour of the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots.[202]

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[200] This book is typically, and hereafter, referred to as Hakluyt's *Discourse on Western Planting* or *Discourse*.

[201] See Hakluyt, *Discourse*, esp. chapters II, IV, XX. Also see G. V. Scammell, "Hakluyt and the Economic Thought of his Time," in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 2 vols., ed. D. B. Quinn (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1974), 1.15–22.

[202] 1584 was an especially dire year for Protestants. William I, the Prince of Orange, was assassinated in July while in Holland, and the Duke of Parma was successfully waging war on militant Calvinists in Flanders. Francis, the Duke of Anjou, died, thereby ending the possibility of an English and French alliance, and the Duke of Guise's Catholic League continued, after the failed Throckmorton Plot of 1583, to plan the Babington Plot, in which Elizabeth was to be assassinated with the help of Roman Catholic dissidents in England. See Leonard Woods, introduction to the *Discourse*, esp. lv–lx, and J. E. C. Shepherd, *The Babington Plot: Jesuit*

Hakluyt champions colonialism as England's panacea. On the economic front, his schema is based on the creation of a new flow of raw materials and manufactured goods between England and its colonies to relieve its dependence on trade with Europe. With a secure, essentially internal source of basic commodities, England's import market would approach self-sufficiency. At the same time, colonies would act as a new outlet for England's exports, such as textiles.[203] The resultant creation of jobs abroad and at home would ameliorate problems with crime and overpopulation. Hakluyt's religious arguments, meanwhile, came at a time when Spain and England were only nominally at peace, and he focuses his attention on Pope Alexander VI's "altogether intollerable" Bull of Donation.[204] Hakluyt maintains that the Bull was "warranted neither by lawe of God nor men," and he blames the Spanish Pope's usurpation of divine right on the rise of Spain and Portugal and the consequent imbalance of power between Christian states in Europe.[205] Building colonies in North America, he writes, would redress the grievances caused by the Bull by establishing territories legitimized by England's historic role in the discovery of the Americas from at least the time of the Cabots.[206] English missionaries would also gain the opportunity to proselytize their faith to native peoples and thereby wrest this

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Intrigue in Elizabethan England (Toronto: Wittenburg Publications, 1987). In the *Discourse*, see chapters I, II, XX.

[203] See Karen Ordahl Kupperman's *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*, 2d. ed. (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 29–31.

[204] See esp. Hakluyt, *Discourse*, chapter XIX, qtd. 136.

[205] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 135.

[206] On Cabot, see Hakluyt, *Discourse*, esp. 122–128. Hakluyt also briefly refers to (possibly fictitious) voyages in 1170 under the Welsh Prince Madoc that reached America and planted colonies there (*Discourse*, 118–119). He also discusses the intrigues that attended Henry VII's dealings with Columbus some years prior to his first voyage west as proof of England's legal claim to territory in America (119–122).

ability from the control of the Spanish.[207] Hakluyt thus called upon the queen, to whom he presented the *Discourse* while received in audience on 5 October, as England's "Defendour of the Faithe" to not only "mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same."[208] For Hakluyt, then, "yt behoveth this realme, yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes and basenes, but to stande in present and late former honour, glorye, and force, and not to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place."[209]

Forgetting his earlier pamphlet, "A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus," critics regularly note that the *Discourse* is Hakluyt's only sustained prose work by his own hand.[210] By regarding the *Discourse* as unique in Hakluyt's corpus, critics thus fail to connect it to his earlier endeavours. The "Discourse" and the *Discourse*, especially, should be considered in tandem. An important difference between the two is in their explicit use of references from supplementary materials. The "Discourse" advocates a tricolic approach to counter the threat of Spain's global dominance: England must capture and fortify both the Strait of Magellan and St. Vincent Island in the Caribbean and discover and exploit a Northeast Passage. Hakluyt's sole reference to the sources that inform his arguments comes at the end of the pamphlet as a list of notes gleaned from conversations with the crew of John Winter's voyage to the

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[207] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, esp. chapters I, XI.
[208] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 8.
[209] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 153. Norumbega, Hakluyt's preferred site for England's first colonies in North America, marks a territory loosely defined as modern New England.
[210] For example, see Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 6, 86.

Strait of Magellan. These notes do not fully explain his sections on the Strait and on St. Vincent. He includes some thoughts on the relationship of Cimarrones and the Spanish, for instance, which almost certainly did not come from his interviews. As well, it remains entirely unclear from where he draws his information on the Northwest Passage; is it Chancellor's books, Eden's *Decades*, or another source? As in the three sections of the "Discourse," the twenty-one chapters of the *Discourse* each express distinct arguments that together make Hakluyt's position coherent, but, in contrast to the "Discourse," each chapter is extensively supported by citations from a bevy of authorities. From his 1579/1580 pamphlet that draws on a single group of unnamed mariners as its source, Hakluyt's *Discourse* cites the writings of Stephen Gomes, Oviedo, Cartier, Jerónimo Osório, Ribault, Frobisher, Drake, Fenton, the Cabots, Verrazano, Stephen Bellinger, Gómara, Gilbert, Stephen Parmenius, John Sleidan, Thorne, Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, Miles Phillips, Martire, Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde, John Hawkins, Abraham Ortelius, Peter Benzo de Milan, Bartolomé de las Casas, Jean Matal (Johannes Metellus Sequanus), the Zeno brothers, Mercator, Ingram, Ferdinand Columbus, Robert Fabyan, John Bale, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, Nicolás Monardes, and a number of religious scholars.[211] He frequently pulls passages from Eden, Ramusio, and the Bible. Further, he mentions *Divers Voyages* by way of citing John Cabot's letters patent.[212] As well,

[211] Hakluyt's mention of Bellinger's little known 1583 voyage to eastern Canada may point to an unpublished manuscript by Hakluyt that was discovered in the 1960s. See T. N. Marsh, "An Unpublished Hakluyt Manuscript?" in *The New England Quarterly* 35.2 (1962): 247–252.
[212] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 86.

he makes extended references to conversations held with friends and associates in England and France and with English mariners on their return from abroad.

Hakluyt's use of such a broad range of sources clearly evinces his scholarly commitment, but it also demonstrates his emergent style as an editor of propagandist works. The progressive sophistication of his references from the "Discourse" to the *Discourse* indicates his growing preference for grounding his arguments with cited secondary materials. The volume and frequency of these citations give his positions the weight of testimonies from leading authorities. In chapter III, for example, in which he describes the natural resources colonists could expect to find in North America, he surveys the coast from 30° N. latitude to 63° N. by quoting the observations of sailors; he cites Ribault and Monardes from 30° to 34°, Verrazano and Coronado at 34°, Gomes at 40°, an anonymous French captain and Bellinger at 46°, Cartier from 46° to 52°, Gilbert, Parmenius and Gaspar Corte-Real from Newfoundland north to 60°, and Frobisher from 60° to 63°.[213] He uses marginal notes to highlight the commodities mentioned in his citations: ranging north, he remarks on different woods, birds and game, precious metals and gems, grains and vegetables, herbs and spices, and so on. Similarly, the list of commodities at the end of *Divers Voyages* is "gathered out of the discourses of Verazanus, Thorne, Cartier, Ribalt, Thevet, and Best," but, by contrast, Hakluyt does not provide quotations, so it remains unclear where or by whom certain commodities were found.[214] The list in *Divers Voyages*, for instance, notes only that silk worms live in America "fro Florida Northward,"

[213] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 19–35.
[214] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 119.

while the *Discourse* mentions that Ribault found silk worms between 30° and 34° N.[215] The added specificity of the *Discourse*, then, attends to its judicious use of secondary materials. Indeed, Hakluyt writes that he could have added more accounts of American commodities in chapter III "yf I had not feared to be tedious."[216]

From the "Discourse" to Florio's translation of Cartier, *Divers Voyages*, and the *Discourse*, Hakluyt increasingly refers to primary texts to make his arguments. Further, his arrangement of these texts demonstrates his awareness that the first-hand accounts of mariners have didactic value as propaganda. In *Divers Voyages*, for example, he groups the narratives of Verrazano, Ribault, and the Zeno brothers together to argue that the Northwest Passage exists, and in chapter III of his *Discourse* he orders passages geographically to illuminate regional variations in the presence of valued commodities. His growing commitment to the select use of primary materials moves his early work into the literary continuum of Eden and Ramusio, while affirming the values of Rastell and More and answering the more contemporary needs of mariners like the Borough brothers and colonialists like Gilbert, Raleigh, and their supporters (Walsingham, Sidney, et al.). The demand in colonialist and political circles for his talents evinces the recognized need for scholars to selectively disseminate the narrative accounts of sailors, which in turn recommends the high esteem in which his contributions to discussions around England's future abroad were held. With

[215] Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages*, 119.
[216] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 86.

his early work, Hakluyt thus emerges as a good trumpet for the actions of his nationalistic, colonialist associates.

