

ENGLAND'S TRAVELL:  
EMPIRE AND EXPERIENCE IN HAKLUYT'S "VOYAGES"

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, in its second, three-volume edition (1598-1600). The questions that it addresses fall into two general and interdependent areas: firstly, large scale questions of empire and ideology, and secondly, more local questions of individual experience. Hakluyt chose to let the authors of the narratives speak for themselves rather than imposing a continuous historical narrative onto his material. Narrative accountability therefore becomes a central issue in the *Voyages* and represents part of what I see as their ethical dimension--their concern with right action and experiential authenticity. The interrelationship between these matters is explored in relation to four major themes of the collection: history, warfare, discovery and colonization.

The three-part Introduction offers a brief outline of the historical conditions that contributed to the making of England into a maritime power on the brink of empire; it gives an over-view of Hakluyt's life and career within a wide circle of courtiers, scholars, merchants and navigators; finally, it provides an exposition and critique of Richard Helgerson's influential analysis of Hakluyt's *Voyages*.

Chapter One deals with the antiquarian/historiographical material which Hakluyt incorporated in his collection in order to illustrate the

maritime activity of Englishmen before the sixteenth century. In the diversity of the material the chapter finds a coherent argument which asserts the importance of expansion and stresses the need for further travel making it a precondition not just for economic prosperity but for the survival of the island-nation.

Chapter Two examines the narratives of naval warfare and argues that these allegedly objective accounts of maritime conflict provide a stage for the definition of Englishness by re-enacting the fight between true and false religion.

Chapter Three examines the narratives of some of the longer voyages of discovery and exploration and concentrates on the relationship between man, faith, fate and nature.

Finally, Chapter Four deals with the narratives of early colonization, examining the tensions and ambiguities that arise from the English encounter with the New World in the context of a discussion of New Historicist critical practice.

This thesis observes the guidelines set out in Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 6th edition, revised by John Grossman and Alice Bennett (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).

## INTRODUCTION

This introduction is in three parts. In the first part I trace briefly the dynamics of the expansionist movement which transformed England from an insular agricultural country to a significant maritime power on its road to empire--a movement which the *English Voyages* incorporate, record and propagate. I then go on to establish Hakluyt's position as a consultant geographer active within a wide circle of scholars, navigators, merchants and courtiers, and point out the contributions of this network of affiliations to the *Voyages*.

Hakluyt and his circle lead me to the subject of the second part of the introduction, namely a consideration of Richard Helgerson's discussion of Hakluyt's *Voyages*.<sup>1</sup> There are three main reasons for my discussion of Helgerson at this stage.

Firstly, for Helgerson Hakluyt's *Voyages* are part of a "generational project" (1) which in the later part of the sixteenth century was engaged in what he calls the "writing" of England. Helgerson sees Hakluyt's name and book as the "convenient markers" of various "intersecting communities" (153)--communities which are the subject of the first part of my introduction.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Helgerson, "The Voyages of a Nation," in *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Secondly, his discussion is one of the few recent attempts to consider the *Voyages* in their totality--to discuss, that is, the impact of the work as a whole, rather than to focus on isolated narratives, or clusters of narratives, from Hakluyt's collection as most other recent critics do. Moreover, his discussion is not only recent, it has also proved rather influential. Nevertheless, there are some important aspects of his discussion to which I take exception, as will be apparent below.

Helgerson's approach to Hakluyt will enable me to discuss my own approach to the *Voyages*, and this forms the final part of the introduction. My approach does not conform to any one particular critical school or theoretical template but is, rather, informed by a variety of influences, empirical as well as theoretical. It will be easier, therefore, to introduce it through juxtaposition with another critic's work. I take up the discussion of method again in the fourth and final chapter of the thesis, where I examine the work of two other leading contemporary critics who, like Helgerson, are also associated with what has come to be known as New Historicism: Stephen Greenblatt and Louis Montrose.

Finally, the third part of the introduction contains a brief general discussion of the shape and contents of this thesis as a whole.



## I. i.

Despite its island situation, England was slow to take part in the great European expansionist movement.<sup>2</sup> Even though the discovery of America and the consequent opening of the Atlantic changed the distribution of power in Europe, and England found herself occupying a position of increasing geographical importance, the English overseas enterprises evolved only gradually. For the first half of the sixteenth century England remained an agricultural country which relied on continental merchants for the export of its products and on continental ships for its voyages overseas. Several reasons account for this late development.

At the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, England's position was rather delicate. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had issued a bull which divided the newly discovered American lands between Spain and Portugal. The dividing line was the meridian as it passed through the Azores. The Papal bull had rendered maritime enterprise politically dangerous: to try and voyage within the vicinity of the Americas would almost inevitably result in breaking the

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<sup>2</sup>The following introduction does not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the historical forces that contributed to British expansion. My purpose is, rather, to highlight some of the issues that have a particular bearing upon the production of the *English Voyages*. My general outlook is influenced by Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). I have also found the technical information contained in J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance: Discovery, Exploration and Settlement 1450-1650* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1981) extremely useful.

monopoly of Spain.<sup>3</sup> Hence, when Henry VII issued a grant to John Cabot for the discovery and exploration of new lands, he was careful to exclude any territory which might infringe upon the authority of Spain. Cabot sailed westwards and in a succession of voyages reached Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and made the first steps towards exploration, but these steps were no sooner taken than forgotten.

Spain's prohibitive monopoly on the Americas was not the main reason why the English enterprises got off to such a relatively late start. Another incentive was also lacking, which was in many ways much more important. The most serious motive behind the explorations was trade and the search for new markets--markets that would both absorb a country's products and also supply the import of its various needs.<sup>4</sup> England's position again was rather complicated. On the one hand, it shared the economic prosperity of Europe: the cloth export was a prosperous trade and the farming market was advanced. English overseas trade was valuable and far-reaching. Nevertheless, native merchants managed only a small part of it. English merchants had direct and effective control only in Holland. The Baltic and Scandinavian routes were dominated by the Hanseatic league, whereas

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<sup>3</sup>G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London and New York: Methuen, 1977), 331. Regardless of the Papal Bull, however, English voyages to the Caribbean and to the Spanish Main did take place long before the great wave of privateering began in the 1560s, but they were isolated ventures rather than organised enterprises. See Irene A. Wright, ed., *Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1527-1568* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1928), 1-7.

<sup>4</sup>Historians of the European expansion agree that the main incentive behind the explorations was commercial. However, there is considerable difference in emphasis as to whether the predominant need was import or export. See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 5.

the Mediterranean trade was largely in the hands of the Venetians and the Genoese. This foreign control over the longer-distance routes restricted the growth of a native merchant navy, and didn't allow English navigators to develop the skills and experience they needed in order to embark successfully on long sea voyages. At the same time, the prosperity afforded by the nearby Continental trades provided comfort and security to the commercial classes, who had little use for the search for new markets.<sup>5</sup>

The lack of a pressing need to find new commercial outlets also meant that few people in England were interested in the new discoveries: as a consequence, they remained relatively unknown. There was a growing Continental literature on travel and exploration, but English publications on the subject were few and translations of foreign works were scarce.<sup>6</sup> The record of English publications on geography in the first half of the sixteenth century betrays the "conservatism of English contemporary thought . . . outside the more advanced intellectual circles,"<sup>7</sup> and is also indicative of a "lag in

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<sup>5</sup>R. B. Wernham, *Before the Armada: The Growth of English Foreign Policy, 1485-1588* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1966), 64-65.

<sup>6</sup>On the geographical literature of the period see Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), chap. 17. Penrose discusses the most important English books for the years 1483-1550; for a more detailed discussion with a specifically English focus see John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire: A Bibliographical History of English Overseas Interests to 1620* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965), chaps. 2 and 3. See also E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London: Methuen, 1930), chap. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 9.

English geography far behind the standard reached on the Continent.”<sup>8</sup> So, whereas in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France and Germany accounts of voyages, historical chronicles, revised maps and scientific treatises on geography increasingly captured the imagination of the reading public, the only English work on modern geography in print remained for many years John Rastell’s *A Merry Interlude on the Nature of the Foure Elements* (London, c. 1519)—a lecture on geography disguised as a play. The few other works that indicate an interest in geography—most notably Roger Barlow’s *A brief summe of geographie* (a translation of Martin Fernandez de Enciso’s *Suma de geographia*), and *The Booke of Robert Thorne* (Thorne’s two letters to Henry VIII advocating the search for a northern route to the East Indies)—circulated in manuscript, but remained unpublished for years, even centuries. By and large, the new knowledge remained the prerogative of a very limited circle: mainly those people who could read foreign languages and who had access to books published abroad could be informed.

A change started taking place in the 1550s. The East was opening up, silks and other fine materials were becoming available and the Continental markets became increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of English exported products, which were thought to be lacking in refinement: a slump in trade inevitably followed. As a result of this, English merchants had to develop direct contact with more distant markets where they might not only sell cloth but also acquire more

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 14.

cheaply the luxury imports so much demanded at home.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning of the 1550s the first organised expeditions to Africa and Russia started taking place. As the Crown's tradition of limited participation in overseas voyages continued, these enterprises were essentially mercantile ventures. The financial requirements of the new expeditions resulted in a different type of business organisation: the joint-stock company, which enabled merchants for the first time to attract capital from all sections of society.<sup>10</sup> Partly as a result of this new development a larger public interest had to be created--so, tracts and pamphlets which gave information on the new discoveries started to become more numerous.<sup>11</sup>

Around the same time, a few men who were seriously interested in the promotion of overseas enterprise returned to England after successful careers on the Continent. The most notable of these were Sebastian Cabot, an able and experienced navigator, and John Dee--astrologer, mathematician and one of the most highly educated men of the century.<sup>12</sup> John Dee had spent many years in the biggest centres of learning in Europe: he numbered among his teachers and close friends

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<sup>9</sup> Andrews, 7-9.

<sup>10</sup> On the joint-stock company see Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575-1630* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 3, 26ff.

<sup>11</sup> Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 37.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 37-38. On the pioneering Cabot voyages see Andrews, 50-56; on Cabot's return to England and his association with the Muscovy Company see 64-65. John Dee is a figure of importance for the *Voyages* and I examine his role in the definition of English expansionism in more detail in the following chapter of this thesis.

the top five scholars in geography of the time.<sup>13</sup> An ardent nationalist, Dee came back to England in 1551 carrying with him a great library, which he put at the disposal of his countrymen, and he also brought up-to-date maps and nautical instruments which would prove an indispensable aid to English navigators.<sup>14</sup> Both Dee and Cabot became actively involved with the dealings of the Muscovy Company, at the time the largest organization of its kind in England, as did Richard Eden, whose pioneering translations of important Continental works made their appearance in England in the beginning of the 1550s.<sup>15</sup> In 1553, Eden published his first work, *A treatyse of the newe India*, a collection of passages selected and translated from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (Basle, 1544). Although the *Treatyse* lacked the breath of Eden's later publications (notably the *Decades of the Newe World* of 1555), the book is considered as a turning point in the history of English geographical literature because it made available for the first time to an English audience the discoveries of the Spaniards and the Portuguese,

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<sup>13</sup>Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 76.

<sup>14</sup>On the importance of Dee's library for the advancement of science in Elizabethan London see Taylor, chap. 5 (Taylor also mentions the books from Dee's library that were relevant for geographical studies in appendix 2); Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (London: Panther Books, 1972), 17-18; and Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), chap. 3. For a recent evaluation of Dee's library as "part of a more general place of knowledge, in which books coexisted with laboratories, gardens, and cabinets of curiosities" see William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 29-52: 36.

<sup>15</sup>On the importance of Richard Eden as a pioneer of English geographical studies and his role in the expansionist movement see Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, chap. 4; Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 19-23; and Richard B. Reed, "Richard Eden: An Early English Imperialist," *Serif* 4 (1967): 3-11.

and it also familiarised the English with the major European geographical writers.

Thus the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century in England saw a quest for new markets and the importation of new knowledge from Europe. The subsequent expeditions which were to seek out these new markets--privately funded, expensive enterprises--were heavily dependent upon the new knowledge from Europe. In the remarkable collaboration between merchants, mariners and the moneyed gentry which characterises the social formation of English overseas enterprise, the scholar also played an essential part. It was the task of the scholar, and more particularly of the geographer, to amass information and to systematise and make available the knowledge which would be helpful for the new explorations. This, then, was the role that Richard Hakluyt came to play.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>E. G. R. Taylor has traced this role with respect to Hakluyt and the intellectual circles within which he moved in her *Tudor Geography* and in chap. 1 of her *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London: Methuen, 1934) as well as in her introduction to *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1935). For a recent evaluation of the role of the geographer in the sixteenth century see Lesley B. Cormack, "Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England," *Isis* 82 (1991): 639-61.

## I. ii.

Richard Hakluyt was born in London in 1552.<sup>17</sup> He was the son of a merchant (his father was a skinner) and member of an old-established Herefordshire family of the lesser landed gentry.<sup>18</sup> His parentage offered him considerable advantages: he had the dignity and social standing of a gentleman; he had early access to the growing and vigorous merchant community of the capital; finally, at a time when the Tudors reigned over England, it was a "decided asset" to come from the area around the Welsh border as the Hakluyts did.<sup>19</sup>

Hakluyt's father died when Hakluyt was still very young, and left a family of six to the guardianship of an elder cousin also named Richard Hakluyt, a lawyer of the Middle Temple. This elder kinsman (himself a young man of twenty-five at the time) was to exert a powerful influence on his younger cousin's development. The two men were bound by a strong intellectual sympathy, and became life-long friends and close associates.

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<sup>17</sup>D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology" in D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 263-331: 265. For my summary of Hakluyt's life and career I have also relied on George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928); and E. G. R. Taylor, ed., *Original Writings*. Parks offers the first full-length biographical study of Richard Hakluyt and his lawyer cousin; Taylor updates and systematises much of the information offered by Parks; finally, D. B. and A. M. Quinn offer the most recently revised chronology of Hakluyt's life.

<sup>18</sup>Taylor, *Original Writings*, 1-3.

<sup>19</sup>Taylor, *Original*, 3-4; Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 27.



The elder Hakluyt's career reached its professional maturity during the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when English trade started a new, important movement into Africa and Asia. The lawyer was himself interested in this movement and shared in it as a legal and geographical adviser to navigators and merchant companies.<sup>20</sup> The elder Hakluyt's interests in the mercantile aspects of geography led him to seek the friendship of leading authorities both in England and on the Continent (he became acquainted with John Dee and a correspondent of Abraham Ortelius) as well as introductions to powerful men of state, such as Lord Burghley.<sup>21</sup> Thus it was through the lawyer's interest in the developing science of geography that the younger Hakluyt was introduced to the study of it. The year was probably 1568, and Hakluyt was a Queen's Scholar at Westminster.<sup>22</sup>

In 1570 Hakluyt was elected as one of the two Queen's Scholars at Christ-Church, Oxford. He took his degree in divinity in 1574 and proceeded to do an M.A., which he took in 1577. Alongside his formal studies he pursued his interest in geography. He learned foreign languages in order to familiarise himself with the voluminous Continental literature on the subject and worked his way through the classical authorities of Ptolemy, Pliny and Strabo; he also took notes

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<sup>20</sup>For the elder Hakluyt's career and involvement in trade see Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, chaps. 3-4.

<sup>21</sup>On Dee and the elder Hakluyt see Taylor, *Original*, 19; his correspondence with Ortelius is reprinted *ibid.*, 77-83 and the letters to Burghley *ibid.*, 90-91, 93-95.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 396, n. 4.

and reports from returning travellers and sailors in the manner of Martyr and Eden.<sup>23</sup> During his stay at Oxford Hakluyt offered a series of lectures on geography which met with considerable success.<sup>24</sup> Sometime between 1577 and 1583 Hakluyt was ordained. In 1583 he was appointed chaplain and secretary to Sir Edward Stafford, who was to act as the English ambassador in France.<sup>25</sup> Hakluyt followed him there and lived in France until 1588, bringing out a number of important geographical publications. On his return to England he was appointed to a prebendaryship at Bristol, one of the most important English ports and the seat of the old, well-established Anglo-Spanish merchant houses. Hakluyt spent his time between Bristol, Oxford and London, and he was well-known and respected in all three places.

From the mid-1570s, therefore, Hakluyt's activities centre around three of the most important cities in England, where he would make his connections and expand his circle of influence. In Bristol he met the practical men of trade--the merchants, sailors and travellers who brought news from their voyages in Africa and the Atlantic. He met more of these men in London, which was the biggest port of the

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<sup>23</sup>Taylor, *Original*, 12.

<sup>24</sup>Hakluyt himself claims that he was the first person to offer public lectures on geography in Oxford, a contention which has been taken at face value by modern historians. For a slightly different view, which claims that Hakluyt's lectures were not public but were given to members of his own College, see J. N. L. Baker, "The History of Geography in Oxford" in J. N. L. Baker, *The History of Geography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 119-20. For Hakluyt's claim see "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition" in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905), 1: xviii. Unless otherwise stated all references are to this edition.

<sup>25</sup>"Hakluyt Chronology," 278.

time, and the base of the powerful merchant companies. Moreover in London he had the opportunity to meet the leading scientists and intellectuals of the day, and to participate in the close cooperation between scholars and practical men. Finally at Oxford, he became acquainted not only with scientists and intellectuals, but also participated in various networks of association which were important for the advancement of his career. A review of the people that Hakluyt associated with shows that many of them contributed directly to the *Voyages*. I will begin my review of Hakluyt's circle starting with his years at Oxford.<sup>26</sup>

One of the most influential intellectual figures at Oxford in the period after 1570 was Sir Henry Savile, a noted scholar, who started his career as a protégé of the Earl of Leicester. Savile helped develop a

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<sup>26</sup>My principal purpose in reviewing Hakluyt's circle is to pay attention to the people and writings that make up the composition of the *Voyages*. For my review of Hakluyt's circle I have relied on Parks, *Richard Hakluyt; Taylor, Original Writings*; and D. B. and A. M. Quinn, "A Hakluyt Chronology." I have also relied on Christopher Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, 133-35 and passim; and Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chap. 4. Hill and Feingold are concerned with the considerable scientific progress which is evident in the later part of Elizabeth's reign, but approach it from different angles, and in this way participate in the debate on the role of the Universities and that of London in the scientific progress of the time (for a review of the debate see Feingold, 2-7). Thus, Hill views the universities as more or less backward institutions whose principal function was "to produce clerics for the state Church, and to give a veneer of polite learning to young gentlemen" (*Intellectual Origins*, 301) whereas Feingold argues that the universities "contributed significantly to the critical dialogue that vitalized the scientific community" (*Apprenticeship*, 21). Feingold's work is continued by Lesley B. Cormack who studies the geographical community at Oxford and Cambridge for the period 1580-1620 and argues for the importance of geographical studies for the development of the new science and of an imperial ideology through education. See Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities, 1580-1620* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997). Feingold and Cormack provide an invaluable discussion of the networks of association that were established during a student's stay at the universities. However, Hill's picture of an Elizabethan London where the leading scholars were in close cooperation with the practical men of trade for whom they wrote is central to the argument of my thesis.

scholarly network, which formed connections between English and Continental intellectuals.<sup>27</sup> He was a lifelong friend of William Camden, with whom he shared an interest in antiquarian studies and of Sir Philip Sidney, who wrote letters of introduction for Savile on his Continental tour. Hakluyt was acquainted with Savile while at Oxford and Savile's edition *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam* (1596) is one of the texts that Hakluyt relies on for his presentation of pre-sixteenth century travel in the *Voyages*. Hakluyt was, moreover, a close friend of Camden. Camden is credited with helping Hakluyt find his way through the documents of British history; furthermore, he contributed a poem in Latin to the dedicatory material at the beginning of the *Voyages*, and various excerpts from the 1594 edition of his *Britannia* are included in the medieval section of Hakluyt's collection.<sup>28</sup> Hakluyt was also a close personal friend of Henry Savile's brother, Thomas (who was one of the contributors to Camden's *Britannia*).<sup>29</sup> It was possibly through him that Hakluyt befriended two notable mathematicians--Walter Warner and Thomas Harriot.

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<sup>27</sup>On Savile and his scholarly network see Feingold, 124-31.

<sup>28</sup>On the association between Camden and Hakluyt see the introduction to Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Imprinted in London in 1589 (A Photo-lithographic facsimile with an Introduction by David Beers Quinn and Raleigh Ashley Skelton and with a new Index by Alison Quinn. Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: At the University Press, 1965), xxv. (Hereafter cited as Quinn and Skelton.) The inclusion of the work of Camden and Savile in the *Voyages* points to the antiquarian movement in the sixteenth century; I deal with this aspect of Hakluyt's work in the following chapter, where I also point out in more detail the contributions of Camden and Savile to the *Voyages*.

<sup>29</sup>Feingold, 131.

Hakluyt's association with Harriot was very close, as both men were involved in Raleigh's colonizing projects. Hakluyt reprinted Harriot's *Briefe and true Report* in both editions of the *Voyages* and he also introduced the products of Harriot's collaboration with John White to Theodore de Bry during the latter's visit to England. White's drawings of the Algonquians together with Harriot's explanatory text were turned into the first part of De Bry's *America*, thus securing an international audience for the Roanoke enterprises.<sup>30</sup> A contemporary at Oxford and close friend of both Harriot and Hakluyt was Stephen Parmenius of Buda--a Hungarian refugee who was Hakluyt's bedfellow at Christ Church, and who later sailed with Gilbert to Newfoundland and perished in the seas.<sup>31</sup> Another member of Hakluyt's circle in Oxford was John Florio: Hakluyt lent Florio his copy of Ramusio's *Navigacionni et Viaggi*, asking him to translate Cartier's voyages to Canada. The work appeared in a separate publication in 1580 and later on was also included in the *Voyages*.<sup>32</sup> Florio was only one of the people whose translations Hakluyt suggested or else encouraged.

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<sup>30</sup>"Hakluyt Chronology," 295; D. B. Quinn, "Thomas Harriot and the Problem of America," Oriol College Oxford: The 1990 Thomas Harriot Lecture (Oxford: 1992), 15. For an analysis of de Bry's illustrations see Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>31</sup>On Parmenius see David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire eds., *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Parmenius's poem "De Navigatione" and his letter to Hakluyt from Newfoundland are included in the *Voyages*, 8: 23-33 and 8: 78-84 respectively.

<sup>32</sup>Cartier's three voyages are included in 8: 183-272. The first two are reprinted from the 1580 Florio translation, whereas the third was acquired in France (between 1584 and 1588) and is first printed in the second edition of the *Voyages* in Hakluyt's

Another was Philip Jones, one of Hakluyt's Oxford protégés and one of the associates who helped Hakluyt gather material for the *Voyages* while the latter was in France.<sup>33</sup> At Hakluyt's request, Jones translated a small volume originally written by Albertus Meierus, called *Certaine briefe, and speciall Instructions for Gentlemen, Merchants, Students, Souldiers, Marriners, etc. Employed in services abroade* (1586), and he wrote a number of items especially for the *Voyages*.<sup>34</sup> While at Oxford Hakluyt was also acquainted with the Earl of Cumberland, a prominent figure who was interested in the scientific discoveries. Cumberland became one of the Queen's favourites; he was an adventurous man who was involved in some twelve expeditions during the Spanish war, most of which found their way into the *Voyages*.<sup>35</sup> The account of

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translation (*Hakluyt Handbook*, 438). A friend of Hakluyt from Paris, John Groute, furnished him with the letters that follow Cartier's voyages (8: 272-74).

<sup>33</sup>Quinn and Skelton, xviii. On Jones and Hakluyt at Oxford see also Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 61-62.

<sup>34</sup>Jones is credited with taking down the report of Lionell Plumtree on the 1568 Banister-Ducket voyage to Persia (3: 150-57) and composing "A true report of a worthy fight, 1586" (6: 46-57). See Quinn and Skelton, xviii. Parks in *Richard Hakluyt*, 120 is mistaken in thinking that Jones was a participant in that voyage; William B. White, "The Narrative Technique of Elizabethan Voyage and Travel Literature from 1550 to 1603" (Ph.D. diss., Lehigh University, Pennsylvania, 1955), 472-73 also follows Parks's assumption. Cormack, *ibid.*, believes that this is the same Philip Jones who wrote a manuscript on the northwest passage in 1586 (62). Andrews, however, suggests that the person who wrote the manuscript had also furnished an expedition to the northwest: according to Andrews's dates the expedition took place before Jones was born (Quinn and Skelton give his date of birth as 1563, xviii, n. 2.) and thus it is highly unlikely that the same Philip Jones who wrote that manuscript was actually Hakluyt's friend. See Andrews, 51, n. 23 and 167, n. 2.

<sup>35</sup>Cumberland's first expedition (1586) is mentioned in 6: 294 and a narrative of the voyage is included in 9: 202-27; his involvement in the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) is recorded in 4: 217; the 1589-91 voyage written by Edward Wright is included in 7: 1-31 and there is an additional testimony by Linschoten who recounts Cumberland's exploits in 7: 62-87; his involvement in the taking of the *Madre de Deus* (1592) can be found in 7: 110 and the story of his ships defeating the Spanish carrack "The Five Wounds" (1593) in 7: 118-23.

one of Cumberland's expeditions was written by Edward Wright, another notable mathematician, who accompanied him in the 1589 voyage. The account appeared in Wright's *Certain Errors in Navigation* (completed in 1592 but published in 1599); although a student at Cambridge not Oxford, Wright was acquainted with Hakluyt and probably gave him a copy of his book in advance of its publication for use in the *Voyages*.<sup>36</sup> Edward Wright was the first mathematician to create a map of the world using the Mercator projection: this map was inserted in the 1589-1600 edition of Hakluyt.<sup>37</sup> While at Oxford Hakluyt was also acquainted with Sir Edward Dyer, the poet and courtier who was one of the most enthusiastic patrons of the sciences, as well as with Dyer's close friend, Sir Philip Sidney, who had a professed interest in America and who was to act as Hakluyt's first patron.<sup>38</sup> The Chancellor of the University of Oxford while Hakluyt was a student there was Sidney's uncle, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. It was Leicester who informed Hakluyt (bearing a letter from the Queen) that he was to

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<sup>36</sup>Taylor, *Late Tudor*, 76.

<sup>37</sup>For an evaluation of *Certain Errors*, see Cormack, *Charting an Empire*, 103-105. On Wright's map see Helen Wallis, "Edward Wright and the 1599 World Map," Appendix to R. A. Skelton, "Hakluyt's Maps" in D. B. Quinn ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 48-73. See also R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers* (London; New York; Toronto; Sidney: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1949), 51-52.

<sup>38</sup>On Edward Dyer and his involvement in overseas activities see Ralph M. Sargent, *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), chaps. 4 and 6. Hakluyt mentions his gratitude for Dyer's support in "The Preface to the First Edition," I: xxix. On Sidney's years at Oxford see John Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance* (London; Melbourne; Toronto: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's Press, 1965), 39-44.

accompany the English ambassador in France.<sup>39</sup> The ambassador was Sir Edward Stafford, who was married to Lady Sheffield--the mother of Leicester's son, Robert Dudley, and the sister of Lord Charles Howard (to whom the first volume of the second edition of the *Voyages* was dedicated). Hakluyt became closely acquainted with Lady Sheffield and through her, with her son, whose adventures are recorded in the *Voyages*.<sup>40</sup> Dudley and Hakluyt became further connected through their respective marriages to the Cavendish family: Dudley married Thomas Cavendish's sister, Anne (who was a maid to the Queen), whereas Hakluyt's first wife was Douglas Cavendish--the circumnavigator's cousin and, possibly, Lady Sheffield's goddaughter.<sup>41</sup> To complete this circle of associations, Edmund Hakluyt, Richard's younger brother, was tutor in mathematics to Lord William Howard, the admiral's son and Lady Sheffield's nephew.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>"Hakluyt Chronology," 278, 281. Hakluyt includes the patent issued by the Queen in 1585 "for a trade to Barbarie" (6: 419-25), in which Leicester is mentioned alongside other "Noble men and Marchants of London" (6: 419). According to Andrews, Leicester was in fact responsible for the formation of the Barbary Company "which he foisted upon the merchants in order to secure control of the arms trade," 102, n. 4.

<sup>40</sup>Dudley wrote an account of his 1594 voyage to Trinidad "at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt," 10: 203-12 (203); his knighthood after the action at Cadiz is recorded in 6: 260.

<sup>41</sup>On Cavendish and his career see D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish 1591-92* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975). Through his family ties with Cavendish Hakluyt was in good position to acquire material on the circumnavigation very soon after Cavendish's return and to publish them in the 1589 edition of the *Voyages* (reprinted in the second edition in 9: 290-347). According to Taylor, Cavendish's return in 1588 was probably one of the main stimuli for the 1589 publication of the *Voyages* (*Late Tudor*, 15).

<sup>42</sup>*Original*, 50. Hakluyt mentions this association in "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Volume of the Second Edition, 1598," 1: xxxii



Meanwhile, the men with whom Hakluyt (and his lawyer cousin) associated in London reveal a close contact with the circle around the Earl of Leicester. In the 1570s Leicester had emerged as a patron of letters and by the early 1580s he was pressing for a formal Anglo-Dutch alliance; it was during that time that the men who formed Leicester's circle in England came into close contact with the scholars and politicians of the Low Countries.<sup>43</sup> I have already mentioned the close association between Hakluyt and Camden: the two men were also in close contact with Emanuel van Meteren, a naturalised Englishman, Dean of the Dutch refugee colony in London and author of a history of the Low Countries. The account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada that is included in the *Voyages* comes from van Meteren's *Historia Belgica*.<sup>44</sup> Van Meteren was a kinsman of Daniel Rogers, poet and diplomat, the son of the first Marian martyr and nephew of Ortelius (who encouraged Camden to embark on the study of Roman Britain and Hakluyt to collect and publish the voyages of the English nation).<sup>45</sup> The other great cosmographer with whom

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<sup>43</sup>Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 84.

<sup>44</sup>Van Meteren was a lifelong friend of Hakluyt (*Original*, 6, 7, 52, 53). According to Quinn, he probably supplied Hakluyt with a copy of the *Historia Belgica* for him to translate in advance of the Latin publication (*Hakluyt Handbook*, 382). He was the son of Jacob van Meteren, who had imported the Coverdale version of the Bible into England (Sharpe, 85).

<sup>45</sup>On Daniel Rogers and his importance as a link between the two circles on either side of the Channel, see J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute. Leiden: At the University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1962). On Ortelius's encouragement of Hakluyt's work see G. Parry, *The Trophies of Time. English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford; New York: Oxford

Hakluyt was also in direct contact with Gerald Mercator. Mercator wrote to Hakluyt from Duisburg and his opinions and influence, like those of Ortelius can be traced through the *Voyages*.<sup>46</sup> Mercator was also in contact with John Dee, with whom he corresponded about the northern navigations.<sup>47</sup> Hakluyt was, as I have already mentioned, part of Dee's circle and Dee's imperial ideology is an essential aspect of the *Voyages*.<sup>48</sup>

Hakluyt's circle reveals therefore an association with men of strong, professed Protestant leanings, all of whom played an important role in the definition of the nationalist character of the later Elizabethan period. The same is true of Hakluyt's earliest patrons: Hakluyt wrote his first extant tract, "A Discourse upon the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus," for Sir Francis Walsingham in 1580 and it is to him that the 1589 edition of the *Voyages* was dedicated. Moreover, Hakluyt dedicated his first major publication, a collection of voyages entitled *Divers Voyages to America* (London, 1582), to Sir Philip Sidney. The combination of these two names as Hakluyt's earliest patrons points to an alliance of Elizabethans who were brought

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University Press, 1995), 23, n. 4. On Ortelius's discussions with the younger Hakluyt about Frobisher see Taylor, *Original*, 12.

<sup>46</sup>Mercator's letter is included in 3: 275-82.

<sup>47</sup>E. G. R. Taylor, "A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 56-68.

<sup>48</sup>Two extremely good discussions of Dee's imperial ideology and the various expeditionary projects with which he was involved are Nicholas H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between Science and Religion* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), chap. 7 and William H. Sherman, *John Dee*, chap. 7.

together through their shared views on foreign policy. As opposed to the more cautious policy favoured by the Queen and Lord Burghley, who were principally concerned with the defence of the realm against foreign invasion, the circle around Walsingham, Sidney and Sidney's uncle, the Earl of Leicester, favoured a more aggressive, nationally assertive, policy directed mainly against Spain and its possessions in the New World.<sup>49</sup> Sidney himself became a charismatic spokesman for this cause, and mainly because of his social standing and the expectations that his position carried with it, he was looked upon as its leader. Since he was not materially wealthy, it was in this capacity that he acted as a patron of a like-minded group of intellectuals and scholars.<sup>50</sup>

In a system of patronage where, as the critic Eleanor Rosenberg writes, the "relationship between patron and protege is often a collaboration for a cause to which both men have promised themselves,"<sup>51</sup> it is quite significant that after Sidney's death it was Sir Walter Raleigh who inherited most of Sidney's protégés as well as those of Sidney's uncle, Leicester.<sup>52</sup> Raleigh was the acknowledged leader of the movement for the colonization of the New World, and one of the

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<sup>49</sup>Roger Howell Jr., "The Sidney Circle and the Protestant Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy," *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 17 (1973), 31-46.

<sup>50</sup>On Sidney as a patron see Jan van Dorsten, "Literary Patronage in Elizabethan England: The Early Phase" in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 191-206.

<sup>51</sup>Eleanor Rosenberg, *Leicester, Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), xv-xvi.

<sup>52</sup>*Intellectual Origins*, 132.

most outspoken proponents of an expansionist policy.<sup>53</sup> The association between Raleigh and Hakluyt was extremely close: Hakluyt dedicated his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades* (1587) to Raleigh; he brought out a number of publications that were especially designed to help Raleigh with his expeditionary projects (like Laudonniere's account of Florida and the voyages to New Mexico); he wrote his *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584, first published 1877) in support of Raleigh's Roanoke enterprises and he was himself actively involved in the Virginia Company.<sup>54</sup>

So far I have traced Hakluyt's association with the leading Elizabethan scholars, courtiers, and men of state whose acts, books and political opinions find their way into the *Voyages*. Another, equally important and by no means separate, group of Hakluyt's associates came from the mercantile circles in which he was involved throughout his career. Hakluyt received his university education partly through stipends from the Skinners' and the Clothworkers' Companies.<sup>55</sup> Through his lawyer cousin and his involvement in the

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<sup>53</sup>Two of Raleigh's most famous prose works, "The last fight of the 'Revenge' at Sea" and "The discoverie of the large, rich and beautifull Empire of Guiana" are included in the *Voyages* (7: 38-53 and 10: 338-431 respectively). In addition, Hakluyt includes thorough documentation of Raleigh's various expeditionary projects as well as the material that he had published independently (on Florida and Canada) that was essential to Raleigh's purposes.

<sup>54</sup>D. B. Quinn has traced the relationship between Raleigh and Hakluyt in his successive editions of documentary material relating to the beginnings of English colonization in America. The items are too numerous to cite here but are referred to later on at various stages of the thesis.

<sup>55</sup>Hakluyt received a grant from the Skinners' Company from 1573 to 1575 and a grant from the Clothworkers' Company from 1577 until 1586 ("A Hakluyt Chronology," 266-80).

dealings of the Muscovy Company, Hakluyt also became acquainted with the leading men involved in this organization. His association with the principal merchants and navigators of London and Bristol (where, as I have already mentioned, he was the prebendary of the Cathedral) enabled Hakluyt to incorporate in the *Voyages* the documentation of the beginnings and early growth of English trade, which is one of the most prominent features of the collection.

In his first English publication of travel narratives (entitled *Divers Voyages to America*, 1582) Hakluyt mentions that he had received assistance from Michael Lok--traveller and man of trade, son of the London magnate Sir William Lok, secretary to the Muscovy Company, amateur of cosmography and a northwest passage enthusiast who became the chief organiser of the Frobisher voyages to the northwest.<sup>56</sup> It was probably through Lok that Hakluyt came to know Sir William Winter,<sup>57</sup> member of one of the leading families of shipowners and merchants who were in charge of the royal fleet.<sup>58</sup> John Winter, Sir William's son, accompanied Drake in the 1577-79 voyage: his activities, like those of his father, are documented in the *Voyages*.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, it was through Michael Lok that Hakluyt

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<sup>56</sup> Andrews, 168. The Frobisher expeditions are included in 7: 204-375. Lok also supplied Hakluyt with the journal of his brother, John Lok, who had travelled to the East in 1553 (included in 5: 76-105). See Taylor, *Late Tudor*, 25.

<sup>57</sup> *Late Tudor*, 5.

<sup>58</sup> Andrews, 105.

<sup>59</sup> Sir William Winter's involvement in the Negro trade is mentioned in 10:7; John Winter's travels with Sir Francis Drake are recorded in 11: 148-62.

befriended the two chief pilots of the Muscovy Company, Anthony Jenkinson and William Burrough. The two men supplied Hakluyt with the journals of their travels to Russia and guided him in his searches through the Muscovy Company archives.<sup>60</sup>

After the collapse of the Frobisher ventures the search for a northwest passage was continued by John Davis under the sponsorship of another London merchant, William Sanderson. Sanderson is mentioned in the Preface of the 1589 edition of the *Voyages* as the patron of Emery Molyneux, the celebrated globe-maker.<sup>61</sup> He was in close contact with Hakluyt, whom he supplied with various letters,<sup>62</sup> and he acted as the patron of John Davis; his nephew, John Jane, became the principal chronicler of Davis's navigations.<sup>63</sup> John Davis was one of the most experienced navigators of his time: he was the author of two highly regarded navigational manuals, *The Seaman's Secrets* (1595) and *The World's Hydrographical Description* (passages of the latter are included in Hakluyt's collection), and equally famous as

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<sup>60</sup>*Late Tudor*, 5; 1: xxix.

<sup>61</sup>1: xxx. On Sanderson see Ruth A. McIntyre, "William Sanderson: Elizabethan Financier of Discovery," *William and Mary Quarterly* 13 (1956): 184-201.

<sup>62</sup>*Hakluyt Handbook*, 365, 376.

<sup>63</sup>John Jane (or Janes) is the author of three of the narratives regarding Davis's travels that are included in Hakluyt: he wrote an account of the first and third voyage for a discovery of a northwest passage (7: 381-93 and 7: 414-22 respectively) and of the last voyage of Thomas Cavendish (11: 389-416).

the man who accompanied Cavendish on his last, fatal voyage to the South Seas.<sup>64</sup>

Hakluyt's expert knowledge in matters of trade made him the obvious choice for the post of geographical consultant in the Levant Company.<sup>65</sup> Richard Staper, one of the founding members of the Company is mentioned by Hakluyt in the "Preface" to the first edition among the men who helped him with his search for material. Another merchant, Edward Osborne, is also mentioned; together with Staper, Osborne financed the 1583 voyage of John Newbery to Goa and the Far East. Newbery himself had contacted Hakluyt shortly before he embarked on his voyage: the correspondence of the two men is included in the *Voyages* as are the records of the various enterprises that Staper and Osborne promoted and financed.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, Hakluyt's association with Bristol, which predates his official prebend there, furnished him with a host of important material for his collection. He became acquainted with Andrew Barker, from whom he was able to get material relating to the 1574-76 voyage and with Thomas James, a prominent Bristol merchant who was interested

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<sup>64</sup>On John Davis see A. H. Markham, ed., *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880). Excerpts from *The World's Hydrographical Description* are included in the *Voyages* in support of Davis's discoveries in the northwest (7: 440-45). On this work see also *Late Geography*, 37-38.

<sup>65</sup>For Hakluyt's association with the Levant Company see Parks, chap. 12.

<sup>66</sup>Hakluyt mentions Staper in 1: xxxix. Edward Osborne was the man who sent William Harborne to Constantinople (5: 243-58; on Osborne and Harborne see Andrews, 89-94). John Newbery contacted Hakluyt in 1583; he was also a friend of Philip Jones and William Warner. Hakluyt includes Newbery's letters from Alepo in 5: 452-63 and Newbery's adventures in 5: 505-12. On the significance of Newbery's voyage see Andrews, 93-97.

in the fur trade and who probably initiated Hakluyt's involvement with the expeditions to the St. Lawrence.<sup>67</sup>

The men that I have mentioned so far are among the most famous names of Elizabethan England: Hakluyt's monumental collection includes their writings, their actions and their ideas. Equally important, however, are the host of lesser known Englishmen who figure in the *Voyages* side by side with their more famous contemporaries. Long lists of names of ordinary mariners and travellers and expeditions manned with people about whom very little else is known save for what is included in Hakluyt's volumes make up a large portion of the collection. Together with their more illustrious contemporaries and predecessors they constitute the navigations of the "English Nation" which Hakluyt collected and edited--in an attempt, as he puts it, to rescue their deeds "from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion" and offer them as examples to future generations.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Hakluyt's earliest documented visit to Bristol dates from 1582, when he tried (successfully) to convince the citizens of Bristol to equip two ships to sail with Gilbert to Newfoundland (*Original*, 26). In 1583, Francis Walsingham wrote to Thomas Aldworth, mayor of Bristol, recommending Hakluyt and Thomas Steventon, the bearers of his letter, who were discussing with Aldworth contributions to Gilbert's voyage ("Hakluyt Chronology," 277). While at Bristol Hakluyt was able to collect material on the voyages of Andrew Barker. On the importance of Barker's expedition for filling in serious gaps in the representation of the Caribbean, see K. R. Andrews, "Latin America" in D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 238. On Thomas James and the St. Lawrence expeditions see D. B. Quinn, "England and the St. Lawrence, 1577 to 1602" in *Merchants and Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade*, ed. by John Parker (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 119-43. Quinn points out that Hakluyt collected the St. Lawrence material on Burghley's behalf (121-37).

<sup>68</sup>"Preface, 1598," 1: xxxix.



Hakluyt first mentions his intention to publish a collection of documents that would illustrate the maritime activity of Englishmen from its beginnings to his own age in 1587 in his dedication of his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades of the Newe World* to Sir Walter Raleigh. He writes:

We shall endeavour moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise, to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part. If we succeed in this, we shall have achieved a long-cherished desire and a wish that we have often prayed for; if we fall short of this, we shall at any rate show that the desire to please was not lacking.<sup>69</sup>

At the time Hakluyt had been resident in Paris. In the "Dedication" of the 1589 edition he writes that while he was on the Continent he realised that comparisons between England and other European countries were, from a European point of view, consistently unfavourable to England. Whereas other nations were "miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea," his own countrymen were condemned for their "sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts."<sup>70</sup> Hakluyt saw the problem

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<sup>69</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Walter Raleigh, 1587," *Original*, 369.

<sup>70</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition, 1589," 1: xviii.

from a different angle: for him it was not a case of insignificant maritime activity, but a case of inadequate publicity. Determined to repair the damage to his country's reputation, Hakluyt thought of presenting the world with a history of English travel: in this way he would be able to prove, through a carefully documented volume, that the pejorative characterization was ungrounded and unjust. At a time of growing national consciousness, Hakluyt's motive was patriotic: he wanted to instill into the audience at home a conception of England as a maritime nation, and to point the way to the means of the nation's future prosperity; at the same time he wanted to make it known to the audience abroad that England had played an important role in the wider European expansionist movement. He wanted to establish what he saw as England's rightful place.

In this respect, the publication of the promised collection, entitled *The Principall Navigations Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, in 1589 (only two years after the first mention to Raleigh) was timely. Indeed, it seems that the book went to press hurriedly: published only a year after the defeat of the Spanish Armada and shortly after Cavendish's successful completion of the circumnavigation of the globe, the volume came out in good time to signal the rise of England as a maritime power--a burgeoning rival to the Iberian powers of Portugal and Spain.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Parks talks of "the pressure of haste," 126; for Taylor the English victory of 1588 and the return of Cavendish with records of his voyage are possibly the two main stimuli for the publication (*Late Tudor*, 15).

Hakluyt's *Voyages* was, in many respects, a landmark in its field. The work was the first attempt to provide a comprehensive record of the activities of Englishmen overseas and is encyclopedic in its scope. Unlike other historians, Hakluyt did not blend his sources in a continuous narrative but left them as they were originally written: this resulted in a work which offered a host of vivid, exciting stories and tried to convince the audience through documentary evidence. The material was carefully arranged according to time and place: it was grouped under three broad sections according to the spatial division of the world into East and Southeast, North and West.<sup>72</sup> The narratives in each category were presented in strict chronological sequence, from the first, extant mention of a voyage that Hakluyt managed to locate, to those of his own lifetime. In each section he included much illustrative material (grants of privileges, letters both private and public) which provided a framework for the main documents.

A new, much enlarged, three-volume edition of the *Voyages* was issued between 1598 and 1600. Each volume was in many ways complete in itself but at the same time formed an integral part of the larger conception. The acceleration of English overseas activity during the time between the first and the second editions had made a new edition necessary.

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<sup>72</sup>The plan of the *Voyages* is based on Ramusio's *Viaggi* but unlike Ramusio Hakluyt restricts himself solely to the English record (Parks, 125-26). This practice changes in the 1598-1600 edition in which works of foreigners are included in order to "fill the gaps in the complete description of the known world," *Late Tudor*, 28.

The new *Voyages* was a work of enormous proportions. It included everything of relevance that Hakluyt had published hitherto, and also a whole new section which illustrated the history of English trade in various parts of the world. The chronological arrangement remained unaltered, but in 1598 Hakluyt introduced a change in the topographical presentation of his material, a change which has a political significance and which illustrates the newly-charged sense of the nation's importance underlying the final *Voyages*. The travels to the South-Southeast, which opened the first edition, now take second place to the voyages to the North-Northeast. It is the discovery of the kingdom of Muscovy and the opening of a new, prosperous trade between the two countries--a uniquely English and, furthermore, Elizabethan achievement--that the first volume now culminates in and celebrates.<sup>73</sup>

The *Voyages* were Hakluyt's last major publication. After 1600 his activities waned, but by no means stopped. He continued publishing a number of his own translations, while inducing the preparation and publication of other men's work; he continued acting as a consultant to merchant companies and he took an active part in setting up the first and second Virginia Charters; in 1606 he was also named charter member of the Northwest Passage Company. Meanwhile, he was collecting more material for a third edition of the *Voyages*, but by the time of his death in 1616 the book had not gone

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<sup>73</sup>On the significance of the change in the topographical arrangement of the material see Parks, 176.

into print. The material Hakluyt had collected passed to his successor, the Reverent Samuel Purchas, and appeared in his collection of 17th century travel, *Hakluytus Posthumous or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625).

A comparison between the two collections, Hakluyt's and Purchas's, lies outside the scope of this study. I will therefore close this section of the introduction with two quotations from two critics--one a historian, the other a professor of literature--who have had a lasting impact on the way in which Hakluyt's *Voyages* are regarded. The first quotation comes from J. A. Froude and contains his now famous remark that the *Voyages* are "the Prose Epic of the modern English nation"; the second comes from Professor Walter Raleigh and focuses on the diversity of the material incorporated in Hakluyt's collection. As will become apparent these two opinions inform one of the most recent discussions of the *Voyages*--that of Richard Helgerson, which is the subject of my analysis in the section which follows. A good discussion of Froude and Raleigh, which situates their work within the historical context in which the two men wrote, can be found in the final chapter of Mary Fuller's study *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624*, and makes any further commentary on my part unnecessary.<sup>74</sup>

In 1852 the historian James Anthony Froude published an article in the *Westminster Review* in which he criticised the editorial

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<sup>74</sup>Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 156-72.

practices of the recently formed Hakluyt Society. Froude complained that Hakluyt's most important work, *The Principal Navigations*, remained hidden from the average reader because it was not available in a readily accessible edition. "And yet," he wrote,

those . . . volumes may be called the Prose Epic of the modern English nation. They contain the heroic tales of the exploits of the great men in whom the new era was inaugurated; not mythic, like the Iliads and the Eddas, but plain broad narratives of substantial facts, which rival legend in interest and grandeur. What the old epics were to the royally or nobly born, this modern epic is to the common people.<sup>75</sup>

A twelve volume edition of the *Voyages* (not as accessible to the general reader as Froude would have wanted) was published in Glasgow in 1903-5, presenting the authoritative text without any critical commentary. The final volume of the edition includes an essay by Professor Walter Raleigh, who located the voyages of the Elizabethan seamen in the context of European expansion, presented some biographical information on Hakluyt and finally tried to assess the influence that the *Voyages* had on Elizabethan poetry and drama.<sup>76</sup> Influenced by Froude, Raleigh also talks of "the Epic of the Voyages" (1) and "the romance of geography" (172), but it is towards the end of the essay that he makes a statement of importance. He writes:

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<sup>75</sup>J. A. Froude, "England's Forgotten Worthies," in *Short Stories on Great Subjects*, 5 vols. (London; Bombay and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 2:158.

<sup>76</sup>Walter Raleigh, "English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century" (vol. 12 of *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1905). Raleigh's essay was also published separately as *The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1906). I quote from the 1906 edition.

Hakluyt's book, though it has little to do with the history of letters, gives, to those who care to read, a rare opportunity of insight into the hidden processes of the making of a nation. When it was first published all that had been imagined and attempted, at the cost of so many years of effort and so many men's lives, was yet to do . . . So far the record is one of failure. But on the other side of the account there is an item which cannot be neglected. It is to be found in those long and dull lists of unknown names, of merchant promoters, gentlemen adventurers, intending colonists, and ship's companies, which give so business-like an air to Hakluyt's pages. It may be true, as someone has said, that these detailed summaries 'leave as little impression of excitement or emulation upon our minds as so many almanacks.' But they held in them the promise of Empire. (193-94)

Thus, whereas Froude qualified his notion of the "Epic" by concentrating on the heroism of individual mariners and in this way paid attention to what is most exciting in Hakluyt's book, Raleigh inadvertently shifts the emphasis to the other documents which Hakluyt includes in his collection and stresses their importance in the making of the nation. Froude's notion of the *Voyages* as epic and Raleigh's focus on the variety of documents included in Hakluyt's work provide the framework for Helgerson's recent discussion of the *Voyages*.

As I have already indicated Helgerson's discussion is one of the few attempts to discuss the *Voyages* as a whole (another is by Mary Fuller, who is influenced by Helgerson and whose position I deal with briefly in the third part of this introduction). I have not attempted to include a review of all the critical and secondary literature on the *Voyages*. A descriptive bibliography of works on Hakluyt and his circle

up until the year 1974 has been provided by the historian Loren E. Pennington,<sup>77</sup> and Hakluyt's reputation from the 17th century to the mid-1970s was reviewed by D. B. Quinn in 1974.<sup>78</sup> Over the last two decades the quantity of work on Hakluyt has been enormous, including historical and geographical, as well as literary-critical studies. Most of these studies, however, focus on selections of the vast material that is included in the *Voyages* rather than on the work as a whole. I refer to a great deal of this secondary literature at appropriate stages in the chapters that follow, but it is the aim of this thesis to offer an interpretation of the *Voyages* as a whole. With this in mind Helgerson's discussion provides a useful point of departure.

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<sup>77</sup>Loren E. Pennington, "Secondary Works on Hakluyt and his Circle" in *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by D. B. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 576-610.

<sup>78</sup>D. B. Quinn, "Hakluyt's Reputation," *Hakluyt Handbook*, 133-52.



## II.

In this section I will be considering the analysis of Hakluyt's *Voyages* which is included in Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*. First, I will provide a brief outline of Helgerson's methodological assumptions and argument with respect to the *Voyages*, with as little commentary on my part as possible. Then, I will offer a critique of his analysis.

*Forms of Nationhood* examines the *English Voyages* as part of a "generational project," in which the Elizabethans took "England--its land, its people, its institutions, and its history--as their subject" (1). Living at a time when the old sources of identity had lost much of their power the Elizabethans attempted, according to Helgerson, to "remake" and "govern the very linguistic system, and perhaps more generally the whole cultural system, by which their own identity and their own consciousness were constituted" (3). In order to achieve this--and regardless of the indisputable differences between them--the Elizabethans engaged in a rigorous examination, "writing" and re-writing of all the areas that affected their lives.

Reflecting upon this time of transition, *Forms of Nationhood* presents us with a mobile, internally divided society in which a variety of social forces were striving for the attainment of power. It is one of the book's methodological assumptions that, in the writing produced by this society, different "discursive communities" (5) found expression

in different generic forms. These forms become Helgerson's immediate subject. As he writes in the introduction, far from having an intrinsic or universal meaning, each form that he discusses in the book "depended for its meaning and its effect on its difference from some openly or latently competing form"--a difference which was "active and meaningful for at least some contemporary audience and . . . usually remained active for decades and sometimes for centuries" (7). Starting from this premise, Helgerson structures each chapter around an opposition of forms, which are embodied in the various texts that he analyses. These texts do not necessarily belong to the same country, nor are they necessarily contemporaneous with one another. In the chapter "Voyages of a Nation," Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1589, 1598-1600) are set alongside Camoes's *Os Lusíadas* (1572).

The juxtaposition of an English collection of documents next to a Portuguese epic poem calls for some justification. As Helgerson explains, both works sprang from an ardent patriotic zeal; both make the author's nation the universal traveller; both propagate overseas expansion:--similar questions therefore can be asked of both. He goes on to suggest that comparing Hakluyt and Camoes reveals a network of inclusions and exclusions operating in each work. This method brings out a number of differences between them, differences which prevent us from regarding Hakluyt's formulations as either "natural or inevitable" (154). What finally emerges from the comparison is that "the England and Portugal that wrote themselves, were divided both

internally and externally along lines suggested by the opposition of voyage to epic" (155).