Hakluyt's *Navigations*

Hakluyt's *Discourse* did not prompt Elizabeth to allocate public funds directly to Raleigh's venture, but she supported him with the loan of a ship, a supply of gunpowder, a bestowal of the right to recruit sailors and ships with press gangs, as in times of war, and grants of wine and cloth licenses that enabled him to raise the money he needed.[217] Even without public funding, Raleigh had the backing of enough investors to follow up his reconnaissance voyage by dispatching seven ships under Sir Richard Grenville to Virginia on 9 April 1585. After a piratical sojourn in the West Indies amidst accusations of incompetence, Grenville directed the fleet northwards and established a fort at Roanoke Island, off the coast of present-day North Carolina. The absence of an adequate harbour led to the destruction of most of the food supplies for the colony when Grenville's flagship, the *Tyger*, ran aground. As a result, plans for the fleet to winter at Roanoke were cancelled. Just over 100 colonists were left behind under the command of Ralph Lane, while Grenville returned to England with the rest of the party.[218] Lane and his men depended on local natives for food, yet they mercilessly punished the alleged theft of a silver cup by burning a village. With a small group of men in an area controlled by large, well-organized tribes, Lane used desperate tactics to survive; he kidnapped the son of a local ruler to extract information on regional politics and commodities and guarantee his own safety,

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[217] Lacey, 64. He was also granted the title Walteri Ralegh Militis Domini et Gubernatoria Virginiae [Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord and Governor of Virginia] in 1585 (ibid.).
[218] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, esp. 13–24.

and he used English trade goods to change the balance of power between local groups to his advantage.[219] As tensions mounted, occasional skirmishes took place. However, to Lane's good fortune, in early June, 1586, English ships under Sir Francis Drake arrived at Roanoke from raids against the Spanish in the West Indies. Drake offered to transport the colonists back to England, and they agreed, leaving in due haste, just weeks before Grenville returned with ships and men to supply the colony. Finding no one at Roanoke and being ignorant of the perils that Lane had both faced and left in his wake, Grenville left a holding party of 15 men at the fort and departed.[220]

The problems faced by Lane's colony justified the scepticism of investors, and, in a move that was perhaps motivated by his distrust of Grenville, Walsingham withdrew his support of the Virginia project.[221] Not only had the settlement failed to generate profits on its own, but, because of the shallow harbours around Roanoke, it had also failed in its secondary purpose of furnishing a base for privateers. Ironically, the only returns of the entire venture up to this point came from Grenville's piracy in the West Indies and the Azores, which coincided with his neglect of the colony. However, another expedition was launched in 1587 under a different mandate. Whereas the first settlement housed all-male colonists, many of whom were veterans of wars in Ireland and had a militaristic bent, the latest group included women and children and placed an emphasis on "agricultural self-sufficiency and development of American products

[219] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, esp. 65–85.
[220] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 87–94.
[221] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 18–19, 105.

for English markets."[222] Led in July by John White, who had accompanied Frobisher in 1577, Amadas and Barlowe in 1584, and Grenville in 1585, the 110 new Virginians settled in the houses built by Lane's men.[223] Although they represented the prototype for all later successful English colonies in their makeup and governance, the colonists inherited Lane's legacy; at some point during the year prior to their arrival, the earthworks surrounding the houses had been "'razed down.'"[224] As well, White was told that Grenville's 15-man holding party had been attacked and dispersed—never to be heard from again—by local natives, who were now keeping their distance in an attitude of hostility.[225] Attempting to take revenge, White directed a surprise attack against a group of natives who were, in fact, White soon realized, innocent.[226] Without the local assistance that Lane had relied upon, the colonists depended on English provisions, and so, in late August, White and his ships departed for England on a supply-run. Although White intended to return promptly to Roanoke, and Raleigh prepared a new fleet by the spring of 1588, the Privy Council ordered that all ships capable of service in war remain in English harbours.[227] The continued aggression of English privateers had prompted Spain to launch its Armada—a huge force of soldiers and ships—against England, and Elizabeth demanded the full protection of her navy; the urgency of devoting resources to Roanoke was, for the moment, eclipsed.

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[222] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 106.
[223] See Paul Hulton, introduction to Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), ix–xii.
[224] White qtd. by Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 112.
[225] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 114.
[226] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 115.
[227] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 119–121.

The threat of the Armada and the consequent hiatus of colonial projects did not cause a noticeable slowdown in the publication of material on North America in the late 1580s if only because so little had been published in the earlier part of the decade. Many significant documents, such as Drake's journal of his 1585-1586 voyage and the elder Hakluyt's 1585 recommendations on Virginia, remained in manuscript through Elizabeth's reign, possibly out of a desire to keep them confidential.[228] With the exception of scientist Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, which was written from observations aboard Grenville's first Roanoke expedition and printed in 1588 as a belated support of White's 1587 venture, the most substantial English texts on North America from 1585 to 1588 were published by the younger Hakluyt, or at his behest.[229]

After his audience with the queen in the fall of 1584, Hakluyt returned to Paris. He traveled back and forth between England and France for Stafford over the next several years, and he continued to "advertise [i.e. advise] Sir Walter Rawley from tyme to tyme, and to send him discourses both in printe and written hand, concerning his voyage."[230] To inform and encourage Raleigh, in 1586

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[228] Drake's *Voyage into the West Indies, Anno 1585*, written with Frobisher, seems to have been lost, although it was known to Hakluyt and his circle. The elder Hakluyt's "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended Towards Virginia," in which he expresses his support of Raleigh's Roanoke colony, was printed in 1602 as part of John Brereton, *A Brief and True Relation of the Discoveries of the North Part of Virginia* (London).

[229] For a facsimile edition, see Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, ed. R. G. Adams (Ann Arbor: Edward Bros., 1931), which includes Ralph Lane's preface and a map by John White. Editor Theodore de Bry published another version in 1590 that includes illustrations and another map made by White in 1585 but excludes the original preface (see Hulton's facsimile, cited above in note 223).

[230] Qtd. from a 1585 letter to Walsingham, Document 49 in E.G.R. Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 343–345. Hakluyt also exhorted the publication of an unrelated narrative of Marco Antonio Pigafetta's 1567 diplomatic mission to Constantinople (*Itinerario* [London: John Wolfe, 1585]).