Like Hakluyt, Camoes was living at a time when the distribution of power within Portuguese society was changing significantly. Even though the feudal structure of his country was not radically affected by expansion, the new discoveries and the foundation of the Portuguese empire brought about changes which gave merchants a more prominent role in the social sphere. In the *Lusiads*, Helgerson argues, Camoes stands firmly in an older, aristocratic ideal which is far removed from the emergent mercantilist ethos. By choosing--and slightly altering--the Virgilian epic formula, Camoes identifies the nation with its noblemen. This way, he reinforces the aristocratic and nationalist ideology already associated with the classical epic (155). Furthermore, the choice of epic form helps the poet to make a "fundamental suppression": representing da Gama's voyage in a poem of war, Camoes refuses to acknowledge the essentially unheroic character of the enterprise (156). Instead of representing da Gama and his companions sailing in search of wealth, he offers a set of motives more compatible with the crusading ethos of the nobility: honor, conquest and glory replace the pursuit of profit (157). In the *Lusiads*, Camoes presents his nation with "an ideal image of its heroic and nonmercantile self" (158). He joins the very two worlds which Tasso was setting in direct opposition to one another at around the same time (see Helgerson's discussion in chap. 1). In Camoes's poem, the world of Roman epic and the world of chivalric romance join to

oppose mercantile activity (160 and see also 328, n. 11). This mercantile activity, on the other hand, finds its “generic representation” in the pages of Hakluyt.

Unlike Camoes, Hakluyt thinks in economic terms (163). In his early writings he presents commerce as the life both of England and the world. A similar message is conveyed in the *Voyages* (166). Whereas Camoes conceals mercantile motives and identifies the nation with its nobility, Hakluyt’s early treatises are marked by a “conceptual fluidity” concerning the nation—a fluidity which becomes essential for his representation of England in the *Voyages* (165). This is not to suggest that in Hakluyt there is not some level of “resistance to an open acknowledgement of commercial designs” (168). But in his writings it is considerably weaker than in Camoes’s, and it only emerges when Hakluyt addresses a more socially elevated audience.

Hakluyt’s principal aim in the *Voyages* is to provide a new geography for a new world. Therefore, merchants become essential to his project, since to ignore their enterprises would mean to leave large gaps in the description of that world. But the problem that could potentially arise from their inclusion is one of representation. During the Elizabethan period merchants themselves lacked a conceptual vocabulary that would enable them to celebrate their achievements in bourgeois terms. Confronted with this barrier, Elizabethan popular writers expressed the values of the nascent middle class in chivalric terms borrowed from the aristocracy (169). In the *Voyages* Hakluyt manages to get over this barrier. Not only does he make merchants an

essential part of his book, he does so through their own writings (170). The significant differences in the respective value-systems of merchants and gentlemen result in a corresponding difference in generic forms. Whereas the latter celebrate a voyage of discovery in an epic poem, the former accompany a similar voyage with a list of commodities that should be sought or with instructions about the search for potential markets (173-74). From a structural point of view, a barren list of products stands at the opposite pole from an elaborate epic poem. But by including both these opposite generic forms within his book, Hakluyt assigns an equally lofty status to both (175). What is imprinted in the variety of documents that Hakluyt publishes is the variety of the society that produced them. Unlike Camoes, Hakluyt in the *Voyages* does not deny difference--he bridges it. In his book, merchants and gentlemen join their forces--and their voices--for a common purpose. The nation encompasses them both and emerges above them both as a transparent, uncontested point of reference (176).

In its representation of the national community, a collection of voyages had to define England in its relation to other nations (153). The pre-eminent accomplishment of Spain in the field of overseas expansion meant that it became the focal point of comparison. This was true for Portugal as well. During the sixteenth century, national independence from the dynastic claims of Spain was a major consideration for both countries (182). But unlike Portugal, who could look back to a century of conquest and colonisation rivalling that of Spain, Hakluyt's England did not possess a square inch of territory

outside the British Isles. Therefore, whereas Camoes can urge his compatriots to preserve their warrior mentality (161), Hakluyt can hardly do the same. Furthermore, England's ideological position in relation to Spain was complicated by an awkward mix of difference and sameness. England was a protestant country with an active merchant class, but it also had a strong aristocratic identity and a tradition of feudal conquest behind it. Thus, neither identification with, nor a complete repudiation of, the Spanish model would wholly suit England (182-83). For this reason, merchants' voyages again become essential. Spanish cruelty in the New World had given conquest a bad name, but nothing similar had happened with respect to trade. Hakluyt, defining England against Spanish ambition and cruelty, presents the pursuit of trade rather than conquest as England's "virtuous difference" (185). In their contest with Spain on the high seas, Englishmen expose not only the material weakness of the Spanish empire, but also the weakness of Spanish tyranny itself. With its emphasis on trade, Hakluyt's book makes it possible to imagine England opposing itself to empire, favouring, and helping to create, a world of distinguishable and sovereign economic entities (187).

As Helgerson writes in his introduction, the organizing principle in the chapter "Voyages of a Nation" is the opposition between voyage and epic. According to the notes at the end of *Forms of Nationhood*, this opposition is developed out of an article entitled "The Boat of Romance and Renaissance Epic." In it the author David

Quint touches on "the ancient antipathy of the *epic to commerce*" (159 and 328, n. 15; my emphasis). In his own discussion, Helgerson argues that in the *Lusiads* "epic and romance join to oppose mercantile activity, activity that found its generic representation in voyages of the kind Hakluyt published" (328, n. 11). In his analysis of selected pieces from the *Voyages* Helgerson illustrates the struggle between two opposing ideologies (aristocratic/mercantilist) which becomes evident within the book. The point I wish to make is that while the opposition between "aristocratic" and "mercantilist" is a useful and tenable one, it does not follow that this can serve as the basis of a formal distinction between *voyage* and *epic*. The opposition between voyage and epic makes sense only if we are prepared to accept that voyage as a discursive practice is exclusively associated with the representation of commercial activity. In the examples Helgerson discusses it seems clear that the association is fair. Nevertheless Helgerson does not in fact argue that voyage as a form refers only to the representation of commercial activity--nor does he argue anything to the contrary. Rather, the use of the term "voyage" is marked by considerable ambiguity. As the opening paragraphs of Helgerson's chapter make evident, it is not entirely clear what exactly he understands by "voyage." In other words, there is an implicit assumption here that never rises to the level of explicit argument. And this is an assumption which, once exposed, raises important questions about what Helgerson means by "voyage" as "form."

“Voyage” first makes its appearance when compared with chorography--the subject of the previous chapter. Both are geographical kinds, writes Helgerson, but voyage--now “overseas voyage”--differs from chorography in being an historical event rather than a mere “expository device” (151). Immediately afterwards “voyage” changes into “the books that acquainted Europeans with the discoveries of Columbus, Vespucci, da Gama” (ibid.). Such a transition tends to ignore rather than to attend to the considerable differences in form that mark these books off not only from one another, but from the *Voyages* as well.

The absence of a definition--or, of an attempt to distinguish between the variety of instances associated with the term “voyage”--gives rise to considerable implications related to the question of form. Turning to the use of the term epic, we notice a significant difference. Epic as a discursive form is discussed at various stages within the book, and the reader becomes aware of the complexities and changes associated with it. What’s more, in his discussion of Camoes, Helgerson implies the existence of a whole epic tradition behind the *Lusiads*, a tradition which Camoes knows, accepts, reinforces and at times slightly alters. Nothing of a similar kind operates behind his discussion of the *Voyages*. In Hakluyt’s case, a possible connection with other geographical writings is briefly alluded to, but it is soon ignored in favour of a comparison with Camoes. Helgerson writes: “Though Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* is alone among the major European travel collections in making the nation the universal voyager, there



are other accounts of overseas enterprise that concentrate on the accomplishments of just one country. Most of these are histories like Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* (1547-51) or Fernandez de Oviedo's *General History of the Indies* (1535). But the one I would like to consider is a poem" (153-54). Disregarding any comparison between Hakluyt's works and these other historical writings, Helgerson dispenses with the significant question of Hakluyt's own deliberate choice of form--that is, his determination to present a collection of documents rather than to write a continuous historical narrative.

I have already rehearsed Helgerson's reasons for juxtaposing Camoes with Hakluyt. Now I would like to draw attention to a different point. Whereas both Camoes and Hakluyt share a considerable number of similarities, they differ in one very important respect. Hakluyt's principal aim--as Helgerson recognizes--is the description of the known world. It is an aim which he does not share with Camoes, but with the other writers of historical and cosmographical treatises. It is against such writings that Hakluyt fashions his own work, as he explains in the "Preface" to the 1589 edition of the *Voyages*. In his words of "instruction and direction" to the "favourable Reader" Hakluyt talks of the "Methode and order" which he has used in "this historie" (1: xxiii) and writes:

And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answeere for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have

referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world. (1: xxiii-xxiv)

There are a number of points that Hakluyt makes here and that Helgerson ignores in his discussion. Firstly, Hakluyt talks of his work as a "historie": he locates it, therefore, in the realm of what Sidney calls "the particular," the realm of historical events.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, Hakluyt defines the "Author" of each "voyage" that is contained in his collection as a man who "both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same"--as a person, therefore, who talks about his own experience of travel. (In an account included within the *Voyages*, Lawrence Keymis's "A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana," Keymis captures the relationship between experience and narrative when he talks of the travel relation as "the personal triall of . . . a Reporter."<sup>80</sup>) Thirdly, Hakluyt accordingly defines his own historiographical role as that of a collector and editor of other people's work, and denies the role of the author for himself. Finally, he states that the main purpose of his work is "the certayne and full discoverie of the world" and he justifies his methodological procedure by

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<sup>79</sup>Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry, or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1965), 109.

<sup>80</sup>Lawrence Keymis, "A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana" (10: 445).

comparing his "historie" with other cosmographical treatises ("those wearie volumes") and uses two terms in order to refer to other cosmographers' practices: "untruly and unprofitable." I will begin with this last point.

Presenting events from different times, places and actors "ramassed and hurled together," books of cosmography become unprofitable because they are difficult and cumbersome to use. The continuous historical narrative that the authors of these books used made it difficult for the readers to find the particular issue they might be interested in. As against this model, Hakluyt carefully organizes the contents according to time and place, and provides instead an easy reference manual. Moreover, for the busy, or the less attentive reader, he also provides a comprehensive table of contents and copious side-notes which highlight the important aspects of each piece.

This is one notion of profit that informs Hakluyt's choice of form: the concrete, tangible results that arise from the systematization and dissemination of information. But there is another notion of profit, one which is less easy to determine and which is integrally connected with the idea of "truth." Apart from being unprofitable, Hakluyt also suggests that these "wearie volumes" are untrue. What is at issue here is the problem of representation. Writing in a continuous narrative, other authors present the events as "their owne," that is, they present them in their own words. This representation of other people's experience through the cosmographer's own words results in an inevitable distortion, which makes these works untrue. In the

*Voyages* Hakluyt denies himself a similar role and chooses instead the role of an editor. Insofar as it is possible, he lets the men who participated in the events talk directly about their own experience. In this way he reduces the distance between the deed and its narration to the briefest possible margin. In the *Voyages*, Hakluyt insists on presenting what he understands to be the most direct, unmediated version of reality. Reality and its accurate representation become essential for a book like Hakluyt's: not only money but also lives (lives that depend on accurate information) are at stake.

The issue of reality and its importance for the *Voyages* brings us to the question of what Helgerson calls "generic expectation." I should like to approach this issue by referring to Helgerson's discussion of the same question in the *Lusiads*. Talking about Camoes's choice of epic form in order to represent da Gama's voyage, Helgerson observes: "In keeping with this conservative intent, Camoes attempts rather to conceal than to expose and exploit the difference between generic expectation and the story he has to tell" (156). Helgerson himself invokes this difference by setting alongside the *Lusiads* a realm of shared knowledge which lies outside it: "What both [poet and poem] know--what we all know--is that the Portuguese sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Indian Ocean in search of a more direct access to the much desired wealth of the Orient" (ibid.). And a while later: "Whatever the historical da Gama may have meant (the passage comes from Camoes's chronicle sources), can the heroic, antimercantile da Gama of this poem really mean it?" (157). Here

Helgerson is following the traditional distinction between fact and fiction: the realm which lies outside a work of literature (and against which a literary work can be tested) is that of history. Now, as I have shown, this is precisely the realm that the *Voyages* wish to occupy.

Hakluyt's general method, in which each individual narrative voice is unobtrusively presented, insists on the minimum difference between what he takes to be historical reality and the representation of that reality. What all the writings in the *Voyages* have in common is the consistent invocation of empirical authenticity. In the overwhelming majority of the narratives it is always implied that there is no question of fabrication: according to the narrator the characters in the narratives are the true historical characters. This is not just a trivial point--the narratives seem concerned to answer the question of fabrication by anticipating it at the outset. Each separate narrator appears to participate in a theory of historical truth which Hakluyt himself supremely embraces. Camoes by contrast, in so far as he is referring to an historical event in a consciously literary form, cannot be said to resist the questions that Helgerson asks. But the *Voyages* stand at the opposite pole.

In any case, the licence to place a literary work alongside an historical work and to ask the same questions of both comes not from traditional but from contemporary theory, which allows us to treat both works as "discourse." This is clearly Helgerson's method. Let us see how this method is employed in "Voyages of a Nation."

In the opening section of the chapter, Helgerson explains that setting Hakluyt alongside Camoes reveals a "system of differences in generic form and sociopolitical formation" (154) operating between the two works. He goes on to say: "And if Hakluyt knew and included epic, Camoes knew and excluded the kind of voyage material that dominates large parts of Hakluyt's text. Inclusion and exclusion--of people as well as of generic forms--is what this system of differences is all about" (ibid.). Much of Helgerson's subsequent discussion is an illustration of this point. In the case of Camoes, telling evidence comes from history--and invocation of history helps Helgerson tackle the issue of "exclusion" ("of people as well as of generic forms") in the *Lusiads*. In the case of Hakluyt, Helgerson brings into the discussion the Elizabethan popular writers of fiction. In this way, he shows Hakluyt's significant deviation from their representations of merchants, and deals accordingly with Hakluyt's system of "inclusion" ("what Camoes excludes, he includes," 176). For both the *Lusiads* and the *Voyages*, the treatment of "exclusion" and "inclusion" respectively brings forth admirable suggestions. Nevertheless, Helgerson's analysis does not deal with the important question of "exclusion" in Hakluyt: little reference is made either to the particular versions of the events, or to those generic forms which are not included in the *Voyages*. Leaving Hakluyt's own exclusions out of the discussion, Helgerson also leaves an aspect of the issue of generic expectation (and therefore an aspect of the issue of form) unquestioned.

But perhaps more importantly, in a book which deals with forms, and with the part they played in forming the nation, the form which is not discussed with respect to the *Voyages* is the report. It is one of the aspirations of Hakluyt's work that "every man might answer for himself" and "justifie his reports"--the "reports" of "the truth" (as they are invariably called) that Hakluyt includes in his collection. Helgerson's own choice of representative illustrative material from Hakluyt's collection hardly touches upon this form--a form that makes up, after all, the largest part of the *Voyages* and that is regarded as the most significant contribution of the collection to the genre called travel literature.

Furthermore, Helgerson points to the inclusion of certain material but pays insufficient attention to the way in which other material that is also included in Hakluyt's pages complicates the reader's perception of the material that Helgerson discusses. Of the five examples Helgerson discusses, four of their authors had, at the time of writing, not taken part in the voyages to which their texts refer. For example, Helgerson talks of two epic poems, Parmenius's "De Navigazione" and Chapman's "Guiana Carmen Epicum." How is the reader to reconcile Parmenius's laudatory Latin verses (which were written before Parmenius embarked on his voyage) with his letter to Hakluyt written from Newfoundland, in which Parmenius, now confronted with the dire actuality, writes famously: "But what shall I

say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness?"<sup>81</sup> Or how is the reader to respond to the bland description of Guiana making "every signe of . . . submission" before England (10: 447) (a description written once again by a man who did not take part in the voyage),<sup>82</sup> as compared with Raleigh's realistic description of his and England's involvement in Guiana as the violent and irredeemable destruction of the Golden Age brought about by the very agent which Chapman's poem celebrates?<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Helgerson talks about the inclusion of the letter of a merchant which presents the world as a field of marketable commodities, but ignores another letter by the same merchant which presents us with a rather different side of this man's perception of the world, a side which is by no means confined to commodities but which is alive to the people and events around him.<sup>84</sup> Finally, he chooses to talk about a learned treatise (which was written in Latin by someone who did not take part in any of the voyages and was commissioned by the Muscovy Company) which celebrates the voyages to Russia and ignores the first-hand accounts of travel which are much more ambiguous, tortured and interesting documents. All in all, Helgerson's choice of illustrative material pays attention to *part* of the effect created

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<sup>81</sup>"A letter of the learned Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius Budeius to master Richard Hakluyt the collectour of these voyages," 8: 81-84 (82).

<sup>82</sup>"De Guiana carmen epicum," 10: 446-51 (447).

<sup>83</sup>Sir Walter Raleigh, "The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana," 10: 428.

<sup>84</sup>"A letter of M. John Newbery sent from Alepo to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford. Ann. 1583," 5: 452-53.



by what he calls the "paratactic accumulation" (179) of the *Voyages*-- that above all the tensions and differences which are registered in the pages of Hakluyt the nation rises as the uncontested point of reference. What is absent from his discussion, however, is a consideration of the narrative of direct, immanent experience: the *reports* of the "paynefull and personall travellers" which are collected in Hakluyt's work and which cannot finally be understood in terms of Helgerson's opposition of the voyage to epic.

### III.

As narratives of the writers' experience, the majority of the texts which I examine in this thesis pose a particular kind of problem: before these experiences were turned into texts they were events; as far as we know they actually happened. Contemporary critical theory has demonstrated the difficulty of applying different criteria to the analysis of works of "fiction" and works of "fact." We are, therefore, given the licence to examine the "extent to which the discourse of the historian and that of the imaginative writer overlap, resemble, or correspond with each other" since "the techniques or strategies that they use in the composition of their discourses can be shown to be substantially the

same.”<sup>85</sup> On the other hand we should never forget that these texts are what one critic calls “participant literature”--that the writing down of the authors’ experience is a continuation or an extension of their participation in the events that they narrate and therefore the question of the demarcation line between fiction and report, however difficult it may be to sustain, needs to be insisted on.<sup>86</sup> The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre puts it like this:

It is because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of the narratives that we live out that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of others. Stories are lived before they are told--except in the case of fiction.<sup>87</sup>

That “stories are lived before they are told” is also something emphasised by Hakluyt. The author is “accountable,” in Hakluyt’s words, for the truth or justice of his report. I quote his words once more:

And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answeere for himselfe, justifie his

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<sup>85</sup> Hayden White, “The Fictions of Factual Representation” in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 121-34 (121).

<sup>86</sup> Philip Edwards, “Edward Hayes explains away Sir Humphrey Gilbert,” *Renaissance Studies*, 6 (1992): 270-86 (270). See also the introduction to Philip Edwards ed., *Last Voyages: Cavendish, Hudson, Raleigh. The Original Narratives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

<sup>87</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2d ed. (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1985), 212.

reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same. (1: xxiii-xxiv)

It is not just the notion of individual accountability that MacIntyre would endorse; he effectively endorses Hakluyt's terms.<sup>88</sup>

In her remarkable study of early voyage narratives *The Witness and the Other World*, Mary Campbell argues that the kind of "récits de voyage" that Hakluyt incorporated in his collection "relieved the traveler-writer of several obligations."<sup>89</sup> She goes on to qualify this by writing:

He [the traveler-writer] need not be comprehensive beyond his own experience (as for instance Fulcher and Joinville had been about the more distant East). He need not organize his data according to conceptual categories. Others would do that for him. His most essential contribution had become the first-person narrative of experience, a work whose claim to the reader's attention had to do with the more properly literary features of story and personae. And the situation that made the encyclopedias and collections possible--the new accessibility of other worlds and the frequency of travel to them--also put a new pressure of veracity on the traveller. His reports could be, would be, verified or exposed. (218)

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<sup>88</sup> "To be the subject of a narrative that runs from one's birth to one's death is . . . to be accountable for the actions and experiences which compose a narratable life. It is, that is, to be open to being asked to give a certain kind of account of what one did or what happened to one or what one witnessed at any earlier point in one's life than the time at which the question is posed," *After Virtue*, 217-18.

<sup>89</sup> Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400-1600* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), 218.

The narrative of experience, therefore, at once frees the writer from certain responsibilities while introducing a new set of obligations, and the most important of these obligations was that he "tell the truth." In this way he would, in Hakluyt's words, both "reape that good opinion" that he "deserved" but he would also "stand accountable for his owne doings." Commenting on the way in which the passage from Hakluyt that I quote above makes "the links between *Principal Navigations's* documents and their original authors strong indeed," Mary Fuller says that it is as if the writers would stand "in what almost sounds like an imagined trial."<sup>90</sup> The terms are appropriate, and what Fuller seems to have in mind is a public trial--a trial before one's peers. This is in keeping with the notion of accountability which we have just touched upon. The justification of one's own version of events to an audience of one's contemporaries is an integral part of the writing of these accounts. In the second chapter of this thesis I examine the rhetorical function of one such "imagined trial." I would like to suggest, however, that alongside this public responsibility which is facing the travel-writer there is another kind, equally significant but less easy to define. This is related to that other connotation of *justification*, one which is directly personal and spiritual, and which should strike anyone who is familiar with the influence of Calvinism on the writing of this period. These are issues which I explore in my third chapter.

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<sup>90</sup>*Voyages in Print*, 151.

Fuller's discussion of travel narratives, largely drawn from Hakluyt's collection, is, while very perceptive, frequently compromised by elisions of the following kind:

*Harriot's Report . . . reflects the important and debilitating perception that colonial problems were discursive and could be solved discursively, or that truths about America were to be located less in what was discovered than in the discoverers. (13)*

Fuller's syntax here seems to me to be deliberately confusing. She not only elides the difference between what is discursive and what is experiential (by attributing to Harriot the tendency to solve colonial problems discursively), but she also elides the difference between this first confusion and the imputation to the colonists of an almost solipsistic subjectivism. Part of the problem here is that two kinds of claim are advanced simultaneously: the claim that the colonists' experience was overwhelmingly subjective is obviously not the same kind of claim as the claim that their experience was discursive. It is elisions of this kind that lead to the following statement in which Fuller seems to relish her capacity for paradox: "[Hakluyt's] commitment was not to travel but to information" (145). Applied to a work in which the identity of oneself and the identity of a whole nation are construed largely in terms of travel, Fuller's statement is reductive at best. Let us examine the passage that occasions Fuller's formulation. It is written by Hakluyt himself; it is one of the very few autobiographical recollections that he has left behind and it deserves to

be taken seriously, as Fuller herself recognizes. Unlike Fuller, I will for a start quote Hakluyt's words more fully:

I do remember that being a youth . . . it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin . . . at a time when I found lying open upon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view thereof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University . . . I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature. (1: xvii-xviii)

In her decision to focus on one particular aspect of this passage, the emphasis of the elder Hakluyt to trade, Fuller disregards other aspects of Hakluyt's recollections, aspects which are equally important for an understanding of the *Voyages*. There is, firstly, the curiosity at the sight of the "universall Mappe" and the perusal of this map (the "Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers") under his cousin's guidance. Unlike his lawyer cousin, who bends his energies to the production of memoranda and advice along the lines that Fuller attributes to Hakluyt the geographer, the younger Hakluyt made it his life task to offer a

representation of the world, not visual but verbal. Secondly, there is a very important movement in this passage, a movement "from the *Mappe . . . to the Bible*" and the words of Psalm 107. It is from a combination of these two colloraries, the map and the Bible, that the *Voyages* can be seen to spring, for Hakluyt's work attempts to offer to the reader the "certayne and full" (1: xxiv) description of the world through the words of those that "go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters"; that is, through the words of those who travel. The gloss of the Geneva Bible on these verses shows how man is placed under God's providence: "he showeth by ye sea what care God hath over man, for in that yt he delivereth them from the great dangers of the sea, he delivereth them, as it were from a thousand deaths."<sup>91</sup> Thus, on the one hand we have the providential pattern that the *Voyages* promote (the notion of the chosen people) but at the other the particular responsibilities placed on the elect: responsibilities that are fundamentally moral and that are concerned with right action. All the characters who are presented in the *Voyages*, all the Englishmen whom Hakluyt has chosen to include, whether merchants, scholars, Kings, courtiers or common mariners, share one essential characteristic: they travel. It is this activity, this action, that encompasses and surpasses every other action in Hakluyt's book.

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<sup>91</sup>Hakluyt's words do not correspond exactly to the wording in the Geneva Bible (the Geneva Bible has "They *that* go downe to the sea," my emphasis). In citing the Geneva Bible, however, I am not only guided by its popularity in Elizabethan England, but also by D. B. Quinn's point that Hakluyt "does not always follow verbatim his biblical quotations from either the Bishops' Bible or the Geneva Bible." See Richard Hakluyt, *Discourse of Western Planting*, ed. by D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993), 131.

Fuller's argument, therefore, that Hakluyt's "commitment is not to travel but to information" is typical of her emphasis on the material product of the *Voyages*. She emphasizes their material outcome, their objective ideological efficacy, rather than their experiential and narrative process. Of course I would agree that Hakluyt is committed to information and to the communication of information. But I would argue that he is also, through the *Voyages*, committed to travel: he is committed, that is, to an understanding of the meaning of travel as revealed through narrative. Furthermore, it is not clear how the notions of information (or communication) and travel can be separated. A great deal of the information in Hakluyt is contained in the narratives and there is no narrative apart from travel. But Fuller's blindness to the experiential and narrative process cuts her off from certain aspects of the *Voyages* which I consider fundamental to the collection as a whole and to Hakluyt's role in shaping and editing it.

The experiential process which underlies the narratives and is related through them makes itself felt, I would argue, in three general ways. At the most obvious level it accounts for their extraordinary dramatic quality, their vivid illustration of the vicissitudes of human fortune, full of heroics, betrayals, turns and reversals. Secondly, it underlies and makes possible the ethical character of the *Voyages*, their concern with the right action, which is just as evident, I think, as their concern with ideology and empire--though certainly more unstable and harder to determine. Finally, each narrative of travel is the record of an experiment, an experiment in identity formation, in which the



identity of the individual agent, the identity of the English nation and the identity of the Englishman himself as a type--a figure who mediates between individual and nation--is at stake.

All three of these characteristics of the *Voyages* are a product of the unpredictability of the narratives: that is, the unpredictability of the travels they narrate embeds itself in each narrative. In making this claim I am drawing on the work of a philosopher who is concerned with the moral significance of narrative, Alasdair MacIntyre. MacIntyre makes a number of points that are central to the claims of this thesis. He argues, firstly, that "it is crucial that at any given point in an enacted dramatic narrative we do not know what will happen next" (*After Virtue*, 215). But this notion of unpredictability, argues MacIntyre, is inseparable from some notion of people acting in time (out of a past, and towards a future) and with certain aims in mind. MacIntyre puts it like this:

unpredictability coexists with a second crucial characteristic of all lived narratives, a certain teleological character. We live out our lives, both individually and in our relationships with each other, in the light of certain conceptions of a possible shared future, a future in which certain possibilities beckon us forward and others repel us, some seem already foreclosed and others perhaps inevitable. There is no present which is not informed by some image of some future and an image of the future which always presents itself in the form of a *telos*--or of a variety of ends or goals--towards which we are either moving or failing to move in the present. Unpredictability and teleology therefore coexist as part of our lives; like characters in a fictional narrative we do not know what will happen next, but nonetheless our lives have a certain form which projects itself towards our future. Thus the narratives which we live out have both an unpredictable

and a partially teleological character. If the narrative of our individual and social lives is to continue intelligibly--and either type of narrative may lapse into unintelligibility--it is always both the case that there are constraints on how the story can continue *and* that within those constraints there are indefinitely many ways that it can continue. (215-16, emphasis in the original)

What MacIntyre means here is that the aims and objectives with which people embark upon a given action provide, to some extent, a temporal framework ("a certain form which projects itself towards our future") within whose terms that action will then come to be understood. The aims and objectives and their temporal framework (what MacIntyre calls their "teleological character") act as "constraints" on the "narrative of our individual and social lives." Nevertheless, these narrative constraints exist side by side with a certain unquantifiable unpredictability. Thus, we can say with MacIntyre's help, that the notion of unpredictability in human affairs does not exclude explicit ideological and material aims and objectives, but co-exists with them.

Finally, MacIntyre develops on the basis of this discussion of the essential characteristics of intelligible narrative, what he calls a "narrative concept of selfhood":

What the narrative concept of selfhood requires is thus twofold. On the one hand, I am what I may justifiably be taken by others to be in the course of living out a story that runs from my birth to my death; I am the *subject* of a history that is my own and no one else's, that has its own peculiar meaning. When someone complains--as do some of those who attempt or commit suicide--that his or her life is meaningless, he or she is often and perhaps characteristically complaining that the narrative of their life has become unintelligible to them, that it lacks any point,

any movement towards a climax or a *telos*. Hence the point of doing any one thing or another at crucial junctures in their lives seems to such a person to have been lost.

To be the subject of a narrative that runs from one's birth to one's death is, I remarked earlier, to be accountable for the actions and experiences which compose a narratable life. It is, that is, to be open to being asked to give a certain kind of account of what one did or what happened to one or what one witnessed at any earlier point in one's life than the time at which the question is posed. Of course someone may have forgotten or suffered brain damage or simply not attended sufficiently at the relevant time to be able to give the relevant account. But to say of someone under some one description ("The prisoner of the Chateau d'If") that he is the same person as someone characterized quite differently ("The Count of Monte Christo") is precisely to say that it makes sense to ask him to give an intelligible narrative account enabling us to understand how he could at different times and different places be one and the same person and yet be so differently characterized. Thus personal identity is just that identity presupposed by the unity of the character which the unity of a narrative requires. Without such unity there could not be subjects of whom stories could be told. (217-18, emphasis in the original)

MacIntyre's highly influential discussion brings together the ideas of narrative, unpredictability, *telos* (end, goal, objective) and identity in a way that illuminates my own concern with giving narrative voice to the unpredictability of experience within a context of imperial design.

The events that the thesis describes are for the most part contemporaneous but my work focuses on situations rather than the unfolding of events in historical time. As a consequence, the four chapters are organized according to a schema resembling the stages of a voyage that would take the English away from their own land and into a foreign one.

In the first chapter the focus is on England. Through the detailed examination of the excerpts from various historical and antiquarian works which Hakluyt incorporates into his collection, this chapter sees early expansion gradually shaping the geo-political entity that becomes Elizabethan England. Within the diversity of material included in the *Voyages* the chapter detects a coherent argument which asserts the importance of expansion and stresses the need for further travel. I argue, moreover, that travel is important not simply as a source of economic prosperity but also, fundamentally, as a condition of survival.

In the second chapter the English are seen confronting the Spaniards, their major adversaries on the road to empire. The war is fought on the high seas and its purpose includes both the defence of the realm from foreign invasion and the continuation of expansion. However, I argue that these allegedly objective accounts of naval warfare also provide a stage for the definition of Englishness through the re-enactment of the struggle between true and false religion.

Having successfully fought the Spaniards the English embark, in the third chapter, on the long sea voyage that would take them to the end of the known world. As in the previous chapter the sea is the principal setting for the narratives that I examine. However, we now turn from a preoccupation with self-definition in the external world of action to a preoccupation, in the midst of action, with a more internal world. The relationship that now emerges as being of central

importance is one between man and his God through the encounter with elemental nature.

In the fourth and final chapter, the sea voyage is over and the English find themselves in a foreign land which they have singled out for colonization (Virginia and Guiana). The chapter examines the tensions and ambiguities that arise from the encounter between the English and the inhabitants of the New World.

Therefore, whereas in the first two chapters of the thesis I am dealing with Hakluyt the ideologue--the propagandist and empire-builder--in the final two chapters I focus on the experiential side of the *Voyages*, a side which is but the necessary product of "Peregrinationis historia," of the narrative of personal experience that Hakluyt wanted his travellers to write.

## CHAPTER 1

### OUT OF THE PAST: THE MEDIEVAL SECTION OF THE *ENGLISH VOYAGES*

The second edition of the *English Voyages* is a work greatly enlarged both in size and in scope. The voyages which took place in the decade separating the two editions were great in their number and in their significance, and much of the new material in the final *Voyages* concerns the activity of the 1590s. But it is of considerable interest to observe that Hakluyt did not rely solely on the insertion of documents concerning contemporary voyages for his enlargements. He also stretched back in time, searching out chronicles and histories, manuscripts and merchants' records, sources old and new, for narratives which would complement his already existing evidence concerning the activity of Englishmen overseas in the centuries before his own.<sup>1</sup> According to G. B. Parks, a rough measurement reveals that the medieval section of the work rose from some 75,000 to some

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<sup>1</sup>A comprehensive list of Hakluyt's sources has been compiled by A. M. and D. B. Quinn, who give the contents and sources for Hakluyt's three major collections (*Divers Voyages* (1582), *The Principall Navigations* (1589) and *The Principal Navigations* (1598-1600)) and note the items that Hakluyt reprints from one collection to the other. See A. M. and D. B. Quinn, "Contents and Sources of the Three Major Collections," in *Hakluyt Handbook*, 338-460. In my citation of Hakluyt's sources I follow the Quinns's list without further reference to the pages of the *Handbook*.

250,000 words; the material would have been adequate for a good-sized separate publication.<sup>2</sup> The section received the same minute care as the rest of the collection: having ample time to prepare the materials for his second edition, Hakluyt paid extreme attention to matters of spelling, punctuation and syntax. Moreover, he took a more critical attitude towards his sources, eliminating some narratives of dubious validity (like the travels of Sir John Mandeville) and substituting them with numerous new documents, all properly edited with the appropriate headings and marginal notes.<sup>3</sup>

The expansion of the medieval section in the final edition of the *Voyages* is an indication of the enormous importance that Hakluyt placed on the past: a preoccupation with the nation's history is one of the most prominent features of the collection. What follows is a detailed analysis of the contents of the medieval section, in an attempt to understand its structural significance in the collection as a whole and consequently its importance for Hakluyt's overall argument.

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<sup>2</sup>Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 175.

<sup>3</sup>Mandeville's "Travels" was the only item in the first edition of the *Voyages* which was printed in Latin only without an English translation. For the possible reasons for Hakluyt's practice see the introduction to Quinn and Skelton, eds., *The Principall Navigations*, xxvi. Mary Campbell mentions that Mandeville was available to Hakluyt in English at the time, but there is a small inconsistency when she writes that Mandeville is included in both editions of the *Voyages*. See *The Witness and the Other World*, 218 and 218, n. 8. On the excision of Mandeville from the final *Voyages* see Quinn and Skelton, 1; see also Taylor, *Late Tudor*, 28.

### I. i. History, Historiography and the *Voyages*

The division of the *Voyages* into a “medieval” as opposed to a “contemporary” section does not correspond to two fixed categories, separated out and standing autonomously within the book; in referring to the “medieval section” I follow G. B. Parks’s terminology to designate all the accounts of travel which took place in the centuries before Hakluyt’s own.<sup>4</sup> I allude, therefore, to a cluster of narratives which comprises pieces drawn from all three volumes. Retaining, and indeed developing Parks’s scheme, means imposing an alteration upon Hakluyt’s own arrangement. I will explain the reasons for this alteration below.

According to the original (chronological) organisation, the aforementioned cluster of narratives figures at the opening of the particular (topographically arranged) section of each individual volume. This tight chronological structure, which is followed throughout the *Voyages*, creates a stately and orderly progression of Englishmen, drawn from time immemorial to almost the minute before the book went to press. The simultaneous preoccupation with both the geographically and the historically remote adds to the expansive character of the work, making its vastness not simply spatial but also effectively temporal. The chronological presentation of the material, in the separate geographical divisions, creates an effect of continuity and

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<sup>4</sup>Parks, 175.



precedent, offering a reassuring correspondence between past and present, which points to an open ending, looking forwards to the future.

Hakluyt's structure is conditioned by an historical thinking that looked to the past for an understanding of the present, and that, believing in "the notion that history somehow repeated itself," searched the past for situations similar to those of the present, which would provide instructive analogues for Hakluyt's contemporaries.<sup>5</sup> In its generalised form, the "situation" that is at issue in the *Voyages* is travel: it is one of Hakluyt's aims to show that the activity of Englishmen overseas is not new, that it does not constitute a glorious but all-too-brief moment in time, fated to sink back into nothingness. Relying upon a similarity which he detects in the acts and images of Englishmen throughout the centuries, "it can not be denied," he writes

but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth.<sup>6</sup>

In a book in which the identity of the self and the identity of the whole nation is construed largely from travel, evocation of the past helps to

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<sup>5</sup>F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1967), 5.

<sup>6</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Francis Walsingham, 1589," 1: xx.

stabilize the identity of travel itself. For as the book presents it, travel is far from being a simple, uniform notion. The *Voyages* is, after all, something more than a merely straightforward chronological list of as many instances of travel by Englishmen abroad as were to be found: this is largely the function of its cleverly comprehensive Table of Contents.<sup>7</sup> The *Voyages* is rather a collection of narratives, all of which give vivid accounts of the reasons for which a journey has been undertaken, of its daily business, pitfalls and successes, and of its final outcome. These accounts display considerable variety within the larger framework of travel itself: voyages to the unknown, the establishment of trade relations, cultural and territorial expansion, warfare with men of other religions, matters of knowledge and education and of personal devotion. Internal relationships between the medieval and the contemporary sections are established on the basis of implicit analogy and, in a number of cases, many of the patterns and concerns found dispersed in various accounts of early travel are present in a more sophisticated, synthesized form in some of the later voyages.

The exposition of similar situations has, as I have already noted, a concrete practical function. Far from simply wanting to supply the reader with accurate information about the past, Renaissance historians wanted to educate their audience. "The idea of 'pure information,' of 'scientific' history was foreign to Renaissance minds"

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<sup>7</sup>Referring to the first edition of the *Voyages*, Taylor writes that Hakluyt, recognising the "rather cumbersome character" of his work, took pain to construct the Table of Contents so, that it is "easy for the student to envisage the whole story of discovery and enterprise" from it alone (*Late Tudor*, 18).

writes Leonard F. Dean in his *Tudor Theories of History Writing*. "No one affirmed the value of information about the past for its own sake."<sup>8</sup> The past provided ethical and political lessons for the present, supplied models for the future, and, as long as belief in the notion that human experience was always and everywhere the same was retained by the humanists, so it was possible to think that the past could provide a safe guide for conduct in the present.<sup>9</sup> What has been done, therefore, was worth preserving through the act of writing, were it was rescued from the "greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion."<sup>10</sup> Such was the attitude of Hakluyt himself, who conceived of the whole of the *Voyages* as having a double, related educational function: by recording the deeds of generations long prior to his own his compilation offered a tribute to ancestry; by recording the actions of his contemporaries it became a monument to posterity; and by addressing both the contemporary and the future generations alike, it provided an inspiration to its audiences to play their own "worthy part."<sup>11</sup> But to elucidate Hakluyt's ideas as they bear on my most immediate concern, I will now quote an enlightening extract from his "Dedication" to Sir Robert Cecil in the

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<sup>8</sup>Leonard F. Dean, "Tudor Theories of History Writing," *University of Michigan Contributions to Modern Philology*, 1 (April 1947), 6. For a discussion of ideas of history in the period see Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, and F. S. Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962). See also L. B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), chap. 9.

<sup>9</sup>Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London: Routledge, 1991), 12.

<sup>10</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "Preface to the Second Edition, 1598," 1: xxxix.

<sup>11</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "Dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, 1587," in Taylor, *Original*, 369.

second volume of the final edition of the *Voyages*. This, I believe, explains Hakluyt's use of the past:

These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chivalry, I have in the first place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Jugurtha, writeth in this maner: . . . I have often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed unto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could never be quenched, untill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie.<sup>12</sup>

The past which Hakluyt evokes in the *Voyages* is recollected from a variety of voices spanning a number of centuries. Excerpts from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bede, and William of Malmesbury cohabit the same textual space, alongside excerpts from Camden, Bale, Dee, Foxe and Lambarde--to name but a few. They are presented in an order which does not follow the chronology of composition, but in which the old and the new exist side by side and are often used to complement, authenticate or explain one another. In this section, history is written by historians who, living in diverse times, have different notions about the past, and how to record it. For medieval annalists and

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<sup>12</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "Epistle Dedicatorie in the Second Volume of the Second Edition, 1599," 1: lxx-lxxvi.

chroniclers, regarding everything under the aspect of eternity, all history is present history; for sixteenth century historians, the recently developed concept of anachronism makes the present differ from the past, while the concept of "second cause" (the explanation of historical causation with reference to human actions and their consequences) places importance on the actions and passions of individual personalities, and starts to undermine the older providential scheme.<sup>13</sup> In an age as subject to change as the sixteenth century, when the boundaries between past and present practices were not sharply defined, the old easily coexisted with the new;--this was as true for the individual historians whom Hakluyt used as for his own work.

But the different conceptions of history which can be detected within the medieval section do not essentially detract from the factor which unifies them, which is the writing of history itself. This leads into what becomes my main criterion for retaining the division between a "medieval" and a "contemporary" section: not mainly the temporal distance between the medieval and Elizabethan as such, but over and above that, the temporal gap between *the events narrated* and *the actual time of their narration*. The main conceptual difference operating here is that between "historiography" and "report": both lay claim to presenting the actual, but whereas in the first the writer as historian tries to reconstruct a collective past, in the second, the writer as participant writes about his own experiences during, or shortly after,

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<sup>13</sup>Levy, ix; Rackin, 6.

the events in question.<sup>14</sup> Unlike the traveller-writer, the writer of history is not principally confronted with a different nation, a different religion or an unknown part of the world. He is confronted with a different time which becomes “an essential source of self-definition” for members of a nation-state that is in a process of emergence and expansion.<sup>15</sup> The first-hand reports of the English voyagers will be my subject in the three chapters which follow. In this chapter I focus on the excerpts from the various historiographical works which Hakluyt incorporated in his collection, through which he “presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie” (1: lxvi).

## I. ii. Selection as Interpretation

The character of the *English Voyages* (a compilation of narratives left in the words of the original authors) has at once

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<sup>14</sup>There are only four first-hand accounts of travel in the medieval section of the second edition. These are the journals of Johannis de Plano Caprini (1: 55-133 Latin text, 1: 134-79 English text), William de Rubricis (1: 179-228 Latin, 1: 229-93 English) and Beatus Odoricus (4: 371-408 Latin, 4: 408-44 English) and the voyage of Ingulphus of Groinland (4: 288-90 Latin, 4: 290-93 English). The Caprini and Rubruck journals indicate a significant difference between the first and the second editions of the *Voyages*: the work of foreigners is now included where it serves to “fill gaps in the complete description of the known world” (Taylor, *Late Tudor*, 28). Hakluyt himself explains his reasons for including the two journals in his “Preface” to the second edition, 1: li-liv.

<sup>15</sup>Rackin, 4.

fascinated and eluded its readers. In the way a disparate mass of material is held tightly together, it is possible to discern the presence of its compiler. At the same time, his insistence on letting his sources convey his argument--in speaking therefore in a language which he derives wholly from quotations--makes it difficult to determine the precise extent to which this presence is 'present.' Summing up this correspondence J. A. Williamson remarks that "Hakluyt gathered the materials of a history and dealt so cunningly with them that they became a history whilst retaining their guise as raw materials--a double achievement which no modern editor has had the art to imitate."<sup>16</sup>

Within this carefully structured work of documentation, the medieval section occupies a special position. The rest of the collection is made up almost exclusively of first-hand accounts of voyages, the majority written under circumstances which had made the writing an essential part of the travelling. In many cases, the day to day reporting of the proceedings of a voyage remained the only testimony of its ever having taken place. The medieval section, on the other hand, is made up exclusively of extracts--fragments from a variety of sources which, in the form that they appear in the *Voyages*, do not necessarily correspond in length or in structure to the original. This implies that behind the section is a process of examination--of selection and exclusion--conditioned by the interests and aims of the compiler. Hakluyt isolates the passages from their original context and

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<sup>16</sup>J. A. Williamson, introduction to *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*, by G. B. Parks (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), xiv.

incorporates them into his own collection--and, therefore, into his argument, where they acquire an interactive capacity--which makes them as creative in their new location as they are created by it. It is for this reason that the medieval section, maybe to a greater extent than the rest of the collection, offers us the opportunity to observe a variety of interpretations, culminating in the question of Hakluyt's own interpretative role. Here we are not only concerned with the interpretation of the past by the individual historians themselves, but also with the interpretation of their work by Hakluyt himself--made evident through his reading, selecting and incorporating of material.

J. H. Parry, historian and author of a short article entitled "Hakluyt's View of British History," seems to be moving roughly in the same direction.<sup>17</sup> His article attempts to deal systematically with the historical section of the *Voyages*: I shall therefore use it as a counterpoint for the exposition of my argument.

Parry begins by mentioning the new interest taken by the Elizabethans in the study of the nation's past. The "national patriotism" (3) that determined their selection of material, together with their aim not only to inform but also to amuse, celebrate and extol, and their need for the reassurance that the past could offer, are duly and properly cited. Parry then touches upon the great chronicle tradition, culminating in the figure of Camden, one of Hakluyt's close friends. The two men, he writes,

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<sup>17</sup>J. H. Parry, "Hakluyt's View of British History," in D. B. Quinn ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook*, 3 - 7.



Presumably . . . shared a common attitude towards the history of their own country. On Hakluyt's part, however, this attitude was never made explicit. Unlike Camden, Hakluyt was not a writer of history. He was a geographer, a propagandist for overseas adventure, a collector and editor of first-hand narratives of travel. He handled his material with the care and judgement of a good historian, but made no attempt to compact it as continuous narrative, preferring to let his sources speak for themselves. His views on British history, or any history, have to be pieced together from his dedications and prefaces, and inferred from his choice of documents. (4)

This passage contains a number of suggestive points; unfortunately the rest of the article does not seem to follow them up. Failure to do so springs from Parry's reluctance to take fully on board the question of Hakluyt's position within the *Voyages*.

According to Parry, Hakluyt was "not a writer of history" because he did not compound his sources in a "continuous narrative": therefore his views are never "made explicit." Hakluyt is an "editor" and a "propagandist" who "let his sources speak for themselves." To begin with, a propagandist who uses such a method would have to make sure that his sources not only say something which contributes to his argument, but also that they say it effectively enough not to need more than a minimal interference. With respect to this 'minimum' in the *Voyages*, Parry does not seem to recognize the degree of Hakluyt's role as an "editor," for he fails to notice a crucial aspect of Hakluyt's editorial practice: his use of headings and side-notes to introduce and complement his sources.<sup>18</sup> As we shall see in more detail when we

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<sup>18</sup>Quinn and Skelton, xi, draw attention to this practice, not with reference to the medieval section in particular but to the whole of the *Voyages*.

proceed to the discussion of particular narratives, far from being neutral the headings and side-notes highlight parts of the action to which Hakluyt wants to draw attention; they sum up what he sees as the essence of the extract; they offer explicit moral comments and judgements. In short, without overwhelming the reader, Hakluyt provides guidance as to how any extract should be read. I see this as a crucial practice which combines with his “dedications and prefaces” and his “choice of documents” to enable the reader to infer Hakluyt’s views.<sup>19</sup>

Parry’s evocation of Hakluyt’s “choice of documents” is probably his most crucial point, because it implies the process of interpretation to which I alluded earlier. Nevertheless, two of Parry’s later statements seem to disregard his own point. Parry writes: “Hakluyt tried valiantly to marshal evidence in support of this assertion [that the English were “stirrers abroad and searchers of the remote parts of the world”], but with very limited success, at least for ‘ages’ before that of Henry VII and the Cabots” (5). By directing the reader to the question of the quantity of evidence, Parry is able to ignore whatever cogency there is in Hakluyt’s argument, and to dispense with the complexity of the relation between argument and “choice.” My point here is that choice is already evidence of an interpretation. Quantity of evidence is, no doubt, an

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<sup>19</sup>Cross-referencing with the original documents that Hakluyt incorporates in his collection shows that some of the side-notes in the *Voyages* are Hakluyt’s own whereas others are retained from the original publications. I will be pointing out the differences and correspondences between the originals and the edited versions included in the *Voyages* in my discussion of particular narratives. Here I would like to note that what becomes apparent from Hakluyt’s side-notes is a process of critical reading similar to that identified by Sherman with reference to John Dee and other Renaissance scholars. See Sherman, *John Dee*, chaps. 3 and 4.

important part of Hakluyt's argument. Nevertheless, as I hope the discussion which follows will show, it is not its only part, for while the medieval section is deficient in quantity as compared to the rest of the compilation, it does not lack argumentative consistency. Much of the historical narrative in the *Voyages*--that is, historical to Hakluyt--takes the form of retrospective accounts produced by his own contemporaries; another considerable proportion, however, comes from editions of medieval chronicles newly published in the later half of the sixteenth century in an attempt to find answers to pressing contemporary questions. Indeed, an examination of Hakluyt's sources for the medieval section reveals that many of his contributors come from the leading minds of the sixteenth century--in particular men who shared an interest in antiquarian scholarship and who accordingly "laid the foundation for the historical study of society in England."<sup>20</sup>

As Quinn and Skelton remark in their review of Hakluyt's medieval sources for the 1589 edition of the *Voyages*, "the most accessible and most easily plundered source was John Bale's *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae . . . catalogus*."<sup>21</sup> Hakluyt incorporates into the final *Voyages* fifteen items taken from the 1557-59 edition of Bale.<sup>22</sup> John Leland, whose work Bale continued and partly

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<sup>20</sup>Arthur Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: The Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1979), 5.

<sup>21</sup>Quinn and Skelton, xxv. The extracts from Bale's *Catalogus* are mentioned in xxv, n. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Hakluyt reprints all the items from Bale that he included in the first edition of the *Voyages* with the exception of a short extract on Sir John Mandeville which he obviously removed together with the narrative of his travels. For a brief evaluation of Hakluyt's editorial use of Bale see C. F. Beckingham, "The Near East: North and

incorporated in his own writings is given by Hakluyt as the source for one item.<sup>23</sup> Bale's close friend and fellow exile in Basle, John Foxe, is represented through an extract from the 1583 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*.<sup>24</sup> Another important figure who came under the influence of Bale was the Archbishop Matthew Parker (he also became Foxe's most important patron). Like Leland and Bale, Parker was intent on preserving a large number of manuscripts and books from the monastic libraries.<sup>25</sup> In the last decade of his life Parker edited and published a number of important medieval texts: one of them was Matthew Paris's *Angli, historia maior* (1571) from which Hakluyt borrows three items.<sup>26</sup> Parker was in turn an inspirational figure for

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North-east Africa," in *Hakluyt Handbook*, 176-89 (178). On John Bale see Jesse Harris, *John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1940); H. McCusker, *John Bale: Dramatist and Antiquary* (Bryn Mawr: Pennsylvania, 1942); and most recently, Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York, Twayne Publishers, 1996).

<sup>23</sup>"Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme," 4: 370-71; on this item see *Hakluyt Handbook*, 412. On Leland and Bale see May McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), chap. 1. McKisack discusses the relationship between most of the figures that are treated in this chapter. See also Levy, 94-95, 126, 129-31.

<sup>24</sup>"The woorthy voiage of Richard the first," 4: 319-39. Bale and Foxe (together with Eden) are mentioned by Hakluyt in the "Preface" to the first edition of the *Voyages* as the only three historians who helped him to shed some light on the navigations of earlier times (1: xxiv). The two men were employed as readers by Oporinus, the Protestant printer at Basle who eventually published Bale's *Catalogus*. At the time Bale and Foxe were researching their respective collections. On Bale and Foxe in Basle see Harris, 54-56; for a discussion of Tyndale's influence on Foxe (who in turn influences Bale) see Rainer Pineas, "William Tyndale's Influence on John Bale's Polemical Use of History," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 53 (1962): 79-96. On John Foxe see William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963).

<sup>25</sup> On Bale's influence on Parker see McKisack, 14 and Levy, 96, 98.

<sup>26</sup>"Part of an Epistle . . . touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars," 1: 50-54; "The voyage of Petrus de Rupibus," 4: 351; and "The voyage of William Long-espee," 4: 353-58. On Parker and his circle see McKisack, chap. 2; on the edition of Matthew Paris, see McKisack, 40-41 and Levy, 120.