Hakluyt reprinted Spaniard Antonio de Espejo's *Viaje*.[231] Although Espejo's travels through the North American interior in the early 1580s were limited to present-day New Mexico and Arizona, in a bout of geographical naïveté Hakluyt writes that the *Viaje* acknowledges Virginia "to be a better and richer countrey than Mexico and Nueva Spania it selfe."[232] Also in 1586, Hakluyt sponsored the publication of French explorer René Goulaine de Laudonnière's *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride*, to which he added the following verse:

> The Portuguese subdued the tracts of China
> And the stout Spaniard the fields of Mexico:
> Florida once yielded to the noble French:
> Virginia now to thy sceptre, Elizabeth!
> The illustrious race of Portugal celebrates its Gama,
> And the land of Spain boasts its Cortes,
> France gives the palm to Laudonnière and brave Ribault,
> But we, noble Ralegh, assign first place to thee.[233]

In an English translation he published the next year, Hakluyt clarifies his support in his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh. He notes that by reading Laudonnière, English readers may gain insights from the mistakes of the French, who failed adequately to provision their colonists. Certainly this was an important point for the English to consider, particularly in light of the food shortage caused by the *Tyger* running aground and the problems that had posed for Grenville and Lane. Further, Hakluyt suggests that Laudonnière's remarks on the commodities and fertility of Florida might help colonists "generally be awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of everie thing that might turne to the advauncement of

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[231] Antonio de Espejo, *Viaje* (Paris: 1586).
[232] Qtd. by Payne, 88.
[233] Laudonnière (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1586) qtd. in Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 349.

the action, whereinto they are so cheerefully entred."[234] Hakluyt thereby maintains that Laudonnière's account, which, "by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene above twentie yeeres suppressed," would help guide preparations for colonial expeditions and would be useful for colonists once they had reached their destination.[235]

In 1587, Hakluyt also edited and published a complete version of *De Orbe Novo* to supplement Eden's *Decades*, which only included Martire's first three sections.[236] Hakluyt uses his dedicatory epistle to Raleigh to answer the negative accounts of Roanoke spread by Lane's disappointed, returned party. He draws a comparison between partial versions of the *Decades* and the fact that no one, especially not Lane's "foolish drones," who "treacherously published ill reports," had yet "probed the depths of [Virginia's] hidden resources and wealth."[237] Hakluyt argues that without access to Martire's full commentary and a complete picture of Virginia, knowledge of the Americas would be obscured to the detriment of future English ventures there. For Hakluyt, Martire's "happy genius" resides in his diligent publication of both Spain's praise- and its blameworthy actions.[238] At their worst, Hakluyt notes, the Spanish courted disaster by their "avarice, ambition, butchery, rapine, debauchery, their cruelty towards defenceless and harmless peoples, and occasionally the disasters suffered by their

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[234] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 373.
[235] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 457.
[236] Martire, *De Orbe Novo Decades Octo* (Paris: Guillaume Auvray, 1587).
[237] See Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 367–368.
[238] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 369.

warriors and the slaughter of their armies at the hands of uncivilised races."[239] Lane's group had committed similar offenses. However, in Martire's account the Spanish also display constancy and endurance in the face of "thirst, hunger, dangers, toils, watches, and their frequent troubles."[240] Partial versions of the *Decades*, then, fail to provide a full sense of the connection between Spain's perseverance despite its mistakes and its consequent successes just as the accounts of Lane's men fixate on negative experiences and thereby cast aspersions on future colonial ventures by ignoring the value of persistence. Hakluyt urges Raleigh to maintain his commitment to Roanoke while keeping Spain's successes and failures in mind. Thereby, he presents persistence as the key to unlocking Virginia's bounty.

Between Grenville's 1585 departure to Virginia and the temporary cessation of colonial projects because of England's engagement of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Hakluyt thus endeavoured to reclaim accounts of Spanish and French exploration in the Americas for the edification of his English associates and the furtherance of Raleigh's Roanoke. His near-exclusive work in this capacity at the time distinguishes him as an adherent of Rastell and More and a literary successor to Eden. However, as he recognizes in his dedication of the *Decades*, it remained the responsibility of some new Homer "to rescue [Raleigh's] heroic enterprises from the vast maw of oblivion" as Martire had done for the Spanish.[241] Hakluyt advocates that England's naval heritage be redeemed

[239] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 364.
[240] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 364.
[241] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 369.

by combining the editorial practices championed by Eden and Ramusio. He intimates to Raleigh that by at least 1587 he had begun a project

> to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now laying 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 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.[242]

This programme essentially entails a great expansion of scope from his earlier work of collecting English travelogues in "A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Strait of Magellanus," *Divers Voyages*, and *Discourse on Western Planting*. Just as Eden published continental texts to immerse his contemporaries in recent exploratory ventures and Ramusio highlighted Italy's role in the new discoveries, Hakluyt had begun to compile documentation of England's distant and recent history of foreign travel to enlighten his fellow citizens and engage them in England's future abroad.

However, the threat of the Armada diverted Hakluyt's talents somewhat. His frequent travels between London and Paris, his connections with prominent European agents, and his established role as a trusted informant for Walsingham, Stafford, Raleigh, and, indeed, the queen herself, made Hakluyt an invaluable conduit of information for his superiors in increasingly fraught times.[243] Although he had regularly been entrusted to deliver letters between English diplomats and leaders in the past, in the first half of 1588 Hakluyt's responsibilities appear to

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[242] Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 369.
[243] Parks asserts that Hakluyt may have acted as a "naval attaché" for England (*English Voyages*, 104).

have entailed a heightened focus on that duty and on using his continental connections to apprise his superiors of rumours about the Armada; during this period his correspondence reveals a preoccupation with French political news and "the fleete at Lisbone," which had been in preparation for three years.[244]

The Armada entered the English Channel in July and was dispersed in two months by a combination of English and Dutch forces, poor Spanish planning, and harsh weather.[245] Hakluyt's return to geographical and travel writing was almost immediate. In late November, news circulated that he was planning an edition of Abulfeda's geography, and soon afterwards Hakluyt prompted the translation and publication of a history of China, the dedication of which mentions, besides his skill at languages and insight in cosmographical history, his work on a "most excellent and ample collection of the sundrie travailles and navigations of our owne nation . . . which I hope will shortly come to light to the great contentation of the wiser sort."[246] Hakluyt's quick transition from travel writing to letters on contemporary politics and back may seem simply to evince his abiding literary passion in geography, but it also demonstrates the level of esteem that he accorded texts about the growing world. There was in fact no great difference between his commitment to England with the accounts of Espejo,

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[244] France was embroiled in the ongoing Wars of Religion, which were approaching a major turning point in the conflict between Henry III's Royalists and the Duke of Guise's Catholic League (see R. J. Knecht, *The Rise and Fall of Renaissance France 1483-1610*, 2d. ed. [Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001], esp. 439–464). As for the Armada, in an April letter from Hakluyt to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, from which the above quotation is drawn, Hakluyt cites the (accurate) assurance of an informant of his that the fleet would not launch until May (Taylor, *Original Writings*, vol. 2, 379–380). See also Parks, *English Voyages*, 250–251 and D. B. and A. M. Quinn's "A Hakluyt Chronology," 295–299.

[245] See Colin Martin and Geoffrey Parker, *The Spanish Armada* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1999), esp. 184–208.

[246] Qtd. in Payne, 93.

Laudonnière, and Martire or with his letters on the Armada; it was all of the utmost gravity in the moment, as he recognized in his compendium.

Hakluyt published *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoueries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time with the Compasse of These 1500 Yeeres*, in the fall of 1589. Concurrent with his final preparations of the publication, a new, unnamed corporation was established as an agreement between Raleigh and a group of merchants and promoters to support and expand the neglected Virginia colony.[247] Hakluyt was a member. With its timing, then, *Principall Navigations* seems to be a propaganda piece for investment in North America, and it certainly is, to an extent, but it is also much more. Hakluyt divided his collection into three sections reminiscent of the three books of Ramusio's *Navigationi*. Ramusio's books cover, in turn, Africa and the East Indies, then the Middle East, Russia, and Asia, and, lastly, the New World, while Hakluyt's sections survey voyages to the south and southeast, to the north and northeast, and, lastly, to the west, southwest, and northwest. That is, the order of Hakluyt's geographical coverage is roughly consistent with Ramusio's. However, rather than follow Ramusio by naming the regions he covers (Africa, Russia, Asia, etc.), Hakluyt uses cardinal directions in his section's titles. The reason for this amendment is simple; *Principall Navigations* includes only English voyages in "search and discoverie of strange coasts," so it is fitting that the material is

[247] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 123, 159. Hakluyt prints Raleigh, "Assignment . . . for Continuing the Inhabitations of the English in Virginia," in *Principall Navigations*, 815–817.

organized to convey a compass rose with England in the centre. Hakluyt thus describes the world as it was seen by his seafaring countrymen.[248]

In contrast to the *Navigationi*, then, which benefits from Ramusio's cosmopolitan inclusion of a broad range of European texts, Hakluyt's geography is noticeably stunted. Without the insights of the Spanish and the Portuguese, especially, many regions could simply not be represented well.[249] After all, English merchant mariners had yet to deal in any sustained way with places like South America and Asia; however, the English compensated somewhat for their limited experiences abroad by their unique knowledge of other areas. For instance, the documents that cover the Muscovy Company's travels to Russia, which constitute about one-third of *Principall Navigations*, have been called the "finest body of materials in the book" for their comprehensive survey of a region that guarded its secrets from even the most inquisitive continental geographers of the day.[250] Nonetheless, conspicuous gaps remain.