Lord William Howard and Sir Henry Savile, encouraging them to undertake the editing of medieval texts. Howard's edition of Florence of Worcester *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (1592) was used by Hakluyt; so was Savile's edition of William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, Howden, Aethelweard and Ingulph, *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam* (1596), which is one of Hakluyt's most heavily used sources.<sup>27</sup> As F. J. Levy remarks, the editions of Howard and Savile mark a return to the publication of the ordinary chroniclers of the Middle Ages; so does the edition of Hieronymus Commelinus, *Rerum Britannicarum . . . scriptores*, which was published in Heidelberg in 1587 and which included Geoffrey of Monmouth, the Venerable Bede, William of Newburgh, Gildas, Froissart and part of William of Malmesbury. Commelinus's is another heavily used text in the *Voyages*. Hakluyt relies on Geoffrey of Monmouth for the voyages of Arthur and Malgo, on Bede for the travels of Edwin and Bertus and on William of Newburgh for a voyage to the Holy land.<sup>28</sup> For the voyages

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<sup>27</sup> On Parker's influence on Howard and Savile see McKisack, 43. Hakluyt uses the *Chronicon* for the voyage of Edmund and Edgar into Hungary, 1: 24-25. He borrows 11 items from Savile: "The league between Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia," 1: 310-12 (on this item see *Hakluyt Handbook*, 384); "A testimonie of certaine priviledges obtained for the English and Danish Marchants," 1: 313-14; "The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London," 1: 314-15; "A testimony . . . concerning traffique to Bristowe," 1: 315; "The memorable voyage of Sigelmus bishop of Shirburne," 4: 279-80; "The voyage of Swanus," 4: 283; "A voyage of three Ambassadors," 4: 284-87; "The voyage of Alured bishop of Worcester," 4: 287-88; "The voyage of Ingulphus," 4: 288-93; "The voyage of Edgar," 4: 295-96; and "A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople," 4: 312-19. On the *Scriptores* see McKisack, 64-65.

<sup>28</sup> Levy, 134. Seven items from Commelinus's edition are included in the final *Voyages*: "Certaine testimonies concerning Arthur and his conquests of the North regions," 1: 3-4; "A testimonie . . . concerning the conquests of Malgo," 1: 7-8; "The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin," 1: 8 and 1: 9-10; "The voyage of Bertus," 1: 10; and "A voyage of certaine English men . . . unto the holy land," 4: 309. The extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth are reprinted from the 1589 edition whereas the extracts from Bede and William of Newbury are new to the 1598-1600 edition. A

of the three important medieval travellers Caprini, Rubruck and Odoric Hakluyt used the famous library of John Lumley,<sup>29</sup> whereas for the travels of Ohtere and Wulstans he probably used the collection of Sir Robert Cotton (who is also the probable source for the *Libel of English Policy*).<sup>30</sup>

Sir Robert Cotton's friend and teacher William Camden was, as we have already seen, also one of Hakluyt's close friends. He is credited with helping Hakluyt find his way through an unfamiliar period;<sup>31</sup> he is also the direct contributor of verses on Madoc and represented through five items from the 1594 edition of the *Britannia*.<sup>32</sup> The *Britannia*, a work of incredible erudition, transformed the state of Elizabethan topographical scholarship; in many respects, it was the work that William Lambarde wanted to produce, but its first publication in 1586 made him stop his chorographical exploits with his

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further interesting connection here is the personal acquaintance between Sir Robert Cotton and Commelinus's son (see Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, 99).

<sup>29</sup>Hakluyt mentions Lumley with respect to Rubrick and Caprini in the "Preface" to the second edition, 1: liv. Quinn identifies Odoric as the other item that came from Lumley in the *Hakluyt Handbook*, 407.

<sup>30</sup>*Hakluyt Handbook*, 378-79, 379, 391. On Cotton's library see Sharpe, *Cotton*, chap. 2; on Hakluyt as the first scholar to recognise the "historical significance" of the *Libel* (a "highly nationalist proto-mercantilist theory" document) see Ferguson, *Clio Unbound*, 87.

<sup>31</sup> Quinn and Skelton, xxv; Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 126, 175.

<sup>32</sup>"A Chronicle of the Kings of Man," 1: 25-41; "A Testimony, that the Britons were in Italy and Greece, with the Cimbrians and Gauls, before the incarnation of Christ," 4: 269-70; "A testimony that certain Englishmen were of the guard of the Emperour of Constantinople," 4: 310-11; "The voyage of Matthew Gurney," 4: 444; "The travailes and memorable victories of John Hawkwood," 4: 452. The verses on Madoc can be found in 7: 135.

*Perambulation of Kent*.<sup>33</sup> Like Camden, Lambarde enters the *Voyages* in more ways than one: Hakluyt borrows items from two of Lambarde's outstanding scholarly achievements, the *Perambulation of Kent* in its second (1596) edition, and the *Archaionomia*, Lambarde's pioneer study of Anglo-Saxon laws.<sup>34</sup> As I will go on to show, the item that Hakluyt reprints from the *Archaionomia* accounts for much of the medieval section's overall unity. The extract from the *Archaionomia* which Hakluyt incorporates in the *Voyages* relates to the conquests of King Arthur: it was on this particular extract that John Dee based his claims for Elizabeth's titles in the northern Hemisphere.<sup>35</sup> Dee himself figures prominently in the section: his conversations with the two Hakluyts and items from his outstanding collection of books and manuscripts, as well as from his publications, are firmly registered within the *Voyages*.<sup>36</sup> It was probably from Dee that the extract from Dr

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<sup>33</sup>On the relationship between the *Perambulation* and the *Britannia* see Stan Mendyck, *"Speculum Britanniae": Regional Study, Antiquarianism, and Science in Britain to 1700* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 49, 51-53.

<sup>34</sup>Hakluyt borrows two items from the *Perambulation* ("The ancient state of the shipping of the Cinque Ports," 1: 42-50 and "An ancient testimony . . . conteyning the advancement of Merchants, for their thrice crossing the wide seas," 1: 312) and one item from the *Archaionomia* ("A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine," 1: 5-7. On Lambarde see Retha M. Warnicke, *William Lambarde: Elizabethan Antiquary 1536-1601* (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1973) and Wilbur Dunkel, *William Lambarde, Elizabethan Jurist 1536-1601* (New Brunswick; New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1965). See also James A. Alsop and Wesley M. Stevens, "William Lambarde and the Elizabethan Polity," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 8 (1986): 233-65.

<sup>35</sup>T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London: Methuen, 1950), 43, n. 3.

<sup>36</sup>Of particular relevance here are the extracts from Geoffrey of Monmouth that open the first volume of the second edition of the *Voyages*. In a conversation he had with Daniel Rogers and Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple, John Dee assured them of Arthur's conquests, having found a reference that validated them in Geoffrey. Richard Hakluyt the elder passed on the information to his cousin and the references found their way into the *Voyages*. See French, *John Dee*, 198.

Powell's *History of Cumbria* (1584) came into Hakluyt's hands;<sup>37</sup> it was certainly from Dee that the testimony of Nicholas de Lynna concerning the northern parts and the Navigation of King Edgar originated.<sup>38</sup> In fact, it would not be too much to say that the ideological current behind the medieval section and its claims to empire can be traced to the thinking and researches of John Dee: as Gwyn A. Williams brilliantly demonstrates in *Madoc: The Making of a Myth*, Arthur and Malgo, Constantine and Helena, and Madoc the first discoverer of America (the "ancestors" therefore, that open each successive volume of the final *Voyages*) were instrumental in the imperial claims Dee makes for Elizabeth.<sup>39</sup>

The medieval section of the *English Voyages*, therefore, is made up from a variety of extracts taken from books which were either written or edited by scholars of strong Protestant leaning--men who were acquainted with one another, collaborated with one another, and were actively involved in poring over the past in an attempt to find answers to questions of the present. All in all they were seeking to find precedent and justification for the customs and institutions of their

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<sup>37</sup>Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 40.

<sup>38</sup>"The voyage of King Edgar with 4000. shippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973," 1: 16-24; "A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician Master John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna," 1: 303-304. Edgar's navigation comes from Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Arte of Navigation* (1577).

<sup>39</sup>Williams, *Madoc*, chap. 3.



own times.<sup>40</sup> I want to suggest that in using their work to evoke the beginnings and growth of English travel, Hakluyt describes the beginnings, gradual enlargement and final establishment of the territorial entity (an expansionist England) with which his own work is concerned and its intricate connection with England's monarchy. However limited the medieval section might be in scope (the result both of the narrowness of the sources Hakluyt had at his disposal and of the restrictions which the subject matter--a history of English travel--imposed), it nevertheless contains a sufficient number of references to enable the reader to infer a particular view of the monarchy in its two interrelated forms: the "territory of a monarch," and a "state having a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in a single person." Hakluyt combines fragments of his country's political and cultural past to offer lessons both moral and political, addressed to subjects and magistrates alike, touching on the relationship between them and on the relationship of both to their country. Therefore, Parry's verdict, reached after running through some of the contents of the section, that "the rest is chiefly anecdotes about crusaders, or about kings--Arthur and Malgo, Edgar and Alfred--who were said in one way or another to have encouraged maritime adventure" (Parry, 5-6), seems to suggest that Hakluyt was much more casual about his "choice of documents" than Parry's earlier words implied, or indeed than I am

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<sup>40</sup>Most of the scholars who contribute to the medieval section of the *Voyages* are associated with the antiquarian movement. For an excellent discussion of the fine shades of difference between "history" and "antiquarianism" in Elizabethan England see Ferguson, *Clio Unbound*.

willing to accept. As I have already suggested, and as I hope the discussion which follows will demonstrate, it is precisely the "one way or another" that becomes an integral part of Hakluyt's argument, and which helps him develop an idea of England of imperial dimensions.

I have therefore classified the narratives of early travel according to the aspect of the voyage which is prominent in each case: conquest, defence, discovery, devotion, education, pilgrimage, crusade. I retain this categorisation as an overall structure, but on top of that I must employ a further division which focuses on the *image of man*, as seen under the two roles in which the section ultimately presents him: the political role of the monarch, and that of the subject. In my opinion, the representation of man is to a large extent determined by the semiotics of the voyage--which are themselves heavily dependent upon topography. It is this complex relationship which projects the image of England in the medieval section of the *English Voyages*.

## II. The Godly Prince

The new *Voyages* begin by recording the northern navigations of three famous kings from Britain's past: Arthur, Malgo and Edwin. In all three cases the semiotics of the voyage can be defined as territorial acquisition and subjection; this becomes apparent not only in the narratives themselves, but also from the headings with which Hakluyt introduces his documents.<sup>41</sup>

The expansive movement is initiated by king Arthur, who is the first to create an empire extending overseas. After him, Malgo having "obtained the government of the whole Island of Britaine . . . recovered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur" (1: 8). Finally, Edwin expands the already existing dominions even further, by incorporating the Isles of Anglesey and Man. The three kings come from three distinct phases of British history; nevertheless, in the *Voyages* they are linked through the act of conquest, that is, through their preoccupation with the territorial enlargement of their dominions, which is the only

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<sup>41</sup>"Certaine testimonies concerning K. Arthur and his conquests of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of Britaine, written by Galfridus Monumetensis, and newly printed at Heidelberge, Anno 1587," 1: 3-4; "A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis, concerning the conquests of Malgo, king of England," 1: 7-8; "The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation," 1: 8. Hakluyt's source for the navigations of the three kings is Hieronymous Commelinus, ed., *Rerum Britannicum, id est Angliae, Scotiae, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum scriptores* (Heidelberg, 1587), pp. 67, 69-70, 73, 84, 180, 182-83. In addition he includes an excerpt from William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (London: John Day, 1568), fo. 137v and 138r. The voyages of Arthur and Malgo are reprinted from the 1589 edition; the two testimonies concerning Edwin are new to the second edition.

characteristic of their reign recorded in the book. Placed at the forefront of the final edition, the navigations of the three kings combine to project the image of an expanding England and thus allow the new *Voyages* to open with a confident, assertive tone.

The presence of Arthur in a work of documentation like the *Voyages* calls for special attention. For the fact is that Arthur comes directly from the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, a book which was highly disputed as a source of historical accuracy and validity.<sup>42</sup> The sixteenth-century controversy over British history, in which the *Historia* played a prominent role, is too broad a subject to be rehearsed here in detail; it will be enough to outline some of the major issues paying special attention to the importance that Arthur had for the Tudors.<sup>43</sup> In order to do this, we need to go back to the reign of Henry VIII and his imperial claims.

The Imperial Crown of which Henry VIII declared himself to be a possessor (in the Act in Restraint of Appeals of April 1533) was not, like that of the Roman-German emperor, acquired in Rome; it was the royal Crown itself. Henry's claims were closely bound with two myths

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<sup>42</sup>For the reception of Polydore Vergil's book and the ensuing battle over the British History, see Kendrick, *British Antiquity*. On the *Historia* see J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain: Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Regum Britanniae" and its Early Vernacular Versions* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950). On Comelin's edition of Geoffrey see the introduction to Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 32.

<sup>43</sup>The following summary borrows heavily from R. Koebner, "The Imperial Crown of This Realm': Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 26 (1953): 29-52; and Frances A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astrea" in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Pimlico, 1993), 29-87.

which exerted a strong influence on the minds of British chivalry and royalty: the legend of Constantine, first Christian emperor (which held that he, being of half-British origin, and having been proclaimed Augustus in Britain, had united British kingship with Roman emperorship), and the legend of Arthur, who was descendant of the house of Constantine and the most illustrious of the British kings, with a greatness predominately martial (not only had he conquered the north of Europe, he had also defeated the Romans themselves).<sup>44</sup> So much was learned from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In the last years of Henry VII, Polydore Vergil, an Italian humanist who had become attached to the English Church, investigated the sources of English history in order to write an account of the kingdom's past. When seven years later, in 1513, the manuscript of his *Anglica Historia* was ready, Polydore had, according to the humanists' new applications of the word *imperium*, furnished it with a variety of meanings, most of which would undoubtedly have satisfied the King; but he had also run into problems in accepting Geoffrey's book as a reliable historical source. Even so, he incorporated the part of the legend that involved Constantine and declared England's greatness to have been prefigured by that of the emperor. Yet his scholarly conscience did not allow him to accept the Arthurian narrative (Koebner, 34-35). As a consequence, his book remained

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<sup>44</sup>Koebner, 31.

unpublished for the next twenty years.<sup>45</sup> Polydore made it one of his priorities to substantiate his claim, and the general controversy over British history (never a settled matter) which was to last for the remainder of the century, took on a new urgency.

In doubting Arthur, Polydore was in effect undermining a delicate point of Tudor policy. To understand the importance of Geoffrey's book we must remember that it was the only source to fill some wide gaps in early British history by supplying a convenient myth of origin.<sup>46</sup> According to the *Historia*, after the fall of Troy, Brutus, a kinsman of Aeneas, had founded London (or Troynovant); the ensuing kings were his direct descendants; furthermore, "there was a direct connection from Arthur to the last of the British kings, Cadwaller, and from him to the Welsh Tudors. Thus, a lineage linking Henry VII to Arthur not only helped authenticate the Tudor claim but also implied a predication of future Tudor greatness, a re-enactment of the deeds of Arthur,"<sup>47</sup> for with the ascent of the Tudors, it was thought that "the ancient Trojan-British race of monarchs once more resumed the imperial power."<sup>48</sup> With the enthronement of Elizabeth, the "Imperial Crown" was restored to the status once claimed for it by her

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<sup>45</sup>The *Anglica Historia*, however, was published on the Continent, where it circulated as the major modern account of the issue (see Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, 28). It is interesting to note that Hakluyt includes an excerpt from Polydore Vergil's *Historia* (Basle, 1570) in the 1599 volume of the second edition of the *Voyages*, the evidence of which he corroborates with an extract from Holinshed's *Chronicles*. See "The voyage of Henry Earle of Derby . . . to Tunis in Barbary," 4: 450-51 and 4: 451-52.

<sup>46</sup>Levy, 19.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 66.

<sup>48</sup>Yates, *Astraea*, 50.

father (her sister Mary had repudiated the right to be the head of the Church),<sup>49</sup> and the Galfridian story, though never a necessary article of belief, became a commonplace of Elizabethan thought, providing a framework within which Elizabeth, as a monarch who could trace an ancestry going back to the founders of Rome, claimed “as by right the title of the imperial virgin who brings in the golden age of pure religion and national peace and prosperity.”<sup>50</sup>

To return to the *Voyages*. Whether or not Hakluyt gave Geoffrey “the benefit of the doubt” as J. H. Parry wonders, is beside the point.<sup>51</sup> Hakluyt incorporates part of the Arthurian narrative because he finds it essential for his purposes. Christopher Hill suggests that Arthur’s navigations are included in the *Voyages* because they serve as another illustration of the long history (and therefore the respectability) of English trade.<sup>52</sup> In the *Voyages*, however, Arthur is not presented as a trader, but as a conqueror. As becomes apparent from the heading of each individual extract, the three short passages from the *Historia* that Hakluyt incorporates in the *Voyages* come from three different chapters of Book Nine; this results in a new text with a tight structure

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<sup>49</sup>Koebner, 48.

<sup>50</sup>Yates, 50.

<sup>51</sup>Parry, “Hakluyt’s View of British History,” 6.

<sup>52</sup>Christopher Hill, “God’s Englishmen and His Empire,” review of *Richard Hakluyt: Voyages & Documents*, ed. by Janet Hampden, *The Spectator*, 200 (1958): 809.

of its own, in which the images of both Arthur and England are largely Hakluyt's creations.<sup>53</sup>

In the first sentence that Hakluyt quotes from the *Historia* narrative time is compact and the action is swift and forceful. On Arthur's part, action (in the form of travel) means subjection ("having subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof under his subjection," 1: 3); it gathers momentum within the space of the opening sentence and then stops. The movement we see from this point on is precisely the reverse: it is no longer Arthur who moves; there is no more need for Arthur to travel; "rumour" of his might is enough to make the kings of the various adjacent islands come "voluntarily unto him" and yield him "their obedience, promising to pay him tribute" (ibid.). Thus travel and authority are inextricably linked--through subjection and the inducement of the kings to "voluntary" action on Arthur's part and through "obedience" and "tribute" on the part of the kings. It is to these two words ("obedience" and "tribute") that Hakluyt's next two extracts refer. Hakluyt is isolating events from Geoffrey's narrative and quoting those that seem to have an internal relationship with what he sees as the essence of the opening passage.

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<sup>53</sup>In the order that they appear in the *Voyages* the extracts come from Lib. 9. cap. 10, Lib. 9. cap. 12, and Lib. 9. cap. 19. Two matters of interest arise from Hakluyt's use of Geoffrey. Firstly, Lib. 9. cap. 12 refers to Arthur's feast, which is an indication of Arthur's bountifulness; in the *Voyages*, however, it is his imperial power rather than his bountifulness that is emphasized. Furthermore, it is worthy of note that in Geoffrey's text there is a long list of kings who take part in the festivities in Arthur's court. Hakluyt, however, isolates only the Kings of the subjected territories. See Commelinus, 69-70.



In the second extract England is established as the seat of a small empire. Continuing the suggestion of authority and in clear confirmation of the "obedience" that has been promised by the subjugated kings, Hakluyt presents them as "summoned" (1: 4) to Arthur's court. Next comes the reference to "tribute," when the kings promise to send horses and footmen to Arthur's aid. In both extracts the names of the territories are repeated, creating a lasting impression on the mind of the reader.

The first passage that Hakluyt incorporates from the *Historia* begins by stating the year in which the action takes place.<sup>54</sup> The date has a double function. First, it is a way of validating Arthur's existence in accordance with the documentary character of the *Voyages*. Secondly, and equally significantly, by locating the beginnings of English maritime activity in the age of Arthur, Hakluyt immediately places it in the realm of myth--an age which had a strong hold on people's imagination as one in which England knew unsurpassed power and glory--an age therefore which existed as a value, and against which the value of the present could be implicitly measured. Hakluyt creates at the outset of the *Voyages* a correspondence between past and present, within a mode of historical thinking that saw present and future glories as contained in past events.<sup>55</sup> The extracts from Geoffrey

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<sup>54</sup>The date is not found in Geoffrey's extract; it is inserted by Hakluyt who follows the chronological list of Kings in the beginning of Commelinus's edition.

<sup>55</sup>It is not only the glorious incidents from the past that provide the lessons of history, however. It is worthy of note that in the second edition of the *Voyages* Hakluyt includes an extract from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* on the voyage of Bertus to Ireland. There the reader learns of Bertus's cruel behaviour against the subjected population which results in a revolt ("the Islanders to their power repelled armes with

encapsulate, in an embryonic form, Hakluyt's ideal, and his ideal is his argument: England is placed in a central position; it becomes the seat of an empire expanding overseas; and travel and conquest are necessary insofar as they help to make England a strong power, over which peace reigns. In the form that they assume in the *Voyages*, the three passages from the *Historia* provide the foundation for the rest of the compilation. By placing so much emphasis on Arthur as a conqueror (a role in which he was very important for Elizabethan imperialist thought, since it was on this aspect of his reign that Elizabeth's claims to various territories could be founded), Hakluyt affiliates himself with an ideological current exhibited throughout the medieval section, in which England's claim to an overseas empire is heavily dependent on Arthur being its original creator.

If, with the inclusion of Geoffrey, Hakluyt makes a territorial claim which is based on historical precedent, with the inclusion of Lambarde he makes a claim based on the antiquity of legal institutions. Lambarde's text is not only concerned with the Arthurian conquest of

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armes") and which elicits the following moral comment: "they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences." (See "The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfridus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684," 1: 10; for the whole episode, which results in the death of king Ecgfrith, see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], 427-31.) The significance of this extract becomes apparent when we consider the importance of Ireland for Elizabethan expansionism and in particular the significance of the experience gained in Ireland for the behaviour of the colonists in North America in the 1580s. Of particular relevance here is a short narrative that Hakluyt wrote on the third voyage to Virginia where he explains the sudden departure of the colonists from Virginia in 1586 as a result of their sinful behaviour against the natives (see "The third voyage made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586, to the reliefe of the Colony planted in Virginia," 8: 346-48, 347). I discuss this issue at greater length in the fourth chapter of the thesis.

the Northern regions but also with the Nordic invasions of the British Isles and the subsequent Norse settlements on British soil. The aftermath of both the Arthurian and the Nordic invasions are based on the same legal claim--yet significantly, the Arthurian conquest of Norway and the Nordic invasion of Britain are explained according to different sets of criteria.

In his pre-sixteenth-century form the creator of empire (as personified in Arthur, Edwin and Malgo) is defined in terms of primitive male traits: he is fearless, courageous in battle, and of such physical strength that his mere presence causes fear in his opponents. In his sixteenth century form (judging from William Lambarde's *Archaionomia*, an extract of which follows after the passages from Geoffrey of Monmouth)<sup>56</sup> these characteristics are still present but they are now complemented with spiritual needs and ambitions ("This kingdome was too litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it," 1: 6). Thus Lambarde's Arthur is a figure of giant proportions, visualized as being almost trapped by the limitations of the land. It is the mental desire to transcend these physical boundaries that drives Arthur to conquest ("He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway," *ibid.*), and the resulting image of the conqueror

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<sup>56</sup>"A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard," 1: 5-7. The extract comes from the 1568 edition of the *Archaionomia*, fo. 137v and 138r. The title is a faithful translation of Lambarde's latin "De jure & appendiciis coronae regni Brytanniae." In reprinting the extract Hakluyt modifies the punctuation from the original and omits two sentences in the original Latin. One of the sentences, however, even though it is not printed in the Latin text, exists in the English translation; the other is absent from both the English and the Latin versions. For discussions of the *Archaionomia* see Warnicke, *William Lambarde*, 23-26; Mc Kisack, *Medieval History*, 79; Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, 137-39; Fussner, *The Historical Revolution*, 31.

is imbued with an undercurrent of almost sexual fury and frustration which is released in the recitation of the long catalogue of subjected states (1: 6).

In contrast with the extract from Geoffrey of Monmouth in which Arthur occupies a particular space in "actual" time, Lambarde's time is decidedly hazy ("Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains," 1: 6), drawing on the uncertainty, but also on the appeal of mythic time. It is the act of conquest itself that is the focus of Lambarde's interest, and time becomes important insofar as it helps validate subsequent similar actions. But what is more important is that the Arthurian conquest has a profound, irreversible effect upon the make-up of Norwegian society, creating a division between time before and time after: before, the Norwegians were "wild and savage, and had not in them the love of God nor of their neighbors . . . But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized" (1: 6). Thereafter, "all the noble men of Norway tooke wives of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome" (1: 6-7). Thus the outcome of the Arthurian conquest is not only territorial, but, equally, religious and cultural.

Arthur has his conquest validated in a way that will have lasting effects:

The aforesayd king Arthur obtained also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for ever annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of

this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norsemen say, that they ought to dwell with us in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine. for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren . . . But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels have bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway.  
(1: 7)

It is on this "for ever" that Lambarde bases his claim "of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine" (1: 5)--and it is this same "for ever" that drives the Norwegians to invade Britain in order to reclaim their inheritance. Lambarde deals with the Nordic invasions through the evocation of an English empire, the actuality of which seems to him ever-present, without fully acknowledging that the English land and people were themselves subject to conquest. According to Lambarde the act of Arthur placed the English in the role of the conquerors and the Norwegians in the role of the conquered--and he insists on retaining these roles, without variation, through to his own time. British supremacy is manifested on various levels: through the genetic claim of the Norse who "are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome" (1: 6-7); through their related territorial and political claim which presents them as rightful English subjects ("the Norsemen say, that they ought to dwell with us in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine"); through their desire to live on British soil, which is "fruitfull," instead of their own, which is "drie and full of mountaines, and barren"; and through their final incorporation into British society, "by the receiving of our religion and

sacraments, and by taking wives of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages" (1: 7). Towards the end of the extract the Norwegians are seen remaining in the territories they have conquered by virtue of a "grant" from King Edward, which makes the English appear the final victors.

The image of an expanding England can be further illustrated with reference to "The life and travels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine."<sup>57</sup> This narrative is a biographical sketch taken from John Bale's *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae . . . catalogus* and is included in the second volume of the *Voyages*.<sup>58</sup> The early travels to the South-Southeast were almost exclusively journeys of a religious nature (pilgrimages and crusades) and therefore it is not surprising that in the medieval section of the second volume great emphasis is placed on the godly nature of the ancestors. The kings are placed in a context of holiness: taking part in a crusade;<sup>59</sup> contributing to the holy cause through the maintenance of the Christian army;<sup>60</sup> being "addicted to giving of

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<sup>57</sup>4: 272-76.

<sup>58</sup>In reprinting this item from Bale Hakluyt follows his usual editorial practice: he makes minor word alterations and omits Bale's catalogue of Constantine's works as well as the appendix which Bale inserted in the 1557-59 edition (on the appendices see Peter Happé, *John Bale*, 64).

<sup>59</sup>"The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawn out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe," 4: 319-39.

<sup>60</sup>"The large contribution to the succour of the Holy land, made by king John king of England, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201," 4: 345-46; "A great supply of money sent to the Holy land by King Henry the second," 4: 311.

almes";<sup>61</sup> composing religious books and verses;<sup>62</sup> and having apocalyptic visions which prove to be true.<sup>63</sup> The case of Constantine is of special interest: his voyage signifies conquest ("Having conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings . . . he held France it selfe as subject unto him," 4: 274), liberation from tyranny ("having happily delivered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius," *ibid.*) and predominately the propagation of religion.

Bale's text makes use of a body of political legend which saw Constantine as vested with supreme authority in matters both lay and ecclesiastical in a way that became exemplary for Tudor monarchs. The two basic constituents of the legend were Constantine's half-British origin and his Christian emperorship.<sup>64</sup> The extract from Bale establishes at the outset a correspondence between Constantine and Britain; it thus weaves the idea of Britishness into his depiction of the monarch, and so his Christian emperorship takes on an overtly national character.

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<sup>61</sup>"A testimonie of the sending of Sighelmus Bishop of Shirburne, by King Alphred, unto Saint Thomas of India in the yere of our Lord 883, recorded by William of Malmesburie, in his second booke and fourth Capter de gestis regum Anglorum," 4: 279.

<sup>62</sup>"The travaile of Helena," 4: 270-72.

<sup>63</sup>"A voyage of three Ambassadors, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent unto Constantinople, and from thence unto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending," 4: 284-87.

<sup>64</sup>F. J. Levy writes that "to call England 'imperial' meant more than to declare the country exempt from the suzerainty of Pope and emperor; it meant also that the position of its king vis-a-vis the English Church was equivalent to that of Constantine. This to a large extent accounts for the otherwise strangely exorbitant insistence by the Tudor chroniclers on the British origin of Constantine and his mother, Helena," 83.

A strong link between Constantine and Britain is established in the opening paragraph, which defines Constantine through a series of relationships with the island. Britain is the actual place of his birth (“borne in Britanie of Helena his mother,” 4: 274) and, moreover, his mother’s native country (the reader knows this from the immediately preceding narrative in which Helena was presented as the daughter of Coelus, a British king).<sup>65</sup> It is the place over whose area and people he has hereditary authority (“king of the Britaines after his father”), and the place in which his authority over people other than the English is also established (“and there created Emperour” . . . “of the Romanes”). The relationship that has been created is captured in the last sentence of the paragraph: he “made his native countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.”

Constantine is portrayed as a man who “infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also” and throughout the narrative he is associated with martial or pacific imagery. He is a conqueror, a fearless warrior unbeaten in battle, but at the same time he is an ardent devotee of learning with pronounced religious inclinations. We note that his piety is closely connected with his national identity, since it is his mother (that is, his British half) who introduces him to the study of divine subjects (“His mother Helena having instructed him in the faith of Christ”). The study of divinity never takes on a contemplative character but acts as an incentive to action. Constantine is presented as a “notable preacher” who teaches “his children and nobilitie” (4: 275)

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<sup>65</sup>4: 271. The extract on Helena also comes from Bale’s *Catalogus*.



the gospel and the values of Christian life; also as the father of his nation, caring for “the poore, sicke persons, widowes and orphanes . . . being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father”; and finally as a Christian warrior, forcibly undoing an old religious order to establish a new one. He “overthrew the false gods of the heathens,” he “abrogated the worshipping of Images . . . commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped,” he “caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.”

The study of divinity is closely bound with the idea of empire:

Constantine had “his minde occupied in divine studies . . . assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes” (4: 274-75). Bale talks of the “honor” which Constantine bestows upon men occupied with divine matters: it is an honour which, far from being projected as an abstract notion, is manifest in practice, and realised in concrete terms through the spreading of religion:

he yeelded speciall honor to those that spent their time in the studie of Divinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of superstition was most thicke, then hee undertooke a care of Religion, stirring up innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life. (4: 274)

The whole movement is uplifting: with its underlying religious and martial imagery, it resembles a resurrection, a movement from

darkness to light, from death to life. Britain is seen as the starting point of a momentum which will encompass virtually the whole known world.

The theme of empire, in its defensive rather than aggressive form, is prominent in a cluster of narratives to which I should now like to turn: "The voyage of King Edgar with 4000. shippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973," "The ancient state of the shipping of the Cinque Ports" and "The rolle of the huge Fleete of Edward the thirde before Caleis."<sup>66</sup> In grouping these texts I am guided by Hakluyt, who writes in the "Preface" to the second edition of the *Voyages* that they all refer to the "beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island."<sup>67</sup> Taken either from sixteenth century writers (William Lambarde, John Dee) or directly from earlier manuscripts (the Charter of king Edward), these pieces present a succession of kings dedicated to the advancement of the shipping of the island, and they illustrate the power that England derives from her fleet. Moreover, they refer to early English communities and allude to the relationship between a king and his subjects as one based on the principles of duty, loyalty & privileges received in exchange. The

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<sup>66</sup>1: 16-24, 1: 42-50 and 1: 297-99 respectively. The voyage of King Edgar comes from John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the arte of navigation* (London: John Day, 1577), 54-60; "The ancient state of the shipping of the Cinque ports is an extract from William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: Edm. Bollifant, 1596); finally the roll of Edward is first printed in the *Voyages* from a manuscript.

<sup>67</sup>"A Preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages and discourses in the first part of the Second Edition, 1598," 1: xxxix-lix (liv).

community may be represented by a particular social group (the barons of the Cinque Ports), by a city (the Cinque Ports) or by a whole nation (as in the navigation of King Edgar). These narratives are included in the *Voyages* to support a pressing argument of Hakluyt's time, which becomes one of the leitmotifs of the compilation as a whole: the need for a strong navy for defensive and expansionist purposes.<sup>68</sup>

The argument is best represented in "The navigation of King Edgar," an excerpt from John Dee's *General and Rare Memorials Pertayning to the Arte of Navigation*.<sup>69</sup> Dee's discourse (only a small part of which was ever published) was meant to cover the philosophy and history of navigation. It is a mixture of practical information and theoretical reasoning, aimed at the establishment of a powerful navy.<sup>70</sup> Hakluyt chose for his compilation one of the theoretical passages from the published part of the work. Commenting on his choice in the "Preface" to the second edition, he writes that for him Edgar is a model King who prudently established a navy which made him "a most puissant prince," "not onely soveraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe," but also able to bring "under his yoke of subjection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands

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<sup>68</sup>1: xxi-xxii; 1: lv.

<sup>69</sup>Hakluyt prints pp. 54-60 from the *General and Rare Memorials*. In reprinting the extract from Dee Hakluyt omits all of Dee's marginal notes apart from the ones that indicate the source of the latin extracts in the text; significantly, the only other marginal note that he retains is the one that makes a direct comparison between Edgar and Elizabeth.

<sup>70</sup>French, *John Dee*, 182-86, 189-90; and Yates, *Astraea*, 48. For a thorough recent discussion of the *Memorials*, see Sherman, *John Dee*, 152-66.

adjacent.”<sup>71</sup> This is very similar to the thinking of John Dee who writes that Edgar’s acts are examples to be followed, “kingly lessons and propheticall encouragements to us left, even now to bee as provident for publique securitie as he was” (1: 23). Dee’s text salvages precedents from the past for use in the present. He finds correspondences between the age of Edgar and that of Elizabeth in order to instill in his monarch a conception of herself as a ruler of imperial dimensions, in her subjects a conception of themselves as part of a nation, and in both a conception of the English as a people elected by God for a higher purpose.

Writing under a thin disguise of anonymity,<sup>72</sup> Dee speaks as a “Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie universall” (1: 16),<sup>73</sup> taking the role of a philosopher who has a broad perspective and who is thus able to meditate on the state of the earthly kingdoms and recommend his findings to the public at large. The distance thus created between speaker and audience results in an authoritative text, whose language is imbued with righteousness and certainty.

The presentation of the argument bears witness to this. The “advantages” (1: 16) enjoyed by the British monarchy since Edgar are taken to be self-evident, requiring neither explanation nor justification. The licence for this is the idea of divine sanction: Dee assumes that

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<sup>71</sup>“A Preface to the Reader,” 1: lv.

<sup>72</sup>French, 186, n. 1.

<sup>73</sup>On Dee’s “Cosmopolitics,” essential for an understanding of his political philosophy, see Sherman, 141, 144-45, 150.

these royal “advantages” would be used in accordance with “justice, and godly sort,” and also that a correspondence existed between what was acceptable to God and what was “profitable” to a common wealth (“that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable”).

Dee’s discourse continues along the lines established by Hakluyt’s excerpts from Lambarde and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Dee was an ardent advocate of the imperial idea, and one of the influential Elizabethans who believed that Arthur was the first creator of a British empire.<sup>74</sup> Such thinking held that, although the territories Arthur had once annexed might be lost and recovered throughout the centuries, the core of the empire would remain everpresent and, the time permitting (as now it does: “there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on”), the nation should reassume its right to annex new territories. Dee talks of the “ancient & due appurtenances” of the crown (the wording is significantly close to Hakluyt’s heading in Lambarde’s text, which reads: “the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine,” 1: 5); he also talks of the territories that should be

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<sup>74</sup>Dee is believed to be the first to coin the phrase “British Empire” (Koebner, 50, n. 4). According to the same article he was “exceptional . . . in relating the concept of empire to overseas expansion.” However, see Bruce Ward Henry, “John Dee, Humphrey Llwyd, and the Name ‘British Empire,’” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 35 (1971-72): 189-90, who suggests that the name was first used by the Welshman Llwyd some eight years before Dee. Like Dee, Llwyd was a member of the circle around Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp. Henry concludes that “since two of the men around Ortelius were evidently first to use ‘British Empire,’ it seems quite probable that the term originated in this web of acquaintances,” 190.

“recovered” (it is implied that they rightfully belong to the English) and “enjoyed” (a word with connotes “making use of a rightful advantage”). The aim of this imperialistic thinking is to make the kingdom of Britain the “most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most flourishing monarchie of al els” (1: 17). Financial gain, strength and power are closely connected with peace--which is one of the key desiderata in Dee’s discourse, since it is the “peaceable” character of king Edgar’s reign that he singles out to establish the correspondences between past and present time, and a past and present monarch. The lesson to be learned from Edgar’s reign resides in the “meanes” and “respects” he used to fulfill his goal; these are presented as the marks of an idea that he is said to share with Dee, and which receives divine sanction, since it is thought to be ordained by God, to be in accord with the “godly” nature of the kingdom: “the selfe same Idaeae, which from above onely, & by no mans devise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subject carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire” (ibid.).

Having introduced the imperial idea and the notion of the elect, Dee focuses on the person of Edgar. Certain particulars of his character are presented: first, his “wisdomes imperiall” (ibid.) which, at a later point in the text is defined through Edgar who “wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, justly, and triumphantly enjoy the same, spite of the devil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate” 1: 19), and who possessed “prudencie” and charity and “liberalitie” (1: 17)--all of which

relate to public profit. Moreover, the fact that Edgar is a king of high authority is displayed in his navy. Sailing and navigation take the form of a public exhibition of power which, presented as a parade, works toward the intimidation of an enemy. The image of a huge navy sailing "round about this whole Isle of Albion" (1: 18) creates a feeling of reassurance associated with unbreachable bulwarks, and imbues insularity with connotations of power. Sailing is part of Edgar's "Sommer progresses" and "yerely chiefe pastimes" (1: 18); but, as Dee defines them, they become a way of making "evident to the whole world" (1: 19) that Edgar knew his power and how to use it. They also become a means of enabling the prince, during the winter, to devote his time to "set foorth Gods due honour" and to "understand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons" (1: 20).

These positive maritime connotations are associated with the image of a godly monarch and extended into the representation of society. A relationship is established between the king and his subjects, based on the principle of giving--he gives for public profit (the furnishing of a grand navy), as they do for the maintainance of that navy, willingly and without strife. The English of the period are exalted as "faithfull" and "worthy subjects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour" possessing "true and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands . . . so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Navies maintenance" (1: 18). This early society is idealized: social order is observed; everyone works for the profit of the whole; and the

monarch is a paternal figure who gives his people security and enables their "wits" to be employed "for the marveilous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other" (1: 20) through voyaging and trade. Dee is careful to distinguish between a king who is a source of life and a tyrant who abuses his power. Edgar legitimises his sovereignty through the ministring of justice and the advancement of the "glory, laude and honour of the Almighty Creator" (1: 21).

Summarizing the particulars of Edgar's successful reign Dee places as much emphasis on outside danger ("publique securitie from forrein foe abroad," 1: 21) as on inside danger from disobedience (the "true love of his owne subjects"), relating both to the "heavenly spirit directing all his good purposes." The idea of election becomes apparent when Dee writes of the "incredible value and priviledge granted by God and nature unto this British monarchie" (1: 22) and when he presents Edgar as a king who "could not chuse . . . but . . . find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soveraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean" (1: 23). We note that Hakluyt, following the thread of the narrative, retains Dee's original marginal note, and reiterates the correspondence between past and present through the relation of Edgar to Elizabeth in the side-note to the concluding part of the text where he presents Edgar as the sovereign of the sea ("Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarumque nationum, quae infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus"), and where his marginal note reads: "Note the Queenes Majesties royaltie over the



British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire" (1: 24). As I have already noted, this is the only marginal note that Hakluyt retains from the original publication.

The narratives of early conquest and those of proselytizing (both of which assert the right of England to empire) are one aspect of the expansive tendency of the medieval section of the *Voyages*. A different direction is taken with the narratives in which the voyage is a journey into the unknown.

The medieval section does not include many voyages of discovery; but, such as they are, we can discern two tendencies in them, both of which relate to the idea of national expansion. At first, there is an attempt to prove that the English have been the first to discover a particular territory--which can lead to an immediate claim for the English Crown. The voyage of Madoc is illustrative of this tendency. At the beginning of the third volume of the *Voyages*, the narrative tries matter-of-factly to make "manifest that that countrey [i.e. the West Indies] was by Britaines discovered, long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither."<sup>75</sup> The territorial claim can be further enhanced if it can be shown that Englishmen did not simply discover these lands, but also populated them, and thus established a prior claim upon them: "it

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<sup>75</sup>"The most ancient Discovery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170," 7: 133-34 (134). According to D. B. Quinn, Madoc emerges as a candidate for Anglo-Welsh priority in the discovery of America in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The claim was first made for him by John Dee; Hakluyt took it up in 1584. See D. B. Quinn, *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 1: 66-67. See also Williams, *Madoc*, 40, 55.

is to be supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countreys: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that . . . the people honored the crosse. Wherby it may be gathered that Christians had bene there before the comming of the Spanyards" (7: 134). In this respect, it is quite significant that in the first volume of the book some of the evidence comes from a man in the court of the Norwegian king, a priest who "was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands."<sup>76</sup> He reported the adventures of Nicolaus de Lynna, an Englishman who travelled further to the North and "purposedly described"<sup>77</sup> the seas and islands he saw. The image of the early wanderer (in that respect not unlike that of the early warrior) is a solitary one: "leaving his company together" de Lynna "travailed alone" (ibid.); so did Wolstans and Ochter, two Norsemen who related their adventures in the northern parts to their king.<sup>78</sup> The emphasis shifts from a strong body to an inquisitive mind seeking new, expanded horizons: Ochter "said that upon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to proove and know how far that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North

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<sup>76</sup>"The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate under the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England," 1: 301-303 (302). This item comes from Mercator's *World Map* (1569).

<sup>77</sup>"A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna," 1: 303-304 (303). On this and the preceding items, see E. G. R. Taylor, "A Letter Dated 1577 from Mercator to John Dee," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956), 56-68.

<sup>78</sup>"The voyage of Ochter made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe unto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890," 1: 11-14; "The voyage of Ochter out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke unto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke," 1: 14-15; "Wolstans navigation in the East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzic," 1: 15-16.

beyond the desert" (1: 11).<sup>79</sup> The case of Ochter can illustrate another tendency present in the voyages of discovery and indeed an inseparable part of them--trade with the natives. "The principall purpose of his traveile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discoverie of these coasts and countreyes, for the more commoditie of fishing of horse-whales" (1: 12).

### III. The Faithful Subject

Macham, the first discoverer of Madera,<sup>80</sup> is unique in the medieval section of the second volume of the *Voyages*, in which the overwhelming majority of extracts is concerned with journeys of a religious nature (pilgrimages and crusades). Seen in relation to the medieval section of the first volume, the early voyages to the South-Southeast seem to mark a transition from the outward to the inward--from the surrounding universe to a more private, individual world.

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<sup>79</sup>According to A. M and D. B. Quinn, Hakluyt apparently used Alfred's text of Paulus Orosius *Historia Adversum Paganos* (it was Alfred who added the sections on Wulfstan and Ohtere) but it is not known whether the text was already in the possession of Robert Cotton, or whether Hakluyt did the translation from Anglo-Saxon for himself (*Hakluyt Handbook*, 378-79). Whoever the translator of the item is, it is important to recognize that the desire to seek new worlds is a prominent feature in the narratives of sixteenth century travel included in the *Voyages*. Of particular relevance here are George Best's portrait of Martin Frobisher (who sails to the Northwest in order to "make full prooffe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth," 7: 277) and Lawrence Keymis's portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh (who travels to Guiana in order to "see and know a certainty," 10: 461).

<sup>80</sup>"The voyage of Macham the first discoverer of the Isle of Madera, in the yeere 1344," 6: 119-20.

Whereas the medieval section of the first volume deals principally with expansion and conquest, that of the second volume appears to focus more on individual and moral conduct.

In the medieval section of the second volume of the *Voyages* a large number of extracts have a member of the nation rather than its monarch as their protagonist. For the most part these extracts do not present the Englishman in isolation, however, but rather as part of a wider community. The community is defined by codes that the individual has to take into account.

In my allusion to some of the narratives of early travel to the South I have drawn upon the image of godliness associated with the monarch. It is hardly necessary to say that this image is not confined to him but extended to the English nation as a whole: the number of references to a journey of devotion or of participation in Christian warfare against the Saracens is in itself sufficient to project national piety. But it is not the ever-present factor of belief in God that I will be concerned with here. I will focus my analysis on what I see as a pronounced characteristic in the representation of the medieval Englishman: the idea of "loyalty," whether to king, or cause or country.

The straightforward lesson of loyalty and concord taught by the portrayal of William Longspee as an exemplary figure from the past, is an adequate reason for taking a closer look into the narrative that

records his voyage to Asia.<sup>81</sup> But there is another reason too. According to the *Hakluyt Handbook* the extract is "adapted and translated," from *Matthaei Paris . . . Angli, historia maior*, by Hakluyt himself.<sup>82</sup> The function of its side-notes is therefore specially significant. For the busy or less attentive reader, they draw attention to particular incidents of the plot which Hakluyt himself thought worth highlighting, usually offering judgements and comments on the principal characters. And there is a third reason. The presentation of the two national groups (the French and the English) which participate in Longspee's journey to Asia, anticipates the way in which the English and the Spaniards will be portrayed in the many narratives of naval warfare between the two nations that make up the further parts of the second volume.

The first mention of the two national groups travelling together establishes the pattern of their presentation throughout the narrative. The French exhibit a negative and quarrelsome attitude towards the English; the reasons for their behaviour are given retrospectively, but they do not excuse it. Thus their conduct is usually made to appear irrational, whereas that of the English, who are presented as being wronged by their allies, appears always justified.

This pattern is evident in the two opening incidents which lead up to the initial separation of the two groups. At first the French are

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<sup>81</sup>"The voyage of William Longespee Earle of Sarisburie into Asia, in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of Henry the third, king of England," 4: 353-58.

<sup>82</sup>*Hakluyt Handbook*, 343. Hakluyt bases himself on Parker's edition of Matthew Paris (pp. 973, 1041-1042, 1050-1051) but since he does not provide the original latin text, alongside his translation, it has been difficult to determine the extent of his editorial work.

seen as showing for no apparent reason "disdaine" (4: 354) towards the English. Since the cause of the discord has not yet been disclosed to the reader, the immediate reaction of the English soldiers (who "could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with English tailes"), seems entirely justified. When the reason for the French behaviour finally emerges (the English have won a fort without any help from the French, and therefore the French will not receive a share of the spoils), the audience's perception of the French behaviour does not change because the Frenchmen are seen as laying claim to something they did nothing to deserve. The same happens in the second episode, only now more forcefully. The English have intelligence of a rich caravan that is passing; fighting follows, the English are victorious and win a rich booty. As before (when the French "began to conceive an heart burning against the English souldiers, & could not speake well of them after that"), the French turn openly against the English, assault the caravan and seize the spoils for themselves. The contrast between the compact intensity of the fighting and the indolent behaviour of the French ("which all this while loytered in their pavillions," 4: 355) alienates the audience's sympathy. Hakluyt's side note ("The injurie of the Frenchmen to our English") invites the reader to identify with the wronged national party. The irrational greed of the French receives further emphasis when Longspee is seen "sore grieved in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so adventurously had travailed for." In this way any future charge of disloyalty against the Englishman, when he will come

to desert the French king, is eliminated in advance. Once again Hakluyt's next side note ("Will. Longspee justly forsaketh ye French king") highlights the effect.

After these two opening episodes the emphasis shifts from the presentation of the collective behaviour of the two national groups to the portrayal of single representative individuals: the king and his brother on the French side, and William Longspee on the English.

The French king is portrayed as an insignificant figure. His reasons for undertaking the journey deserve no more than the barren narrative they get, nor does his victory over the city of Damietta. In his second and final appearance he is presented as unworthy of his title. His role in the dispute with Longspee is completely eclipsed by that of his brother, who becomes the occasion of the breakdown of relations ("But when no reason nor complaint would serve by reason of the proude Earle of Artoys the Kings brother"). The narrative also compares the reactions of the king with those of Longspee. For example, when Longspee receives intelligence of a passing caravan he takes the initiative and leads his soldiers to victory. Shortly afterwards, when the king receives intelligence of the movements of the opponent, he "in all haste sent for William Longespee, promising him a full redresse of all his injuries before received." He thus not only revises his adverse judgement of Longspee, but also fails to exhibit any of the virtues of leadership. Thus, Longspee is shown to be indispensable to the Christian army, and his return to help the king

presents him as magnanimous, and loyal to the cause that has brought him to Asia.

The French king is less important in the narrative than his brother, the Earle of Artoys. I have already touched upon the first appearance of the "proude Earle" when his "spight and disdaine" provoked discord between the allies. He has the same effect in the second episode in which the two men reappear, but now in a more direct confrontation. Occupying the central part of the narrative, the episode begins with a description of the victorious Christian army, presented for the first and last time as a unit. It starts by smoothing away the conflicts present in the earlier part of the text; it ends in uncontrollable division and disarray, and with the devastation of the Christian army by the Saracen attack. The disastrous reversal is owed entirely to the behaviour of the French Earl.

The structure of the episode is symmetrical: at its centre are "certain sage men of the Temple" (4: 356), at its periphery the two Earls who function as antithetical models of conduct. Much of the success of the episode in communicating its lesson stems from the central, unified presence of these "sage men." Enigmatic as they are, they are representatives of a subtle authority, difficult to challenge, which lies at the heart of a system of values which the narrative endorses. This authority is grounded on age, sanity, forethought, knowledge and experience: "The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had more experience thereof then he: alledging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished souldiers." It is in



relation to their discourse that the two Earles are defined. The “proud earle . . . being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reviled them, calling them cowardly dastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey.” The “worthy knight” Longspee (4: 357) takes the side of the elders and praises their speech, seeking to restore order and balance. The Englishman urges the Frenchman “to give eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mittigate him likewise.”

The episode concludes with a direct exchange between Longspee and Artois, which turns on the use of the word “tail.” The word has already been used contemptuously of the English by the French earl (“Now is the army of French men well rid of these tailed people,” 4: 355). Artois’ later use is identical to the first, but now the words “pure” and “purged” heighten the notion of inferiority by associating it with infection: “What a pure armie (sayde he) shoulde we have here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it” (4: 357). In the earlier episode the words of Artois were uttered after the break-up between the two armies and Longspee’s subsequent departure; the text recorded the public disapproval that met these words, diminishing the standing of the Frenchman. In this case, Artois talks in Longspee’s presence and his words bring forth the “worthy answer” (as the side-note terms it) of the Englishman, in which he subverts the insulting term and turns it against the Frenchmen themselves: “well, Earle

Robert (said he) wheresoever you dare set your foote, my step shall go as farre as yours, and (as I beleeve) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my horse." The subsequent wording of the narrative ("as in deede in the event it prooved true") anticipates the truth of the prophecy, revealed in the conclusion of the story.

The last part of the narrative is devoted to the climactic battle between the Christians and the Saracens. The narration begins by pointing to the disastrous effects of discord, thereby establishing the terms in which the battle should be read: "commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which seeing the Christian armie to be devided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for." The ensuing fight is presented through the behaviour of the two principal characters, and the two side-notes heighten the moral conflict through juxtaposition ("The cowardly flight of Earle Robert"; "The valiant ende of William Longspee," 4: 358). The Frenchman urges Longspee "most cowardly to flie"; he himself deserts the battlefield, and shortly afterwards is drowned. Longspee stays on and fights till the bitter end: by himself he carries the whole force of the Christian army, now united under his leadership; he slays many enemies, but overcome at last with exhaustion he dies a heroic death. His end signals the collapse of the Christians, and the concluding paragraph of the narrative recapitulates the disastrous outcome of the Frenchman's pride.

The case of Longspee offers a detailed instance of a tendency present in a number of extracts included in the section: to evoke the

capacity of the English to remain faithful to a cause to the very end. This cause is often represented by a king, and not necessarily an English king.<sup>83</sup> Relevant is the case of the extract from Camden's *Britannia* which confers patriotic pride in the fidelity of the English guards on the Byzantine emperors.<sup>84</sup> This English virtue is taken to be generated by the state of the English nation: "the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople" (4: 311). The English are not simply famed for their loyalty--they actually meet the expectations that their fame has generated, and they continue to hold the office of the imperial guards for a "long time afterwards."

The same virtue is found in the narratives which deal with the relationship of Englishmen to their own sovereign.<sup>85</sup> Hubert Walter, for example, follows Richard I to Asia, and helps him in time of great need: when the king is imprisoned, Walter travels back to England and collects the ransom, performing his duty with speed and "great

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<sup>83</sup>This can be seen in the cases of "Godericus, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage unto the Holy land," 4: 297-98; "Hardine of England one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Joppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102," 4: 298-301; "A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes and Flemmings, arrived at Joppa in the Holy land," 4: 301-306; "A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, unto Henrie the second King of England, Anno Dom. 1177," 4: 312-19.

<sup>84</sup>"English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople," 4: 310-11.

<sup>85</sup>"The life and travailes of Baldwinus Devonius, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," 4: 339-41; "The travailes of one Richard surnamed Canonicus," 4: 343-44; "The travailes of Gulielmus Peregrinus," 4: 344-45; "The travailes of Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie," 4: 346-47.

diligence" (4: 347). The narrative which records his voyage to Asia also illustrates loyalty to the idea of kingship in general. After the death of Richard, Hubert Walter shows "the like dueties of fidelitie and trust to his brother John that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumspect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so received of all the people and crowned king" (4: 347).