However, Hakluyt did not intend for his collection to stand as a sort of prosaic world atlas; this had already been dutifully attempted by Ramusio and to a lesser extent, for the edification of English readers, by Eden. Hakluyt's interests were rather less scientific than historical. His collection is organized as a chronology of English travel, from the journey of legendary British King Coilus' daughter Helena to Jerusalem in 337 to the 1589 voyage of William Michelson

[248] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.
[249] See Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, 153–260.
[250] Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, xxxviii.

and William Mace to the Gulf of Mexico.[251] Each section proceeds along a timeline of expeditions to different regions in order to describe, cumulatively, a tradition of English maritime endeavour. In all, Hakluyt includes some 30 accounts of voyages before 1550 and another 63 for the 1550 to 1589 period.[252] He supplements the travel narratives, in all three sections, with copious "Ambassages, Letters, Privileges, and other necessarie matters of circumstance appertaining to the voyages" in question, although these texts primarily correspond to contemporary travels.[253] This combination of old and recent material compensates for the geographical shortcomings of the narratives, for while English mariners could boast of few long-range, exploratory voyages relative to their continental peers, Hakluyt's chronology of their exploits demarcates an exponential growth in such ventures. In the wake of the Armada's defeat, the book's geographical limitations are contrasted with the apparently boundless horizons of English travelers in an implied, not-too-distant future.

Hakluyt selects materials from a wide range of sources.[254] He draws on non-English writers sparingly, "as the matter and occasion required," but he admits that from these "strangers" he "received more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians could affoord me in this case, [John] Bale, [John] Foxe,

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[251] See volume 1 of David Hughes, *The British Chronicles* (Westminster: Heritage Books, 2007), 121–122.

[252] There were early copies printed with Sir Jerome Bowes' account of Russia before those leaves were cancelled by censors. As well, after printing had begun, permission was received to print Drake's circumnavigation narrative, and it appears in later copies. It is unclear if any volumes were printed with both the Bowes and Drake material. See Quinn and Skelton, preface to the *Principall Navigations*, xxii–xxiv.

[253] Qtd. from Hakluyt's table of contents in *Principall Navigations*.

[254] See A. M. and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and Sources of Three Major Works," esp. 341–377, from D. B. Quinn, *Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 2, 338–378, and Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, esp. xiv–l.

and [Richard] Eden onely excepted."[255] Bale's *Scriptorum Illustriam Maioris Brytanniae . . . Catalogus* and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* provide most of the pre-1550 texts in Hakluyt's first section, while Eden's *Treatyse* and *Decades* furnish accounts of mid-century voyages to Guinea and Russia and the earlier exploits of the Cabots in North America. Some of Hakluyt's pre-1550 accounts come from contemporary versions of medieval histories by writers like Matthew Paris and Geoffrey of Monmouth, while others derive from the work of Hakluyt's historically-minded, literary peers, including John Dee, Abraham Ortelius, and Gerard Mercator.[256] A dozen or so of the later accounts had already been published; in addition to Eden's material, Hakluyt reprints passages from books by mariners like Dionyse Settle and Thomas Ellis, who recorded their experiences aboard Frobisher's 1577 and 1578 voyages, respectively, and he draws travel narratives from a few ephemeral, ad hoc news pamphlets.[257] Hakluyt also reprints Robert Thorne's letters, his cousin's advisory notes, and the Cabot material from *Divers Voyages*.

However, the majority of the post-1550 accounts are printed from manuscripts and are unique to *Principall Navigations*. It is unclear how Hakluyt acquired many of the manuscripts he used, but some can be traced to their contributors. In his dedicatory epistle to Walsingham, Hakluyt writes that in the early 1580s he "grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation," and, as in his earlier

[255] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.
[256] See Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, xxv–xxviii.
[257] See Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, xxix–xxxiii.

work, he evidently drew on these connections to compile *Principall Navigations*.[258] According to David Quinn and R. A. Skelton, Hakluyt was likely given accounts by a number of mariners including the Borough brothers, Anthony Jenkinson, Sir John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, Edward Hayes, John White, John Davis, and Thomas Cavendish.[259] He also benefitted from his elder cousin's support; in his capacity as an advisor to ventures for the Muscovy, Cathay, and Levant companies, the lawyer gathered primary documents to inform his recommendations, and he shared these documents with his cousin. The younger Hakluyt's commercial ties are represented in his receipt of manuscript voyage accounts from merchants Edward Cotton and Michael Lok. As well, he had familial and professional links to the Skinners' and Clothworkers' companies that afforded him the opportunity to meet prominent members of trade groups like the Muscovy, Levant, Cathay, and Barbary companies.[260] These men may have granted Hakluyt access to company archives to facilitate the preparation of his collection; the Muscovy Company's archives, for example, likely provided at least a dozen of Hakluyt's accounts in the second section of *Principall Navigations*.[261]

Hakluyt's "Ambassages, Letters, Privileges," and so forth, constitute a panoply of writing related to long-range English voyages and include material

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[258] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principall Navigations*.
[259] Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, xxxiii–xlvi. Also see A. M. and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and Sources of Three Major Works."
[260] See Quinn and Skelton, preface to the *Principall Navigations*, xxxix–xlii. Also see *Records of the Skinners of London*, ed. John Lambert (London: J. Allen and Unwin, 1933), 373–375, and Tom Girtin, "Mr. Hakluyt, Scholar at Oxford," in *Geographical Journal* 119.2 (1953): 208–212, and *The Golden Ram: A Narrative of the Clothworkers' Company* (London: Clothworkers' Company, 1958), 53–56.
[261] See 354–357.

such as international and domestic correspondences, trade charters, and navigational instructions. In assembling these, Hakluyt follows a pattern of selection similar to the one he used with the travel accounts; the majority likewise relate to travels after 1550, and he draws somewhat on prior publications, but primarily he prints material from manuscripts found in various company archives or provided by merchant and seafaring peers. His probable contributors for these documents add to his already-impressive list of correspondents and include merchants Richard Staper and William Sanderson and mariners Thomas Shingleton, Arthur Edwards, Miles Philips, and Richard Clarke. Further, Hakluyt's supplementary texts evince his political connections in a way that the travel accounts do not. He likely received reports on the Barbary trade from Moroccan ambassadors Edmund Hogan and Henry Roberts, discourses on Russia from statesman William Cecil and diplomats Giles Fletcher and Jerome Horsey, a letter on English/Algerian relations from former Lord Mayor of London Edward Osborne, and Ralph Lane's notes on his Roanoke colony from Raleigh.[262] Also, Walsingham apparently gave Hakluyt a letter that he received from Thomas Aldworth, a former mayor of Bristol, on Christopher Carleill's abortive 1583 venture to plant a colony in America.[263] Walsingham's continued patronage was crucial to Hakluyt; Walsingham used his powers as secretary of state to license *Principall Navigations* for publication, he paid some of the costs involved, he ensured that the book did not contain politically sensitive or inappropriate

[262] A. M. and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and Sources of Three Major Works," 348, 350, 353, 361, 365, 376.
[263] See A. M. and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and Sources of Three Major Works," 375.

documents, and he employed the Queen's printer's deputies George Bishop and Ralph Newberry to publish it.[264] After years spent gathering "dispersed, scattered, and hidden" documents from a vast range of sources, and with the support of his many associates, then, Hakluyt was able to construct his history of English voyages.[265]

Principall Navigations is an adaptation of the chronicle, the most prevalent genre of historical writing at the time in England. Chronicles are collated volumes of historical events and facts narrated and arranged chronologically. They were popular throughout the sixteenth century and often contained a modicum of cosmographical information, including details of foreign expeditions. However, as historian David Armitage argues, chronicles were ill-equipped to convey the "exploration and extension of space" inherent in voyages of discovery because they "laid history solely along the axis of time."[266] Armitage notes that chroniclers typically placed notices of important voyages alongside local day-to-day trivialities in a manner that implies a false sense of equivalency. As a result, "once a voyage left English waters it was lost over the historiographical horizon."[267] In a move that unduly dismisses the literary tradition heralded by Rastell, More, and Eden, Armitage further asserts that Hakluyt's "major achievement in English historiography," beginning with his 1587 translation of Martire and *Principall Navigations*, "was to give a

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[264] See Quinn and Skelton, preface to the *Principall Navigations*, xx–xxi, and Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principall Navigations*. Also see Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 9–14.
[265] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.
[266] "The New World," 56.
[267] Armitage, "The New World," 56.

geographical turn to historical writing."[268] Hakluyt certainly supports this conclusion when he calls geography and chronology "the right eye and the left of all history" in his later writing.[269] However, it should be remembered that this work was appealed for by Rastell some 60 years earlier when he decried the proliferation of literary trifles and the dearth of vernacular cosmographical texts. Following Rastell, Eden's *Treatyse* and *Decades* combine periegetical and historical materials, or, to use Armitage's parlance, they were organized spatially and temporally by either Eden or his sources (Münster, Martire, Oviedo, etc.). Rather than attribute the geographical turn in English historical writing solely to Hakluyt, then, one must acknowledge his links to his predecessors.