Hubert Walter is a man of letters and as such he is one of the many educated men who appear in the medieval section of the second volume of the *Voyages*. Indeed, the section as a whole places considerable emphasis on education. A significant number of extracts stress the high levels of knowledge exhibited by earlier Englishmen, for which they were highly esteemed by their contemporaries abroad. In some cases the journey is inspired by the desire of an Englishman to see with his own eyes the holy places he has read about in the Bible;<sup>86</sup> in other cases, the voyage is a means of further education. For the most part, these narratives disclose a double movement--out of but also back to England. This reinforces the bonds between people and country. Time and again, we read of men of considerable learning who return home to use their knowledge for the public good by preaching, teaching or writing.<sup>87</sup> In those cases where they do not return in person, their

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<sup>86</sup> "The voyage of Andrew Whiteman, alias Leucander, under Canutus the Dane, to Palestina, Anno 1020," 4: 282-83.

<sup>87</sup>See for example "The life and travailes of John Erigena," 4: 280-82; "The travailes of one Athelard an Englishman," 4: 306-307; "The travailes of Robertus

country still seems to profit--either because their fame abroad enhances the good name of the country, or because, even though they may be far away, they continue to serve their country while holding a public office.<sup>88</sup> Yet, there are instances in which the return to England is forbidden.

The medieval section portrays the Englishman as an exemplary figure. For the most part, he is seen in confrontation with a member of another nation, and the definition of the respective national identities take the form of a binary opposition of good and evil. As is to be expected, the English are on the right side morally and the vice of others is punished. But there remains a much smaller number of narratives which present Englishmen whose behaviour does not conform to the accepted moral norms. Like bad foreigners, they are punished; but what is most interesting is that in their case punishment is bound up with the significance of England.

In order to illustrate this last point, it is worth comparing the person of Swanus with that of John Erigena.<sup>89</sup> Erigena is a man who seeks learning; his voyage is a quest for further education. Having acquired knowledge, fame and respect he fulfils the duty of a man of letters when he returns to his country and places his erudition at the service of the king. But in his case the initial voyage is also an attempt

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Ketenensis," 4: 308-309; and "The travailes of Ranulph Granvile earle of Chester," 4: 350-51.

<sup>88</sup>Such is the case of Robert Curson, 4: 347-48.

<sup>89</sup>"The life and travailes of John Erigena," 4: 280-82.

to escape from a politically unstable environment ("seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie," 4: 281), which prevents him from fulfilling his destiny. Whereas in the case of Erigena disorder is purely external, the opposite is true for Swanus.<sup>90</sup> He is a man who is of "perverse disposition" and disobedient to authority, whether political ("faithlesse to the king") or paternal ("often times disagreed with his father," 4: 283), and he transgresses the fundamental moral code (he is a pirate and a murderer). The voyage for him is also an escape, but from an instability that is within ("being guilty unto himselfe").

Unsurprisingly, therefore, Swanus never makes it back to his native land: "in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded unto death."

In the case of Pelagius punishment does not come from foreigners but from "his owne Countreymen."<sup>91</sup> The story of the famous heretic is seen as an instance of moral disorder, since Pelagius's lapse into heresy is attributed to his inability to confront his personal difficulties: "seeing himselfe abused, and injuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grievously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith" (4: 277). The story of Pelagius resembles the story of man's fall from grace and his expulsion from Paradise. The heresy is explicitly called a "fall"; and the narrative

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<sup>90</sup>"The voyage of Swanus one of the sonnes of Earle Godwin unto Jerusalem, Anno Dom. 1052," 4: 283.

<sup>91</sup>"The life and travailes of Pelagius borne in Wales," 4: 276-78 (277).

celebrates his virtues “before his fall and Apostasie from the faith,” when “he exercised himselfe in the best studies” (4: 277) and laments his vices after his apostasy, when “hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere.” The heresy is described as something coming from outside England (it was “hatched” in various “Countries of the East”), as a malady with which Pelagius on his return “infected the whole Countrey,” but which an essentially healthy England manages to cast off, expelling him from his native soil (“at the last his owne Countreymen banished him”).

The narratives of Pelagius, Swanus and Erigena illustrate the importance of a strong, stable English self. As a last example of this, I would like to refer to “The woorthy voiage of Richard the first,” originally published in Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*.<sup>92</sup> I will only consider in detail the opening paragraph, because it describes a change in Richard, which enables him to act as an exemplary sovereign throughout the narrative. The paragraph develops a correspondence between two pairs of sons and fathers, and the places associated with them: Richard, Henry the Second and the kingdom of Normandy on the one hand, Christ, God and the Holy Land, on the other. The correspondence is created through Richard’s voyage, which is presented as a means of redemption. Richard’s is the story of a prodigal son and the part of his life recounted in the narrative can be seen as a story of individual salvation:

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<sup>92</sup>“The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, K. of England into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens, drawn out of the booke of Acts and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. John Foxe,” 4: 319-39.

King Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed Ceur de Lion, the sonne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had undutifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voiage with him for the recoverie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land, whereupon the sayd king Richard immediatly after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his journey, used divers meanes to take up summes of money. (4: 319)

Richard has been disobedient to an authority that is both political and paternal. His disobedience can be regarded as a sign of an interior disorder, but this disorder preceded his voyage. "After the death of his father" Richard finds himself in his father's position--that of the father of his nation. In order to be able to reign over his own "patrimonie" (the kingdom of Normandy), he "sought for absolution of his trespasse" to recover "Christes patrimonie." His enthronment becomes symbolic of the movement from the rebelliousness of adolescence to the order and maturity of manhood. (Another equally symbolic act, his marriage, also takes place during the narrative time.) In Richard's case enthronement both transforms and confirms his identity. This new identity is projected throughout his long voyage, which is studded by a succession of just and heroic deeds. But it is only after inner stability has been restored (and declared), that Richard is actually able to return to his native land and take up his royal task.



#### IV. The Image of England

The medieval section of the *English Voyages* offers the reader a host of ancestral images which are hardly ever more than one-dimensional. The particular dimension in each case is conditioned by the semiotics of the voyage, which are worked out in relation to the topography in question. The argument of this chapter is that presiding over the relationship is the image of imperial England.

The voyages of early conquest present a succession of kings who are preoccupied with territorial enlargement. In these narratives England appears as the unifying centre of an expanding overseas empire. The voyages of religion present images of Christian warriors who, starting from England, carry their religious beliefs to "the most opposite corners and quarters of the world."<sup>93</sup> Britain is thus imaged as the starting point of a momentum which will eventually encompass virtually the whole known world. In those narratives where a prudent sovereign is preoccupied with the furnishing of a grand navy, England is presented as a maritime power. The navy is essential for a variety of purposes: for imperial expansion (territorial and cultural), for voyages of discovery which can lead to the establishment of profitable trade relations with other countries, and for the defence of the realm against external aggression.

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<sup>93</sup>Richard Hakluyt, "The Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the First Edition, 1589," 1: xx.

All the above are made possible only through a political rule which, as the medieval section presents it, is centered on a monarch who is respected for his virtue and obeyed for his power. The king is the head of a political community which depends on close and harmonious co-operation between himself and his subjects, and on their commitment to a rewarding collaborative purpose. The members of this community have been presented as having inquiring minds, and as being desirous of learning, humble, honest and loyal--in the words of John Dee, "worthy subjects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour."<sup>94</sup> Both subjects and rulers obey the same ethical code: those who fail it are banished from the homeland. The principle of adherence to this code, rather than any strict chronological arrangement, is what holds the medieval narratives of the second volume together.

In the first volume internal relationships between the narratives are created principally through references to place. Hakluyt starts with Arthur conquering the northern lands; then he follows with Malgo, who recovers territories that had been lost (Norway and Denmark), and with Edwin, who incorporates the Isle of Man into his already existing dominions. Camden's "Chronicle of the Kings of Man" is directly related to Edwin's conquests.<sup>95</sup> Ochter and Wolstans come to be regarded as ancestors through the repeated references, especially in

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<sup>94</sup>John Dee, "The navigation of king Edgar," 1: 18.

<sup>95</sup>"A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie," 1: 25-42.

the preceding narratives, to English claims upon the northern lands. All these extracts emphasize the importance of the sea, and the nature of England as an *island*. It is quite clear that whatever the difficulties and hardships associated with it, the sea always retains a positive significance. Nowhere is England's insular character allowed to become in any way problematic, nor is the sea permitted to be seen as a boundary. On the contrary, in every case the sea becomes the means of transcending the very boundaries it imposes, whether these means are territorial (travel as expansion to other lands), cultural (travel as discovery of new lands and people), social (the advancement in the social hierarchy),<sup>96</sup> or financial (the growth of trade).<sup>97</sup>

Throughout the medieval section identity is created by means of movement, and movement is presented in the form of travel according to a two-fold pattern--protective, to keep identity within the confines of the land, and expansive, across England's borders. In the first case, movement is circular, as in the case of king Edgar's fleet, which draws a protective girdle around the island, which creates and guards both the boundaries and the identity they contain. In the second case, movement is outward: men carry this identity to other people through an expansion that is territorial, religious or cultural. However, what gives the island its strongest sense of identity and power is the

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<sup>96</sup> On this point see "An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the advancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas," 1: 312. The item comes from William Lambarde's *A Perambulation of Kent* (London: Edm. Bollifant, 1596), 500.

<sup>97</sup>The whole section on trade bears testimony to this point.

fact that movement never seems to disperse and exhaust itself beyond its borders, but always seems to return, in the form of gains that can be material and immaterial, and literal and metaphorical. The country profits though the knowledge and experience which the travellers bring back; through the trade they develop; and through the new territories they annex to the Crown. This backward or returning movement enables the "marveilous enriching of this kingdome"-- which, as the *Voyages* presents it, becomes the precondition for the kingdom's further expansion, and the "pleasuring [of] very many other."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>John Dee, "The navigation of king Edgar," 1: 20.

## CHAPTER 2

### IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE: THE CONFLICT WITH THE SPANISH

The narratives which I will be considering in this chapter document a series of English voyages to the West Indies, conducted mainly between 1569 and 1600. I will be focusing, therefore, on voyages which took place in what was, technically speaking, Spanish territory.<sup>1</sup> I will also be dealing with expeditions which were undertaken during a time of conflict between England and Spain--a conflict which from 1585 onwards evolved into open war.

The records of the majority of the expeditions to the South and South-West were preserved by Hakluyt in the second and third volumes of his *Voyages*. In his "Dedication" of the 1600 volume to Sir Robert Cecil,

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<sup>1</sup>According to I. A. Wright the English voyages to the Caribbean were made in full knowledge that they were infringing upon the Spanish monopoly, and not according to any unstated "freedom of the high seas," as earlier, imperial historians had believed. See I. A. Wright, ed., *Spanish Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1527-1568* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1928), 10. For an understanding of the geographical and chronological area covered in this chapter I have also relied on the following works: I. A. Wright, ed., *Documents Concerning English Voyages to the Spanish Main, 1569-1580* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1932); I. A. Wright, ed., *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1951); K. R. Andrews, ed., *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies, 1588-1595* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); K. R. Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering: English Privateering During the Spanish War, 1585-1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); and K. R. Andrews, *Trade, plunder and settlement*, chaps. 5 and 6 and passim.

Hakluyt suggests that these enterprises were of "great importance" because since the beginning of the war with Spain,

by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands . . . Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, in the narratives included in the *Voyages*, the descriptions of the ports, provinces and rivers pale in comparison with the descriptions of the capture of the Spaniards' ships and of the sacking of their towns and cities. Indeed, it is the martial and not the geographical theme that is predominant in most of the writing produced by these voyages. As the maritime historian K. R. Andrews rightly observes, "Hakluyt included them rather to illustrate the valour of Englishmen and the glory of their exploits."<sup>3</sup> This is not to say that Hakluyt's statements of intention are deceptive, and that the furthering of geographical discovery is not the ultimate goal of this section. Rather, it is to suggest that the voyages under discussion emphasize the necessity of war in the cause of discovery.

The narratives which form the framework of this chapter sprang from a conflict which more than any other helped to diffuse and consolidate notions of national identity and solidarity in the imagination of the Elizabethans. The rivalry with Spain stands behind the publication of the *English Voyages* themselves. Published for the first time only a year

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<sup>2</sup>"Epistle Dedicatorie in the third volume of the second edition, 1600," 1: lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup>Andrews, *English Privateering*, 1.

after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the book marks the emergence of England as a maritime nation, a rival--however junior--to the naval powers of Portugal and Spain. At the same time, the *Voyages* point to a "significant shift in the orientation of English nationalism. Formerly anti-French and military, looking to Continental conquest, it was now becoming associated with maritime enterprise and ambition."<sup>4</sup> The notion that gradually gained prominence was that the English were a maritime nation with a destiny upon the seas. This thesis argues that the *Voyages* exemplify and propagate this notion through their preoccupation with a number of themes (history, warfare, colonization, discovery, trade), all of which are related to maritime expansion. In the previous chapter I have argued that in the historical section of his compilation Hakluyt means to show that the English were a maritime nation from time immemorial and to imply that their destiny upon the seas is an imperial one. Moreover, I have argued that the medieval section of the *Voyages* presents expansion as an act vital not only for prosperity, but for survival itself. As we move from the remote past to the immediate present, the section that deals with naval warfare shows one of the ways in which this expansion was being realized at the time of the Tudors. The incessant recitation of impressive victories against the Spaniards--the only power standing between England and her place in the world--suggests that her expansion is not only feasible, but has already begun.

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<sup>4</sup>Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 35.

## I. i. The Historical Context

The main drive behind the western voyages--as indeed behind the whole of British expansionism--was commercial.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the movement eastwards, however, the western voyages were predominately aggressive and predatory. The eastern voyages were essentially peaceful trading expeditions, which gradually built upon already established commercial relations. The western voyages on the other hand, were bent on breaking into the Spanish monopoly in the Caribbean, and acquiring a substantial part of the Atlantic trades: as a consequence, warfare between the English and the Spaniards became very common. For some of the participants, the opening of the Atlantic was solely motivated by profit. For the visionaries of Empire, however, it represented the first step to opening the Americas for English goods, settlers and religion, in the face of Spain's command of the Caribbean.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Caribbean had emerged as a flashpoint of international rivalry. As the principal route through which the treasure from both Mexico and Peru passed on its way to Spain, it attracted a growing number of corsairs from all over Europe, who preyed on Spanish ships. The Caribbean was also the locus of thriving commercial enterprises, both legal and illegal. Sugar and hides, which were found there in abundance, supplied the European markets with luxury products much in demand. These raw materials were obtained in exchange for

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<sup>5</sup>Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 68; Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 9.



Negroes from the coasts of Africa and Guinea, who provided the Spanish colonies with the labour they demanded.

It was in pursuance of slave traffic that in 1563 Hawkins marked the first appearance of an English trader in the Carribean. A serious divergence between the interests of the Spanish crown and of the Spanish colonials ensured the prosperity of his expeditions for the next few years (Wright, *Spanish Documents*, 7-9). Worsening conditions in Europe however, had their impact on the Atlantic and in 1569 Hawkins's defeat at San Juan de Ulua put an end to his voyages and introduced a new stage in the relations between the two countries. From then on, even though officially peace remained in force, the conflict with Spain was joined on all fronts--commercial, religious and political--abroad, and calls in England for a more offensive policy towards Spain became more urgent.

The change in the relations between the two countries was not received in the same way by the various communities in England. The Queen herself was anxious to maintain peace for as long as possible--and her views were shared by the men participating in Anglo-Spanish trade. This was a prosperous enterprise, and its businessmen were willing to sacrifice potential American interests for the sake of already established enterprises. In any case, the alteration in the relations between England and Spain was not yet radical. While some of the leading English merchant families began to wage a private war against Spain, Anglo-Spanish trade continued more or less unaffected. At the same time, piracy in the Channel and the Atlantic waters southwards was allowed to grow virtually unchecked as English corsairs joined forces with Dutch and

French rovers to ambush and attack Philip's treasure fleets. In the years which led up to the official declaration of war, trade and plunder became virtually indistinguishable, and the western voyages took on an increasing patriotic and religious hue.<sup>6</sup> This was, as we shall now see, to a large extent the outcome of a combination of social forces, conditioned by the strategic importance of the Caribbean, which are almost unique to the western voyages.

The western voyages attracted different kinds of promoters and investors from those drawn to the East. Whereas the eastern expeditions were almost wholly dominated by merchants, the western ones drew gentlemen too, especially from Cornwall, Devon and Somerset; and alongside straightforward trading voyages inspired much more grandiose expeditions.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the line dividing merchants and gentlemen should not be drawn too distinctly, especially as the two often shared family connections.<sup>8</sup> The distinction however, remains important, because the drawing of the gentry into what had started off as an essentially trading enterprise gave the western voyages a new resonance. As attention shifted from Europe to the Atlantic, and as Spain emerged as England's predominant enemy, the sea became a battlefield, a place of contention where various ideals could be tested and asserted. Moreover, the

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<sup>6</sup> Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, 15.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 16; *English Privateering*, 22.

<sup>8</sup> *English Privateering*, 99.

enthusiastic support of influential members of Elizabeth's court helped the whole movement to gain the cohesion and weight of a national enterprise.

Meanwhile, beginning with Hawkins's own account of the fight in San Juan de Ulua, the experiences of the mariners who confronted the Spaniards on the high seas were put into print, and so took their place among the increasing number of publications dealing with the growing conflict between the two nations.

In his survey of the development of anti-Spanish feeling in early modern England, W. S. Maltby suggests that the Elizabethans "were being subjected to propaganda in the modern sense: a conscious and systematic attempt to control their attitudes in the interests of Protestantism."<sup>9</sup> He emphasises the crucial role of the press in highlighting the religious character of the conflict. To be sure, religious differences might not have played such an important role in the dealings between the English and the Spaniards in the years of Hawkins's first voyages into the Caribbean, had it not become gradually clear that Spain presented the strongest European threat to England's territorial and political independence. However, in a press dominated by Protestants, England was presented as the recognised leader of the reformed camp, and Spain became a byword for bigoted Catholicism. Stories of the Marian martyrs and their struggle against Catholic persecution; histories of the New World, where Spaniards themselves denounced the atrocities inflicted on the American natives by their own conquistadores; reports of the Spanish repression of the revolt of

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<sup>9</sup>William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971), 41.

the Netherlands; tales of the travellers who fought with Spaniards on sea and land--all were put into print, and took part in the construction of a formidable stereotype of the enemy.<sup>10</sup>

The outbreak of war found, therefore, a fertile ground in the imagination of the Elizabethans, who had already identified Spain as their arch-enemy. The Queen's preoccupation with the defence of the realm specially because of the lack of a royal navy meant that her reluctance to engage in direct conflict with Spain was not strong enough to resist the commercial and private interests in the Atlantic that made an oceanic conflict inevitable. The war with Spain was fought primarily in merchant, and not naval, vessels.

The characteristic form of maritime warfare during the time of Elizabeth was privateering, and the majority of the voyages which I will be examining in this chapter were privateering expeditions. Distinguishable both from outright piracy and from the semi-official war expeditions, privateering voyages were directed against a designated enemy and organised for the redress of private wrongs inflicted upon certain individuals by Spanish subjects.<sup>11</sup> Once upon the seas, however, ships from different expeditions usually helped one another, and dissolved discrete motives into a common belligerence.

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<sup>10</sup> Maltby's thesis with respect to the literature on the New World, however, has been challenged by Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature, 1575-1625" in K. R. Andrews, et al., eds. *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America, 1480-1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 175-94. I deal with this issue in more detail in the final chapter of this thesis.

<sup>11</sup> *Elizabethan Privateering*, 5-6.

A new form of organization, the joint-stock company, which was developed in England at the time, enabled an increasing number of people to participate in the western voyages, and indeed, privateering expeditions drew to their cause an unprecedented number of participants.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, economic considerations are not in themselves sufficient to explain why these voyages became something more than strictly business--that is to say, why they became a social movement. Even though the promise of instant wealth must have been extremely alluring ("that we might have enriched our selves . . . was the cause of this our travaile" writes one of the narrators in the *Voyages*),<sup>13</sup> the intense patriotism of the men who organised them, invested in them, or participated in them in one way or another, should not be underestimated. Men took to the sea believing that they were participating in a cause greater than themselves. The belief that they fought "for the honour of God, her Majestie, and our countrey"<sup>14</sup> is too pervasive throughout the *Voyages* to permit ready dismissal.

The majority of the narratives that I will be considering in this chapter, then, were written during a time of intense anti-Spanish feeling. As England was groping toward a concept of nationhood, political and religious circumstances contributed to identify the Spaniard as the destined

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<sup>12</sup>On the joint-stock company see Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 3, 26-35.

<sup>13</sup>"A voyage to the Azores with two pinases, the one called the Serpent, and the other the Mary Sparke of Plimouth, both of them belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh, written by John Evesham Gentleman," 6: 434-37 (434).

<sup>14</sup>"A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of June 1591. against certaine Spanish ships & gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight," 10: 178-83 (181).

and despised enemy, against whom the national character could be recognised and forged. To this process the reports of the mariners who fought with the Spaniards on the high seas contributed significantly. Nevertheless, it should again be stressed that they developed and strengthened an already existing image, and did not invent or construct something without antecedents or predecessors. As one anonymous narrator writes in the *Voyages*, the English confront

the Spaniards, whom we justly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies upon the Sea.<sup>15</sup>

Imagination, and preconceived notions formed by sermons, broadsheets and ballads, met and joined direct experience in the representation of the Spaniard in the *Voyages*. It is to this representation, and to the way in which the image of the Englishman defines itself in relation to it, that I shall now turn.

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<sup>15</sup>"The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590," 7: 31-34 (32).

## I. ii. The Image of the Enemy

The third volume of the *English Voyages* (1600) includes a letter dated March 30, 1596, written by Don Bernaldino Avellaneda, general of Philip's armada in the Indies.<sup>16</sup> In this letter Avellaneda informs the authorities in Seville of his recent encounter with an English fleet. The fourteen ships that he confronted were what was left of the expedition to the West Indies which set sail from England in August 1595 under the joint command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir William Hawkins. The voyage had been elaborately planned as a triumphant enterprise which would seize Panama and secure a stronghold on Spain's main treasure route. It ended in a disastrous failure and proved to be the last voyage for both its leaders. Through a variety of setbacks, indecisions, delays and misunderstandings the secrecy of the expedition was betrayed to the Spaniards, who had time to prepare themselves for the onslaught. The fight against Avellaneda's forces took place at a late stage of the voyage. It was neither the only, nor the most crucial, encounter between the two fleets; but it is the only part of the expedition which is represented in the *Voyages* through four eye-witness testimonies--a rare occurrence in the

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<sup>16</sup>"A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Savile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskervil Generall of her Majesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake," 10: 246-65. I discuss this document at greater length later on in this chapter.

collection. Even rarer is the description of a battle by a Spaniard, who has this to say about the behaviour of his adversaries:

They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leaving their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Majestie. It little availed us to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could use, could cause them to stay or come neere us, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them. (10: 251)

The presence of this image of flight is striking. Thus far, in every naval encounter between the two nations included in the *Voyages*, the image of the fleeing enemy has been reserved for the Spaniards. By contrast, the image of the valiant Englishman who fights to the bitter end has been predictably established. In this, the only account of a battle which is told from a Spanish point of view, the pattern is reversed: for a brief moment, the English step into the role they have traditionally assigned to their foes.

This reversal enrages Sir Henry Savile, one of the captains of the ill-fated expedition, to such an extent, that he devotes three out of the six points of his answer to the Spanish general to refuting it. He also refutes it in his own version of the events. There, carefully undermining Avellaneda's testimony, Savile restores the transgressed priority, the lost order, giving a detailed account of the bravery of the English ships during the fight. Reversing Avellaneda's account of the events, Savile suggests



that it was the Spanish ships that fled in the face of the enemy and not the English, and this way draws a portrait of the two nations much more compatible with the general tendency displayed throughout the book. The Englishman talks of the *Garland* and the *Defiance*:

which two ships forced the three ships of the enemies (which were put forth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to save themselves, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by us having the winde of us, being but thirteen sayle of their twentie to be seene: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to have fought with them againe, which they perceiving tacked about from us, and after that never durst nor would come neere us . . . All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere us. (10: 263-64)

Sir Henry Savile was one of the captains of the English fleet in the 1595-6 expedition to the West Indies. While in Spain in 1596 he came across Avellaneda's account of the fight between the two nations, which was circulating there in print. He translated the Spanish letter, provided a full commentary on the points raised by the Spanish general and, together with his own version of the events, published this material in London as a pamphlet later in the same year. This pamphlet was reproduced in the final volume of the *English Voyages* where Hakluyt, in keeping with his standard practice, included both the Spanish text and Savile's translation of it. K. R. Andrews, modern editor of the voyage under discussion, makes the following comment on Hakluyt's editorial procedure: "Hakluyt gives the Spanish text in full, following Savile with only some spelling variants; both differ slightly, but not insignificantly, from the copy of the original

Spanish text in the Museo Naval, Madrid.”<sup>17</sup> Some of these differences are found in the extract from the Spanish letter that I have quoted earlier. I will point them out, following Andrews’s own translation of the original Spanish copy.

Describing the behaviour of the English during the first encounter between the two fleets, Savile’s translation states that “they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away” (10: 251). What the Spanish text actually specifies is “with incredible speed.”<sup>18</sup> It is a fine difference, but Savile’s version, unlike the original, can be taken as a comment on the superior sailing qualities of the English ships rather than as an illustration of the reluctance of the Englishmen to fight. A little later, Savile writes (again of the English): “for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them” (10: 251). However, the Spanish text in Andrews’s translation reads “as fast as they could and as they wished, because they had reduced their fleet by half, keeping their best ships.”<sup>19</sup> Whereas Savile’s translation tempts the reader to suppose that the Englishmen fled away with half of their best ships unservicable, the original refers only to a standard maritime practice according to which only the best ships were kept for service during a crucial fight.

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<sup>17</sup>K. R. Andrews, ed., *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for The Hakluyt Society, 1972), 240, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 242, n. 4.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 243, n. 2.

I will leave a more detailed discussion of the function of the Spanish letter within the *Voyages*, and of Savile's apparently paradoxical changes to an already unfavourable image of the English for a later part of this chapter. I have drawn attention to the conflicting images of the two nations, however, in order to illustrate an issue of particular importance in the section: that of representation. Its particular significance lies in the fact that the narratives of naval warfare achieve the definition of nationhood not in relation to the elusive past or to voiceless nature, but in relation to another human presence.

Avellaneda's letter is the only instance within the section in which this presence is given a direct voice. The brief editorial commentary that I have cited above shows the distortion to which this voice is subjected in the *Voyages*. What matters is not simply the fact that Savile changed Avellaneda's words in one or two places, but the nature of the changes themselves: what I am arguing is that Savile's modification of Avellaneda's meaning makes it conform to a notion of the way in which one talks about the enemy. In effect Avellaneda is now made to talk about the English as the English will talk about the Spanish.