Fittingly, English chronicles primarily relate to domestic or British matters. Eden's books intentionally deviate from the local focus of chronicles to expand the geographical horizons of readers. By publishing translated accounts of European discoveries, he intended to sow the seeds of experience needed to foster England's own exploratory interests. As the latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed a dramatic rise in long-range English voyages, increasing numbers of vernacular texts on travel were written and became available. Some of them were narrated in chronicles. As Hakluyt distinguished himself as a collector of primary texts in the manner of Ramusio, he published compendia that evince the temporal basis of chronicles while preserving and championing the geographical materials that would otherwise be lost amidst the minutiae of other contemporary histories or glossed over by chroniclers. In *Divers Voyages*, Hakluyt follows a rough

[268] Armitage, "The New World," 56.
[269] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.

timeline from the Cabots to Rut to Barlow and Latimer and beyond, but he is forced to translate European texts to sustain his focus on North America. However, in *Principall Navigations* he more fully harvests the broad range of English periegetic accounts that preceded and followed Eden's publications by collating these accounts into a representative chronology. *Principall Navigations* thus joins the often-experimental, incipient genre of travel writing that blossomed in Eden's books and Hakluyt's early work with the more rigid, established generic norms of the chronicle. In this way, *Principall Navigations* represents literary maturity, canonical legitimacy, and Hakluyt's recognition that the English had emerged over time, but especially in the previous 40 years, as a force on the world stage.

Hakluyt ends his collection with a section on the Americas, which some critics have read as an overt attempt on his part to promote westward ventures.[270] However, he was certainly also vested in encouraging travel to other regions, and, as noted, the correspondence between his collection's geographical organization and Ramusio's suggests that Hakluyt was interested in producing an English *Navigationi*; the North American ending may merely be incidental. In any case, with the Armada defeated, England was able to return its gaze to Roanoke. The unnamed corporation operating under Raleigh's letters patent prepared a ship, the

[270] In *Hakluyt's Promise* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), Peter Mancall calls the first two parts of *Principall Navigations* "an extended prologue for the third part, . . . if the book was read (as Hakluyt hoped that it would be) as a way to promote westward expansion" (188). Mancall's point is challenged by Mary Fuller, who cites arguments by Anthony Payne and Matthew Day that the collection may have been intended to be read "not consecutively, but here and there, piece by piece, without ever being integrated by a rigorously continuous and comparative reading" (*Remembering the Early Modern Voyage* [New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008], 66).

Moonlight, to transport supplies to the colony.[271] The *Moonlight* was intended to be a consort of a small fleet sent to raid Spanish shipping routes in the West Indies in the spring of 1590. However, like Grenville's seven ships in 1585, the fleet became preoccupied with piracy and neglected to visit the colony until mid-August, much to the frustration of passenger John White, Roanoke's governor, who was anxious to return to those whom he had left three years earlier, including his wife and daughter. To add to White's worries, when he arrived at Roanoke he discovered that the colony had been abandoned, but that the colonists had left notices of their departure to Croatoan, a nearby island. Foul weather and the late season prevented the ships from sailing to Croatoan, and, dejectedly, White was forced to return to England.

Raleigh had invested a fortune in Virginia by this point, but the only profits of his ventures had come from piracy. Repeated failures at Roanoke made him and other investors wary, and over the following decade nothing was done to locate the colonists of 1587, who were never seen again by Europeans.[272] Raleigh's attention was diverted south to Guiana, which Hakluyt had previously described, in his *Discourse*, as a region devoid of Europeans, with "plentie of golde, pearle and precious stones."[273] For the time being, Guiana was thus presumed by Raleigh to be more immediately profitable than Roanoke as a base for colonists and privateers.[274] He sent several voyages to Guiana in the mid-

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[271] See Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 123–129.
[272] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 134–137.
[273] Hakluyt, *Discourse*, 67.
[274] Also, as Kupperman points out, "as long as he could claim that the [Roanoke] colonists still lived, his patent . . . was protected" even while he pursued other projects (*Roanoke*, 130).

1590s, but Hakluyt's involvement in these was slight. Guiana was already fairly well known to the English, so Raleigh and his lieutenant Lawrence Keymis were able to draw information from existing publications and handle the literary side of the venture themselves.[275] Hakluyt merely contributed an abstract of José de Acosta's *History of the Indies* to inform his future patron, Secretary of State Sir Robert Cecil, on the soundness of Raleigh's plans.[276]

With Walsingham's death in 1590, the death of his elder cousin in 1591, and his diminished involvement with Raleigh, Hakluyt saw his connections to England's foreign affairs diminish somewhat in the decade after *Principall Navigations* was published. His duties in Paris ended, and in early 1590 he was instituted rector of Wetheringsett in Suffolk, so his duties for the Church likely occupied more of his time. However, he was no less active in his literary pursuits. From 1589 to 1597 he encouraged the publication of a book of instructions for Englishmen abroad, he facilitated a reprint of Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of Virginia*, to which he added some translations of his own, and he prompted the translation of a Portuguese report on the Congo.[277] Aside from his stint as a consultant to Cecil, an investor in the voyages to Guiana, Hakluyt's expertise was needed by Dutch merchants who sought, unsuccessfully, a Northeast Passage to the Pacific; for a price, in 1595 he gave them advice, maps,

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[275] See Lacey, 239, and Parks, *English Voyages*, 137–141. Raleigh wrote *The Discoverie of the Large, Rich, and Bewtiful Empire of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), and Keymis authored *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1596).
[276] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 137–141.
[277] See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 94–100.

and translated accounts of English voyages north.[278] Much of his labour, though, was spent gathering documents for a second edition of *Principall Navigations*.

Only some of the timeline of Hakluyt's acquisition of materials for this second edition is known.[279] He collected information on Muscovy Company expeditions in 1590. In 1592 he received a description of 1534-1535 voyages to the Mediterranean, and a captured Portuguese ship yielded him a register of Portugal's affairs in the east, maps, and "divers other bookes and letters written from Japan, China, and ye Indies."[280] In 1593 John White gave Hakluyt a narrative of the 1590 Roanoke voyage. The following year Hakluyt interviewed an officer from James Lancaster's 1591-1594 piratical expedition to the East Indies. In 1595 he was given a letter on Greenland and Iceland, and Robert Dudley wrote an account of his West Indies voyage at Hakluyt's request. Over the next two years Hakluyt copied manuscripts by medieval travelers from a number of sources, and he took extracts from the ledgers of merchants who organized trading expeditions to the Canary Islands and the Mediterranean from 1510 to 1535. By the time that he published the first volume of his revised collection, *Principal Navigations*, in 1598, Hakluyt thus had a good deal of new material to add.[281]

Hakluyt had collected the documents for all three of his volumes by 1598, but the second and third volumes were not printed until 1599 and 1600,

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[278] See Parks, *English Voyages*, 141–147.
[279] The following timeline is extracted from D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology," 304–311.
[280] Hakluyt qtd. by D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology," 305.
[281] Please again note the different spellings of 'principal' in the first and second editions; this change is commonly used to distinguish the two collections.

respectively, due to the vicissitudes of the press.[282] He orders his volumes differently than the three sections of the first edition; he begins with voyages to the north and northeast, then to the south and southeast, and lastly, as before, to North and South America. This change likely relates to his dedication of the first volume to Lord Charles Howard of Effingham rather than to any desire on Hakluyt's part to break with Ramusio's model for didactic or propagandistic reasons. Hakluyt recognized Howard as both a patron and a national hero who deserved the initial prefatory honours. To begin, he thanks Howard for employing his brother, Edmund Hakluyt, for several years as a tutor to Howard's son. Next, Hakluyt acknowledges the support that he received from Howard's sister-in-law, Lady Douglas Stafford, whom Hakluyt befriended when he worked for her husband, Sir Edward Stafford, in Paris; Lady Stafford was the patron of Hakluyt's parish and oversaw his preferment there, and she also admonished him "to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards" in his work.[283] Hakluyt takes special care to glorify Howard's role as lord high admiral in the defeat of the Spanish Armada and England's subsequent rise in power and prestige. Hakluyt writes that "all posteritie and succeeding ages shall never cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations" for defeating the Armada, and he extends this praise back to Howard's father, William Howard, who also served as lord high admiral, and who supported the Muscovy Company in the 1550s.[284] Paraphrasing Isocrates, Hakluyt writes that "sonnes ought not

[282] See Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle to Charles Howard, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[283] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[284] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.

onely to be inheriters of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours."[285] Given Hakluyt's feelings of personal indebtedness to Charles Howard, and in light of William Howard's support of the ventures that led to England's valuable Muscovy trade, the father and son are thus ideal recipients of Hakluyt's commendations in his dedicatory epistle to a volume that features voyages to Russia.

Hakluyt reprints all of the voyage accounts and supplementary material from the corresponding section of the first edition, but he occasionally trims passages here and there; for example, he omits a number of journal entries on navigational matters from Hugh Smith's and Nicholas Chancellor's accounts of the 1580 Pet and Jackman voyage.[286] However, his coverage of the north and northeast is greatly expanded in *Principal Navigations* by the addition of over 100 extra documents. Most of the new accounts of expeditions to parts of northern Europe, Scandinavia, and Russia relate to travel before 1550.[287] Hakluyt draws these accounts from recent English and continental editions of medieval chronicles and from manuscripts. The new post-1550 accounts come from contemporary European histories and English manuscripts, but supplementary treatises, charters, letters, and so on constitute the majority of the new documents and dominate the volume. As a rough point of comparison, the section on the north and northeast occupies some 260 pages of the *Principall Navigations* where,

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[285] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[286] See *Principall Navigations*, 466–475 and *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 445–453. In his second edition, Hakluyt cuts the portion of Chancellor's journal that runs from pages 478–482 in the first edition.
[287] For a bibliography of Hakluyt's travel accounts in this volume, see Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 378–383.

by contrast, the first volume of the second edition is over 600 pages long.[288] With the notable exception of journeys to Asia by friars John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck, most of the travel accounts that are unique to the second edition are quite short whereas large sections are regularly given over entirely to letters and such. For example, the 1390 to 1553 timeline contains only two brief travel accounts, and yet it spans some 80 pages; Hakluyt covers England's political and commercial relations with northern European countries during this period primarily through transcribed manuscripts of official orations, diplomatic correspondences, ambassadorial records, trade agreements, statutes, charters, and the like.[289]

As with the first edition, so in the second Hakluyt's sources of supplementary documents are frequently unknown.[290] Some of the pre-1550 material comes from recently published histories like William Camden's chorographical *Britannia*, Matthew Parker's edition of Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Brevis*, and Sir Henry Savile's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, from which Hakluyt obtains passages of William of Malmesbury's chronicle *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*.[291] Transcriptions of previously unpublished pre-1550 texts come from a variety of sources including the vast manuscript libraries of Lord John Lumley and Sir Robert Cotton and official and institutional archives. Post-1550 material stems from books on Russia and Iceland by Giles Fletcher and

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[288] The exact length of the second edition text varies dues to the suppression of its last account in 1599 by censors (see D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology," 312).
[289] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 122–123, 144–221.
[290] I draw the following from Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 383–402.
[291] See Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 383–385. Camden, *Britannia* (London: 1594), Walsingham, *Historia Brevis* (London: 1574), Savile, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (London: 1596).

Arngrímr Jónsson, official archives, and Hakluyt's correspondence with John Dee. Hakluyt also made use of his connections in the Muscovy Company; he drew on company archives and acquired documents from prominent actors in the Russian ventures, including his associates Henry Lane, Michael Lok, and William Borough.

As does Hakluyt's first volume, the second and third volumes of *Principal Navigations*, which are dedicated to his new patron, Secretary of State Robert Cecil, offer a greater range of documentation than the first edition, and they similarly attest to his erudite rigours. With more documents available to him, he refines his presentation of the material. He divides the second volume, on voyages to the south and southeast, into two parts; the first covers voyages that passed through the Strait of Gibraltar, and the second covers those that did not. This approach achieves a closer geographical focus by effectively separating accounts of the Middle East, North Africa, Italy, and Greece from those of East and West Africa, Madeira, Cape Verde, and the Azores. Further, the final accounts of the second section mainly relate to recent piratical and military actions against the Spanish in the Atlantic, so they read as a discrete block of text. These closing accounts would be less impressive as a cumulative narrative of warfare if they were punctuated by the lengthy account of Constantinople and Syria and the supplementary texts on the Levant Company and the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth and the Ottoman Sultan that conclude the first section.

Hakluyt reprints the voyages from his first edition with one exception; John Mandeville's travels to Asia are omitted, perhaps for seeming too fantastical

and error-ridden.[292] New accounts outnumber the old throughout the volume, and the majority of the new documents again relate to pre-1550 voyages.[293] In his first section, Hakluyt (again) prints transcriptions from Lumley's library, and he adds manuscript narratives of 1534 and 1535 voyages to the Greek Islands under Captain Richard Gunson. He takes previously published accounts of pre-1550 English travel to the Holy Land from a couple of recent German histories and a 1587 edition of Raphael Holinshead's *Chronicles*. He once more draws from Parker's edition of Thomas Walsingham, this time for a note on a 1417 voyage to Jerusalem, and he extracts a description of knight Matthew Gourney's battles against the Moors in Spain and North Africa from Camden's *Britannia*. He returns to Henry Savile's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* for William of Malmesbury's accounts of journeys to India, Turkey, and Jerusalem between 880 and 1110. Savile's work also furnishes Hakluyt with passages from Roger of Hoveden's and Abbot Ingulf of Crowland's chronicles on eleventh-century trips to Jerusalem. With the exception of a recent English edition of Italian Cesare Frederick's 1563 expedition to the East Indies, the new post-1550 accounts are transcribed from manuscripts. Hakluyt likely acquired these from his many contacts, including Michael Lok, Ambassador to Turkey William Harborne, and Captain Henry Austell.

The second section of travel accounts is about half the size of the first and contains roughly the same proportion of new documents (~2/3). In contrast to the

[292] See Hakluyt's warning to his readers about the veracity of Mandeville's narrative in *Principall Navigations*, 77. Also see Mancall, 187, 232.
[293] For the following, see Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 403–411.

first section, the second includes only one account of pre-1550 travel. Aside from the military exploits that conclude the volume and a couple of accounts that correspond to England's rising interest in the East Indies, Hakluyt's second section essentially records the history of the Barbary Company's steady development of trade connections in Northwest Africa after Thomas Wyndham's initial voyage to Guinea in 1551. He draws some of his new material from manuscripts, the known sources of which include Walter Raleigh, merchants Michael Lok and Richard Staper, and mariners Edmund Barker and James Welsh. Hakluyt also selects passages from a German history of Africa and recently published accounts of maritime battles against Spain.

In both sections of volume 2, supplementary documents come mainly from the same sources, when known, as the voyage accounts, but Hakluyt adds a smattering of material from previously unused English manuscripts and the occasional chronicle. Generally speaking, volume 2 evinces a general pattern in Hakluyt's use of manuscripts in both editions of *Principal Navigations*: he draws on the work of contemporary historians for the pre-1550 accounts and supplements, and the post-1550 material comes largely from manuscript sources. In section one of volume 2, for instance, 29 out of the 35 supplementary documents for post-1550 voyages that are new to the second edition are printed from manuscripts.[294] Using passages from already published histories and compendia to cover pre-1550 voyages may have been a necessity because of the rarity of original documents. For the post-1550 voyages, Hakluyt may have

[294] See Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 413–422.

chosen not to reprint recent publications out of a desire to contribute something original to the discourse; he had already been criticized for his rather straightforward 1587 edition of Martire's *Decades*, which had prompted Ortelius to ask "Has he added nothing of his own? And what is the reason for this edition by Hakluyt?"[295] Republishing parts of books and pamphlets also involved Hakluyt in the convoluted copyright laws of the time, and he may have been denied the use of certain publications. In his dedication of the first edition he recounts his great frustration with the "backwardnesse . . . [and] maliciousnes" of "hucksters" who either refused him permission to reprint their texts or charged too much for the privilege.[296] As well, it is possible that Hakluyt was simply ignorant of certain contemporary publications on geography and travel, but this is unlikely due to his apparent voraciousness as a reader.

In any case, Hakluyt's use of manuscripts for the majority of the post-1550 voyage accounts and supplementary texts distinguishes both editions of *Principal Navigations* from Eden's *Decades*, which primarily gathers translated excerpts from continental books. Hakluyt's predilection for printing manuscripts is more akin to Ramusio's approach in his *Navigationi* and, to a lesser extent, *Historia* (i.e. in the "Primo Ultimo"). However, whereas Ramusio, playing the role of chronicler, adds contextual, editorial commentaries to augment his manuscript voyage accounts and supplementary texts in the *Navigationi*, Hakluyt lets his documents speak for themselves. In reference to a 1554 note by Richard

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[295] Trans. and cited by Peter Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 174.
[296] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle to Walsingham, *Principall Navigations*. Also see Quinn and Skelton, preface to *Principall Navigations*, xxi–xxii.

Chancellor on Russia that he prints from manuscript in *Principall Navigations* and reprints in 1598, Hakluyt writes that

> notwithstanding . . . [Chancellor's] stile be unpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of use; yet, so neere as the written copies would give me leave, I have most religiously without alteration observed the same: thinking it farre more convenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.[297]

In other words, for Hakluyt a manuscript copy of Chancellor's note is more appropriate for publication than his own gloss on it because, regardless of any stylistic shortcomings, said manuscript most accurately represents Chancellor's observations on foreign policy and trade matters with Russia. That is, Chancellor's text relates a "delightful and pertinent history" that would be marred by an interpreter.[298]

Hakluyt thus recognizes that manuscripts contain a wealth of detailed information that could very easily be obscured by an editor or chronicler seeking to narrativize matters for his readership. For example, a vast section of supplementary documents in the first volume of *Principal Navigations* covers the "Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions" that pertain to the relationship between England, Prussia, and the Hanseatic League during the reigns of Richard II and Henry

[297] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[298] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.

IV.[299] These documents were printed from manuscripts belonging to Robert Cotton, and they relate

> 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 usuall kinds of wares uttered in those days, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well upon the coast of Norway, as every where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inveterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse.[300]

It is unlikely that a narrator could effectively convey the nuances of these documents as well as the documents themselves, and so significant historical facts would remain "utterly darke and unknowen to the greater part of Readers."[301] Further, the manuscripts used by Hakluyt in his collections were rare or unique. None of them had been previously printed, and very few saw print outside of Hakluyt's work until the 1900s. So while he prints widely from manuscript sources in the pursuit of an eminently truthful history of English voyages, Hakluyt also offers his *editiones principes* to posterity as "monuments which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, and retchlesly hidden in mistie darknesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have been buried in perpetual oblivion."[302] Eden's translations of European books may have satisfied England's mid-century need for vernacular texts on travel and geography, but by the late-1500s this need had evolved, in Hakluyt's eyes, to require the publication of

[299] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1, 144–185.
[300] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[301] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.
[302] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.

manuscripts, qua Ramusio, and pertinent sections of already published works to preserve the fullest and best history of long-past and recent English travel.

Returning to *Principal Navigations*, in the third volume, by far the longest of the three, Hakluyt separates his documents into 14 sections that each describes a certain geographical region. Beginning with ventures to Canada's north, in pursuit of a Northwest Passage, he demarcates sections on voyages to Newfoundland and eastern Canada, Virginia, Florida, Mexico, the west coast of North America, Central America, the Caribbean Islands, Guiana, Brazil, the River Plate region, and Cape Horn and the west coast of South America. The last section also includes accounts of circumnavigatory voyages under Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish. Hakluyt explains his divisions as a refinement of the approach he used to separate his second volume into two parts and as a mode of aligning the spatial and temporal aspects of his documents. He writes that

> The order observed in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine unto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lack of sufficient store, in divers places to use the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced unto) being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place.[303]

That is, the documents in each section are ordered chronologically, and the sections themselves follow a periegetic north-to-south trajectory. He uses a similar chorographical approach in chapter III of his *Discourse*, it will be remembered, when he surveys the North American coast from south to north with reference to a dozen European and English expeditions.

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[303] Hakluyt, dedicatory epistle, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 3.

In keeping with his earlier focus on the west, Hakluyt had a large collection of documents to draw on in volume 3. The increased frequency of English voyages to the Caribbean and South America between 1589 and 1597 furnished him with a range of diegetic and supplementary texts that enabled him to offer a much broader geographical overview of the Americas than in *Principall Navigations*. That said, his coverage of North America relies heavily on material from his earlier publications.[304] Most of the documents in his sections on expeditions in search of a Northwest Passage, to Newfoundland, and Virginia come from his first edition.[305] His additions include lengthy passages from George Best's history of Frobisher's ventures and a number of selections from recent publications and manuscripts on voyages that took place after 1589 (i.e. after *Principall Navigations* was published). He prints newly available material on John Davis' voyages to Greenland and the Baffin Islands, several manuscript accounts of Atlantic Canada, and John White's narrative of his 1590 return to Roanoke. His section on voyages up the St. Lawrence River into eastern Canada come largely from the 1580 translation that he exhorted John Florio to make, from Ramusio's *Navigationi*, of Jacques Cartier's 1534 and 1535 voyages. Hakluyt also adds his own translations of a half-dozen manuscript accounts of French voyages to New France that he acquired while working in Paris. His Florida section includes documents from *Divers Voyages*, a reprint of his edition of Laudonnière, and the depositions of two Spaniards who were captured by Francis Drake in St.

[304] The following is drawn from Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 2, 430–460.
[305] Hakluyt does not reprint his account of David Ingram's trek across North America from *Principall Navigations*; he may have deemed it inaccurate. See Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, 232–234.

Augustine and brought to England. With a couple of exceptions, such as a reprint of Espejo's narrative, Hakluyt's short sections on northern Mexico and California differ from those on the rest of North America in that they are largely compiled from documents that he had not previously published. Instead, he relies on Ramusio, Gómara, and Dutch historian Jan Huyghen van Linschoten for a variety of Spanish voyages, and he prints two letters recently intercepted from the Spanish. Hakluyt's next sections on southern Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean return the focus to English accounts of English voyages. Most of the documentation of pre-1589 voyages comes from the first edition. Post-1589 voyages are primarily covered by manuscript accounts contributed by English mariners upon their return, but Hakluyt also inserts passages from recently published books and another dozen letters intercepted from Spanish ships. Unsurprisingly, he gathers his section on Guiana from the writings of Raleigh, Keymis, and Acosta that he had previously used to advise Robert Cecil. The pre-1589 Brazil and River Plate voyages are reprinted from the first edition, and the post-1589 documents are again printed from manuscripts that were given to Hakluyt by returned mariners. The final section on voyages around Cape Horn and into the Pacific pertains to the series of abortive and successful circumnavigations by English sailors between 1577 and 1591. Little of the section is reprinted from *Principall Navigations*; rather, Hakluyt once more demonstrates his abundant connections among his sea-faring peers by printing a bevy of manuscripts. Deposition notes and intercepted letters in these last sections are mainly translated from Portuguese rather than from Spanish as before.

Although Hakluyt retains his early interest in the colonization of Virginia in his 1589 and 1598-1600 collections, his broad geographical surveys attest to his support of English voyages to all parts of the globe.[306] The greater length of the second edition, and volume 3 in particular, is due in large part to the increased frequency of long-range and exploratory English voyages after 1589. Despite initial failures at Roanoke, Hakluyt thus records England's arrival on the world stage with his documentation of recent military victories against the Spanish, Raleigh's newfound interest in Guiana and England's emerging influence in the West Indies, Cavendish's circumnavigation, and so on. As histories, then, both editions offer a continuum of English voyages, but Hakluyt's additions to the second edition must be read not only as an offshoot of his scholarly rigours in the 1590s but also as a self-conscious expression of England's continued willingness to challenge established geopolitical circumstances and known geographical boundaries. By redeeming the literary practices of Eden and Ramusio in the spirit of Rastell and More, Hakluyt thus redresses the dearth of English travel accounts as he preserves a sense of England's historic growth and curiosity for posterity.

[306] Oddly enough, his dedication of the second volume of *Principal Navigations* (i.e. on voyages into the Mediterranean and to Africa) advocates another expedition to Virginia.

Conclusion

After 1600, Hakluyt encouraged the translation of a number of Dutch, Italian, Spanish, and French travel accounts, and he published a few of his own translations as well.[307] In the dedicatory epistle of his 1601 edition of *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, Antonio Galvão's sprawling 1563 history of European exploration, Hakluyt takes stock of Galvão's scant mention of English voyages:

> Now if any man shall marvel, that in these Discoveries of the World for the space almost of Fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: hee is to understand, that when this author ended this discourse . . . there was little extant of our mens travailes. And for ought I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if myselfe had not undertaken that heavie burden. . . . Which travailes of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and have been made for the most part to places first discovered by others, when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey.[308]

Hakluyt thereby weighs his own work as an historian against a pre-1555 period in which English voyages received little publicity, and he explains this neglect as a symptom, at least in part, of the underdeveloped state of England's maritime and foreign interests. Although he refers to Eden as an historian whose books were useful in the construction of *Principall Navigations*, Eden's *Treatyse* and *Decades* mainly describe non-English ventures.[309] As well, Eden's books correspond to incipient aspirations; the *Treatyse* supplements England's interest in finding a

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[307] See Payne, *Richard Hakluyt*, 101–113.
[308] Galvão's book was published as *The Discoveries of the World*, ed. and trans. by Richard Hakluyt (London: Eliot's Court Press, 1601).
[309] See Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.

Northeast Passage, while the *Decades* embraces the possibility of England joining countries like Spain and Portugal in discovery and conquest abroad. In his *Divers Voyages* and *Discourse*, Hakluyt follows Eden's propagandistic bent by focusing his efforts on the furtherance of nascent English colonies in Virginia. In a monograph appended to a 1904 edition of *Principal Navigations*, scholar Walter Raleigh remarks that with the increased proliferation of travel accounts in late sixteenth-century England "the ideas of colonial expansion and of the command of the sea . . . captured the nation; the seeds had been scattered, and were germinating in tens of thousands of minds."[310] As England developed its naval capacities and he cultivated connections with leading mariners, merchants, and government officials, Hakluyt was able to gather material for his history of English voyages to 1600. Decades after Eden published European travel accounts as seeds of experience intended to spur his countrymen to action, then, Hakluyt recorded the germination of those seeds.

In this sense, Hakluyt's collections continue Eden's. Because Eden's books owe their provenance to the dearth of English travel literature and the entreaties of More and Rastell in the early 1500s, Hakluyt's work is thus a link in the emergence of a subgenre in English geographical writing dedicated to accounts of voyages. Of course, as demonstrated above in his reference to Galvão's *Tratado*, Hakluyt understood that this subgenre had already developed in the literature of other nations. In his preface to the reader in volume 1 of

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[310] Sir Walter A. Raleigh, "The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century," in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 1904), 12.1–120, qtd. 12.120.

Principal Navigations, Hakluyt notes that the Portuguese and Spanish had both "those bright lampes of learning (I mean the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the loadstarre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course."[311] Here again is the connection that Eden makes between reason and experience in the preface of his *Treatyse*; in essence, reason and experience enrich one another. However, as Eden and Hakluyt laboured to provide English readers with a lodestar of maritime experience, they found few books upon which to model their own. Eden's *Treatyse*, it will be remembered, was intended to correct the inequities of van Doesborch's *Of the Newe Landes* rather than imitate its example. Eden is able to defer somewhat to the editorial choices of the writers whose books he translates and partially reprints; Münster, Martire, Oviedo, and so on, had already decided on their narratological approaches to the primary documents at their disposal. As Eden published very little from manuscripts, the accounts of travelers themselves enter only fleetingly into his *Decades*, and even then they are present in large part because of his selections from Ramusio's *Navigationi*. That is, the majority of the experiences that Eden presents are at a remove from those who actually had them. While this historiographical approach adequately served Eden's prerogative of bringing English letters up to date, Hakluyt chose a different tack by following Ramusio's lead to a greater extent in his chronologies of English travel. Just as Ramusio strives to represent European, and particularly Italian, voyages as closely

[311] Armitage comments on this passage in his essay "The New World and British Historical Thought," esp. 53.

as possible by printing from manuscripts or facsimiles of manuscripts whenever possible, Hakluyt reprints passages from already published texts in both editions of *Principal Navigations* sparingly and only when necessary to supplement his *editiones principes* (i.e. when manuscript accounts were unavailable, as in the case of very old travel accounts, and to fill 'experiential' gaps in the coverage of his manuscripts).[312] As he compiled and published a manuscript library like Ramusio before him, Hakluyt reclaimed an underappreciated national history from obscurity.

Hakluyt's cognizance of the connection between reason and experience in maritime ventures is reflected in his continued efforts after publishing *Principal Navigations* to contribute his sagacious familiarity with foreign travel to the institutionalization of England's interests abroad. He acted in an advisory role to merchants during the formation of the East India Company in 1600, he had a hand in the 1605-1607 creation of the Virginia Company through his association with Robert Cecil, and he held shares, and he was a charter member of the Northwest Passage Company when it formed in 1612.[313] As he brought his knowledge of history to bear on the ambitious and eventually fruitful plans of his peers, he continued to acquire manuscript travel accounts and thus exercise the nationalistic zeal that he prescribed for English editors in the above quotation from his edition

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[312] In the third volume of *Principal Navigations*, Hakluyt explains his approach to reprinting material from European writers or editors as follows:

> And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. (dedicatory epistle)

[313] See Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 1, 133–134, 313, 323, 324, 326.

of Galvão. That is, he recognized that England's history of world travel was still being written and that it would need to be commemorated. Although he did not publish his later acquisitions himself before he died in 1616, his documents passed on to his literary successor, Samuel Purchas.[314] Between 1613 and 1625, Purchas published four editions, expanded and updated each time, of his collection *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. The last edition, to which he gave the revised title *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, contains some 121 documents gathered by Hakluyt.[315] Purchas and Hakluyt met sometime after the release of Purchas's first edition, and in the second edition Purchas writes that

> Ramusius and M. Hakluit, in their books of voyages, have been two libraries unto me of many navigations and discoveries heere mentioned: and now in this edition I have beene much beholden to M. Hakluit for many written Treatises in this kind. . . . [H]is helpes in this second Edition, have much more obliged me . . . unto his laborious Collections; for which our English Navigations, both for memoriall of passed, incouragement of present, and instructions to the future, are . . . indebted beyond recompence.[316]

From the encouragement of Rastell and More to Eden's periegetic translations, to Hakluyt's *Navigationi*-esque chronologies of English travel and beyond, *peregrinationis historia* brought English readers, in Hakluyt's words, to the "certayne and full discoverie of the world."[317]

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[314] See C. R. Steele, "From Hakluyt to Purchas," in Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 1, 74–96.
[315] Steele, 74. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London: William Stansby, 1625).
[316] Qtd. by Quinn, *Handbook*, vol. 1, 329.
[317] Hakluyt, preface to the reader, *Principall Navigations*.

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