Moving now to a related issue: Avellaneda's letter shows the Englishmen "flying away with incredible speed." The English version of the voyage, written by one of the Captains of the English fleet, describes the same event as "we weathered them."<sup>20</sup> Both the Spanish and English texts

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<sup>20</sup>"The voyage truly discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some special service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595," 10: 226-45 (242).

point to the same conclusion: the English ships were faster and managed to get away. The crucial difference, however, is in the diction that the two narrators use in order to describe the same event, the one suggesting a measure of cowardice, the other a measure of courage.

I have been talking, therefore, of an "image," a "role," a "pattern," a "general tendency," in a way which suggests that in the *Voyages* reference to the Spaniards follows an apparently predetermined course. Indeed, whereas the narratives of naval warfare in the *Voyages* number no less than thirty-five, written by as many authors and over a period of nearly thirty years, they are remarkably similar in their representation of the Spaniards--which suggests a pervasive and consistent manner of perceiving them. Illuminating in this respect is the problem of chronology, for in an attempt to analyse the image of the enemy chronological considerations do not play an important part. On the one hand, this freedom from the succession of events is a direct outcome of Hakluyt's topographical arrangement of his material. The classification of the narratives according to place, as well as according to time, means that events which take place at a later date can be presented in an earlier part of the book: Philip's arrest of the English ships trading on the Spanish main in 1585, for example, appears long before Hawkins's account of the battle at San Juan de Ulua, which occurred in 1569 and which constitutes the earliest instance of a battle at sea between the two nations recorded in the *Voyages*. Over and above that, however, the systematic examination of the image of the enemy in the individual narratives and in the section as a whole reveals that it is independent of chronology. Certain qualities are

depicted as typically Spanish, and this necessarily entails that certain acts be performed only by the Spaniards.

One of the characteristics most commonly ascribed to the Spaniards in the *Voyages* is treachery--and integrally related to it, duplicity and dishonesty. The Spaniards are invariably seen making promises which they break at the first opportunity; putting on an identity in order to achieve their purpose through dishonest means; being outwardly courteous and friendly while secretly devising plans behind the Englishmen's backs. Treachery becomes the pivotal point in Hawkins's account of the incidents which led to the battle at San Juan de Ulua.<sup>21</sup> In his dramatic relation of the events, he emphasises the difficulty of the situation in which he found himself and suggests that he made a sincere effort to avoid the conflict. Hawkins presents the fight between the two nations as a direct outcome of Spanish treason. The leaders of the two fleets had arrived at an agreement

promising great amity of al sides: which even as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set upon us on all sides. (10: 70)

Treachery, however, is presented as the manifestation of intrinsic Spanish villainy (Hawkins talks of "their accustomed treason, which they never

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<sup>21</sup>"The third troublesome voyage made with the Jesus of Lubeck, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. John Hawkins," 10: 64-74.

faile to execute," 10: 69) and not simply as the outcome of the particular situation.

In his survey of Tudor travel literature G. B. Parks suggests that Hawkins's statement of Spanish treachery "was made to justify all the subsequent acts of war which English ships were to commit at sight against Spanish ships and possessions."<sup>22</sup> There is little scope for questioning that this was largely the function of the narrative when it was first put into print in 1569, and that it was still part of its role within the *Voyages* thirty years later. There is a pervasive tendency within the collection to present the conflict between the two nations as originating in the treachery and duplicity of the enemy. At the same time, however, another process of justification is also taking place. In a number of narratives, it is not so much the treachery of the Spaniards that is evoked but their irrationality, their inability to accept that the English presence in the West Indies is natural, and therefore, justified.

This tendency to naturalize the English claims is apparent in a brief note which comes early in the contents of the 1600 volume. It is written by Hakluyt himself and it refers to the first English appearance in the West Indies.<sup>23</sup> Hakluyt alludes to the peaceful and not un-prosperous dealings between the two nations in those early days and concludes:

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<sup>22</sup>G. B. Parks, "Tudor Travel Literature: A Brief History" in D. B. Quinn ed., *The Hakluyt Handbook* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), 97-132 (117).

<sup>23</sup>"A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which under hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol," 10: 6-7. On Hakluyt's authorship see *Hakluyt Handbook*, 426, 447.

whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre us from it at this present. (10: 7)

At the outset therefore, the English presence in the West Indies and their insistence on trading there is made to appear natural and unproblematical. On the other hand, any measure that the Spaniards might take in order to comply with the laws of their country or with the orders of their king is made to appear irrational and obstinate--and thus a justification for military aggression or resistance.

Accordingly, in his account of the first slave-trading voyage to the West Indies, Hakluyt emphasizes the peaceableness of Hawkins's conduct, the goodness of his cause, the high esteem he enjoys among the natives, and finally, the prosperity of the voyage itself.<sup>24</sup> All these points are further developed in John Sparke's narrative of Hawkins's second expedition to the West Indies.<sup>25</sup> Here the narrator stresses the peaceful nature of the English claims and, like Hakluyt, he wonders at the reluctance of the Spaniards to let the Englishmen trade in their colonies.

Sparke's account is interesting in a different respect also, since it offers an illustration of the way in which similar acts performed by Englishmen and Spaniards are interpreted according to different criteria.

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<sup>24</sup>"The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562," 10: 7-8. On Hakluyt's authorship see *Hakluyt Handbook*, 237, 367.

<sup>25</sup>"The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Jesus of Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564," 10: 9-63.

During the course of the voyage Hawkins comes across repeated obstacles in his attempt to trade with the Spaniards. At one point, the colonists agree to buy his cargo, but at a lower price than the one he had asked for. In order to achieve his purpose ("it was not onely a licence that he sought, but profit," 10: 33), Hawkins decides to pretend to go away:

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart. (10: 32)

What we are confronted with here is a case of dissimulation not unlike the many similar cases of Spanish trickery that recur throughout the *Voyages*.<sup>26</sup>

When such instances apply to the Spaniards they are highlighted as manifestations of the enemy's innate duplicity. The reference to this particular incident, however, is made in a matter-of-fact way, leaving no space for moral comment or justification, while displaying at the same time pride in the cunning which permits Hawkins to outwit the Spaniards

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<sup>26</sup>See for example "A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Jones," 6: 46-57; "The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay: which ship the Corrigidor of the same Province, accompanied with 97 Spaniards, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into England," 6: 413-18; "A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India," 10: 156-57. I will be referring to the theme of "dissimulation" in these three narratives in more detail in the following section of this chapter.



and achieve his purpose.<sup>27</sup>

Spanish treachery is usually coupled with Spanish cruelty. Both traits are exemplified in a short account, written by Hakluyt himself, of the voyage of the *Dog*.<sup>28</sup> The narrative is expressedly written as a warning against the character of the "subtill enemy" (10: 157); accordingly, it presents the proceedings of the whole voyage in the briefest possible way, and focuses only on an incident of Spanish treason. Hakluyt warns his readers "never to trust the Spanish further . . . for otherwise whosoever shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie."<sup>29</sup> The cruelty and inhumanity of the Spaniards is evoked throughout the *Voyages*, whether as a given or inborn defect or through specific cases. Hawkins underlines it in his own account of the incidents of 1569, when the Englishmen were dying from hunger and disease after the battle. Of the Spaniards he writes: "our feebleness was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray us."<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, several voyages revolve around instances of captivity and suffering at the hands of the Inquisition.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> A similar attitude is apparent in John Evesham's account of a voyage to the Azores (6: 434-37), where the English ships put out a Spanish flag and conceal their nationality in order to achieve their purpose. Like Sparke, Evesham doesn't treat the incident as one of dissimulation, but as an intelligent war tactic.

<sup>28</sup> On Hakluyt's authorship of this narrative see Andrews, *English Privateering*, 52.

<sup>29</sup> "A briefe remembrance of a voyage . . . of a ship called the Dogge," 10: 157.

<sup>30</sup> "The third troublesome voyage," 10: 74.

<sup>31</sup> See for example "The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the Jesus, wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed. Written by Thomas Sanders," 5: 292-311; "The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships, the one called the

In direct contrast, the cruelty of the Spaniards is juxtaposed with the humanity of the English. As further testimony of the moral superiority of the English, the natives of the various lands are usually brought into play, either through their words, or through the fact that they side with the English against the Spanish oppressors.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in cases of direct confrontation between the two nationalities, the English treat the Spaniards courteously and gallantly, even immediately after the end of a battle. They do not leave the enemy to die or drown, but at once offer comfort and medical help.<sup>33</sup> The picture of English humanity is nowhere clearer than in the following extract from Edward Wright's account of Cumberland's voyage to the Azores. The extract comes after a moving passage which describes the lack of water on the ship:

Some of the poore Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and crave of us, for the love of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie in stead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to us and other nations heretofore.<sup>34</sup>

The distinguishing lines between the two nations are clearly marked. The English treat their captives as kindly as their own men, if not better. In

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Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576," 10: 82-88.

<sup>32</sup>"The Voyage of Master Andrew Barker," 10: 85; "The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana," 10: 338-431; "A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.," 10: 441-501.

<sup>33</sup>See for example "The escape of the Primrose," 6: 416.

<sup>34</sup>"The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Enginier master Edward Wright," 7: 1-31 (23).

times like these, it is the human aspect of the enemy that they take into account, envisaging themselves as exemplary in their conduct, and the spokesmen for other nations.

Probably the trait which is most frequently ascribed to the Spaniards --and by extension to their ships--is "bragging." Time and again the Englishmen encounter Spanish gallees, which "for all their former bragging, at length suffred us to ride quietly."<sup>35</sup> These are huge ships that are "furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments"<sup>36</sup> which finally go away "with the blowes well beaten for their paines."<sup>37</sup> They are manned by Spaniards who put on a show of bravery which only masks their underlying cowardice. Hence Hakluyt's narratives abound in descriptions of the Spaniards falling into the sea, as they desert their ships in a frantic effort to save their lives. In contrast, the English rarely ever get wet--and, in any case, whereas falling into the sea is an act of cowardice when it happens to a Spaniard, it is an act of necessity and bravery when performed by the English. It is also quite significant that the English are never seen deserting their own ships, but are obliged to jump into the water in order to reach them, or to save their cargo, or to direct them safely back to England.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> "A briefe relation of the notable service performed by Sir Francis Drake upon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadiz," 6: 438-43 (441).

<sup>36</sup> "The vanquishing of the Spanish Armada, Anno 1588," 4: 197-236 (201).

<sup>37</sup> Drake to Cadiz, 6: 439.

<sup>38</sup> "A briefe remembrance of a voyage . . . of a ship called the Dogge," 10: 157.

The scenes in which the Spaniards fall into the sea verge on the comical, particularly since the noise they make converts a threatening enemy into a loud, disorderly crowd. Sound denotes panic and disorder in the case of the Spaniards, but suggests manhood and aggression when associated with the English. There we do not hear "lowd and lamentable outcries,"<sup>39</sup> but the "deadly points of warre."<sup>40</sup>

It seems to me, then, that the presentation of the two nations in the *Voyages* distinguishes clearly between what is perceived to be one's own and what is perceived as alien or other. There are actions which the English never commit, but which are habitual with the Spanish. There are also acts which both perform, but which are interpreted in opposite ways.

More significant than this, however, is the presence of a division within the image of the Spaniard himself. In the case of the Spanish, appearances are distinct from essence, for they exist to conceal essence. The Spaniards are constantly seen promising one thing and doing another; their bragging masks their cowardice; the ornaments of their ships and the splendour of their dress compensate for their naval and martial incompetence.

I shall devote the rest of this chapter to tracing this dichotomy as it emerges in some of the narratives in the section of the *Voyages* devoted to naval warfare. I will argue that by manipulating this distinction between what seems and what is, the section serves to expose as a myth the idea

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<sup>39</sup>"The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores," 7: 3.

that Spain is the mightiest power on earth. While not denying the superiority of the Spaniards in armaments and ships and going so far sometimes as to exaggerate it, the 'naval warfare' section undoes this idea in subtle and indirect ways. I will suggest that in some of the most sophisticated narratives of naval warfare, the relation of a battle between the two nations is more than an expression of victory against the enemy: it serves as a scene of symbolical unmasking, where the religious aspect of the struggle is re-enacted. Apart from expressing a number of cultural codes, these narratives offer a reflection upon these codes and thus provide a prism (moral, aesthetic, and ultimately political) through which the myth of the Spanish might can be projected, and thus replaced with another myth--that of the English as the elect nation.

### II. i. "The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins"

The 1595-96 expedition to the West Indies led by Drake and Hawkins is represented in the *Voyages* in an anonymous account, most probably written by one of the Captains of the English fleet. It is followed by three shorter pieces, written respectively by Don Bernaldino Avellaneda, Sir Henry Savile and Sir Thomas Baskerville, all three of which refer to one

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<sup>40</sup>"The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591," 7: 35-38 (36).

particular stage of the voyage: the battle off the island of Pines, which took place on 1/11 March 1596.<sup>41</sup>

It is to Hakluyt's credit as an editor that from the variety of narratives he had at his disposal he chose the most detached and observant account of the voyage (Andrews, *Last Voyage*, 80). At the same time, it is not without significance that, precisely because of its detachment, the account included in the *Voyages* fails to mention a rather complicated aspect of the expedition: the personal strife between Drake and Hawkins and the factional division of the English fleet between them. As becomes apparent from the other accounts of the voyage, the expedition which set sail from England in August 1595 was so divided as to become almost two separate fleets which very nearly parted company. According to K. R. Andrews, the modern editor of the voyage, this division was less a product of differences of personality between the two leaders as of the organization of the expedition. The English fleet was manned and provisioned by two separate interest groups: each appointed its own leader, "each had his own financial and shipowning associates, each his personal following of kinsmen and clients among the officers" (Andrews, 6-7). Written by followers of either Drake or Hawkins, the other contemporary narratives take sides and betray the tense atmosphere of the voyage. The account which Hakluyt chose for inclusion, however, insists on the consistent,

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<sup>41</sup>"The last voyage of sir Francis Drake & sir John Hawkins," 10: 226-45; "A libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino delgadillo de Avellaneda . . . together with a confutation thereof by M. Henry Savile, &c," 10: 246-64; "Thomas Baskervil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Savile," 10: 264-65. All the necessary documents and background information on the voyage are provided in K. R. Andrews, ed., *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for The Hakluyt Society, 1972).

collective "we." This is not necessarily a case of deliberate distortion of the truth: it is difficult, after all, to decide whether the narrator's "we" refers to one ship and its crew only, or to the English fleet as a whole. What I do want to suggest, however, is that the way in which the evidence is presented within the *Voyages* obliterates this ambiguity. Since any counter-evidence is excluded from the *Voyages*, it is only when one looks outside Hakluyt's compilation that the notion of collectivity carried by the "we" can be challenged. By his system of inclusion and exclusion then--he includes one aspect of the "historical truth" and leaves out another--Hakluyt promotes the impression of unity, concord and co-operation which is so important in the presentation of the English throughout the *Voyages*.

Written in clear prose by a professional mariner who makes use of specialized but not difficult language, the account included in the *Voyages* is an exemplary instance of the kind of sea-journal which Hakluyt wanted for his book. Observant, detailed and yet hardly ever superfluous, the narrative illustrates with clarity and precision the various stages of the expedition, while giving at the same time practical nautical advice interspersed with information about the places and peoples encountered during the journey. The narrative is permeated by a tone of reserved detachment which hardly ever changes. Even the deaths of the two leaders are related in the same manner, which comes across as a deeply felt compassion, expressed with the appropriate respectful restraint. Avellaneda's letter, which soon follows, suffers by comparison. Whereas the English captain narrates a dignified story of endurance in the face of

repeated adversity, the Spanish general is full of complaint, begrudging every obstacle, continuously justifying his own shortcomings, putting the blame on the various mishaps which befell him during his voyage.

No matter, however, how striking the differences in tone between the two accounts may be, the contrast between them is not simply left to the reader's inference. Hakluyt's organization and presentation of the evidence anticipates and directs the reader's responses. The headings with which the English and the Spanish documents are introduced read respectively, "The voyage truely discoursed" (10: 226) and "A Libell of Spanish lies" (10: 246).<sup>42</sup> In the short introductory piece which prefaces the English account Hakluyt establishes that during the course of the voyage both Drake and Hawkins "died by sicknesse" (10: 226), and in this way he implies that Avellaneda's testimony, which shortly follows (Drake died "for very grieffe that he had lost so many Barkes and men," 10: 250), is grossly inaccurate. Finally, in the two introductory pieces which are placed between the English account and the Spanish letter, readers are repeatedly informed that they are about to read "diverse untruthes" (10: 246), "false reports" (10: 247), "grosse lies" (ibid.); they are also told that it is only in the English answer to Avellaneda that the truth will be made known. This way, the Spanish testimony is invalidated before it has been given. The process does not stop there, however. It continues after the Spanish letter, and with equal force. Avellaneda's testimony is taken apart and answered

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<sup>42</sup>It is not possible to determine whether the title "The voyage truely discoursed" was coined by Hakluyt or whether it accompanied the original document because the version published by Hakluyt is the only known one (see Andrews, 247, n. 1). "A Libell of Spanish Lies" was published by J. Windet in 1596 (Andrews, 240, n. 1).



point by point by Sir Henry Savile, who destroys the Spanish story and presents his own version of the events.<sup>43</sup> To round off the overall effect, there comes Baskerville's short but emotional confirmation of Savile's points, and his histrionic challenge of the Spaniard to a duel.<sup>44</sup> By the time the reader reaches this last stage, it is difficult to believe that there is even a grain of truth in the Spanish letter.

Given this process of complete invalidation then, the question may arise as to the precise function of a demonstrably inadequate narrative, in a collection which places such insistence on accurate information. According to Hakluyt's methodological procedures, testimonies by foreigners are included in the *Voyages* either when there is no English version of an event, or when the account of a foreigner throws additional light on events related elsewhere in the book: "where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers."<sup>45</sup> A good example of this procedure is offered by John Huighen van Linschoten's account of his voyages to the Indies.<sup>46</sup> Linschoten's journal has a multiple function within Hakluyt's

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<sup>43</sup>"The answer to the Spanish letter," 10: 253-64.

<sup>44</sup>"Thomas Baskervil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captain Savile," 10: 264-65.

<sup>45</sup>"The Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Robert Cecil, in the Third Volume of the Second Edition, 1600," 1: lxxvi.

<sup>46</sup>"A large testimony of John Huighen van Linschoten Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieved by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir Martine Frobisher, Sir Richard Greenvile, and divers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the Acores, and upon the coasts of Spaine and Portugall, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiages to the East and West Indies. cap. 96. 97. and 99," 7: 62-87.

book. To begin with, it provides important nautical information which is missing from other accounts and which can be of use to English mariners. Moreover, in the course of his travels Linschoten has witnessed events which are related elsewhere in the *Voyages*, and his narrative either gives additional information about particular incidents, or confirms the versions of events already included in Hakluyt's book. Placed among many English narratives, Linschoten's account sums up what has preceded it, introduces what will follow it and offers corroborative evidence which reconfirms the truth of the English accounts. Meanwhile, it provides a very favourable image of the competence of the Englishmen on the high seas--an image which becomes all the more powerful since its source is a foreigner.

The case of Avellaneda is clearly not the same. His letter does not contribute anything to the reader's positive understanding of the events: on the contrary, a far better testimony is offered by the two English narratives which sandwich the letter. Furthermore, the image of the English fleet offered in the Spanish account is far from complimentary--the English appear to be faint-hearted and unwilling to enter into the fight. To all intents and purposes, therefore, it is the letter's negative aspect which counts. In a book which derives its authority from the eye-witness accounts that it includes, the eye-witness account of a Spaniard is alleged to be not only inadequate but also untrue; in contrast to the English accounts, its testimony can be easily superseded and disregarded. Presenting Avellaneda's evidence in a way reminiscent of the presentation of a case within a courtroom (here, it is the reader who is the judge), Hakluyt

exposes the Spaniard as a liar. The Spanish letter itself is made to stand as an affirmation of dishonesty, i.e. of that characteristic which is presented throughout the *Voyages* as being typically Spanish. Taking his place among his countrymen Avellaneda exhibits a typical rather than an individual significance.

Taking up this case of lying, in his answer to the particular points raised by the Spanish letter, Savile makes the following comment:

I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should have beene printed, he would have omitted many things contained in the letter: for the Doctor did use him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to be printed: for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall. (10: 256)

In his reflections on the propriety of lying, Savile makes a distinction between the public and the private realms. I do not wish to enter here into a consideration of the particularities of this distinction. Rather, my purpose in isolating this passage is to suggest that, beyond the distinction between public and private, it points to an implicit distinction between two public realms (the English and the Spanish) and offers us a significant insight into the function of the *Voyages* themselves.

Avellaneda's letter was put into print in Spain, where it was received as "an undoubted trueth" (10: 252). Reprinting it in the *Voyages* Hakluyt has succeeded in showing, through his use of documentary evidence, that the Spanish letter is untrue. Therefore, whereas the Spaniards accept so easily what in Hakluyt's collection is shown to be a contemptible lie, the *Voyages* (and, by extension, the English public realm,

which the book reflects, and which it addresses) immediately expose the lie. Appearing within a book filled with “reports of the truth,” the Spanish letter is incongruous, but nevertheless has a specific rhetorical role: it is a negative point of reference against which the idea of Englishness is formed. In sharp contrast to the image of the “lying Generall” (10: 256), the English testimonies which surround it present the following images of the English: an Englishman who states the truth (the anonymous Captain); an Englishman who discovers a lie, exposes it and then substitutes it with the truth (Sir Henry Savile); an Englishman who is willing to risk his life defending that truth (Thomas Baskerville); and finally, an Englishman who makes all the above known, publishing them for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen (Hakluyt himself). Including and rising above all of these is the *Voyages* itself: consisting of the collective efforts of such men, which stands as a testimony to their efforts and as a reflection of themselves. Beyond all differences in personality or in class, whether anonymous or eponymous, all the English presented in the *Voyages* share a common characteristic: their commitment to the truth. It is this characteristic which finally unites them in distinguishing them from the Spaniards.

It is this ethical distinction between what is true and what is false which underlies, I believe, the presentation of the two nations in the *Voyages*. In my analysis of the documents related to the last voyage of Drake and Hawkins I have emphasised Hakluyt’s active role in the organization and presentation of his material. In this way I have drawn attention to one of the ways in which the identity of the Spaniard is

exposed in the book. A similar disclosure takes place in the narratives to which I now turn: Humphrey Mote's "The escape of the Primrose a tall ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay" (6: 413-18), John Hawes' "The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies" (7: 35-38), and Philip Jones's "A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586" (6: 46-57). In all three cases the narration of the battle becomes a scene of a symbolical unmasking: it is not only a defeat in arms that takes place, but also a disclosure of what lies behind the enemy's projected self. Each author identifies and illustrates one of the essential qualities differentiating the English from the Spaniards. Moreover, the particular signs of differentiation chosen by each become indications of the differences latent within English society itself.

## II. ii. "The Escape of the *Primrose* of London"<sup>47</sup>

In May 1585, Philip II seized all the English ships which were trading in the Spanish main apart from one, which managed to escape, carrying Philip's officials and orders with her back to London. This ship was called the *Primrose* and Humphrey Mote relates the event.<sup>48</sup>

Considering the obvious importance of this affair, Mote's narrative is not generally regarded as an exciting account of a battle.<sup>49</sup> The style is very simple and the narration is quite confused. Nevertheless, it is this simplicity, I think, which makes the account appealing--and therefore effective.

The whole narrative has a didactic purpose, plainly stated in the introductory paragraph and summarised in the closing one: the story of the *Primrose* is an example of "couragious attempt and valiant enterprise" (6: 413), achieved through the "great courage of the maister, and the loving

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<sup>47</sup>The original document is a news-pamphlet with the following title: *The Primrose of London, with her valiant adventure on the Spanish coast, being of the burthen of 150 tunne. Declaring the maner how 97. Spanyards came aboard the same ship, the course of the skirmish, and how by their valiancie they discomfited them. Whereunto is added the copie of the Kinges commission for the imburement of all English ships. Truely published by Humphrey Mote.* Imprinted at London for Thomas Nelson, 1585. In reprinting the pamphlet in the *Voyages* Hakluyt changes the title and also makes a few word alterations which modify slightly the tone and meaning of the original (I will point out these alterations in the course of my discussion). The one marginal note which accompanies the account in the *Voyages* is Hakluyt's. Finally, Hakluyt omits the last paragraph of the account, probably because it is irrelevant to the rest of the narrative.

<sup>48</sup>Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, 3.

<sup>49</sup>See for example the opinion of William B. White in "The Narrative Technique of Elizabethan Voyage and Travel Literature from 1550 to 1603," where he writes that "the author attempts to convey some of the realism of the battle . . . but succeeds only in giving what seems to be an exaggeration of the gory details," 417.

hearts of the servants to save their master from the daunger of death" (6: 418). There is no pretence to objectivity. The author writes as an Englishman, and from his first sentence he takes for granted a patriotic bond between himself and his audience which, in Hakluyt's published version, separates England from the rest of the world ("It is not unknowen unto the world what danger our English shippes have lately escaped," 6: 413).<sup>50</sup> "The escape of the Primrose" is the story of a ship told to an audience of other mariners: the narrator writes that he has "taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowen to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie adventure to doe the like" (6: 413). The ship becomes the principal character in the action, assuming the role of a heroine in danger who is finally saved from villainous hands.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in a language which retains the oral quality of the seaman's tale, the ship, the crew which mans her and the English nation itself become conflated in the telling. Thus the ship while remaining itself acquires a symbolic resonance, and comes to represent the nation itself. This account positions the readers differently from "The last voyage of sir Francis Drake & sir John Hawkins." There, the audience was required to decide on the truth and falsity of conflicting testimonies. In Mote's "Primrose," the audience is invited to participate in a communal maritime experience.

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<sup>50</sup>The original reads: "It is not unknowne unto a fewe," A2r.

<sup>51</sup>To a certain extent this is the result of Hakluyt's modification of the original title which talks of the "valiant adventure" and not the "escape" of the *Primrose*.

Mote's account is, I believe, caught between two different conceptions of how to write the truth: the one paying minute attention to factual evidence and documentary detail, the other eager to draw conclusions and ascribe the pattern of events to a cause that will make them part of a larger scheme of things. The two are not necessarily contrasted: documentation and interpretation usually exist side by side in the *Voyages*. The effect of Mote's narrative, however, lies in his inability to adhere to a strict documentary style. This is evident in the frequent digressions and exemplifications which he uses during his otherwise sincere effort to narrate the facts as they have taken place. Thus he remains unable simply to relate an event, but makes a story out of it.

To illustrate what I mean by "documentary style," I will begin by looking at a contrasting narrative which relates events differently. This is "A briefe remembrance of a voyage . . . of a ship called the Dogge" (10: 156-57), written as we have seen by Hakluyt himself expressly for publication in the *Voyages*.<sup>52</sup>

"The Voyage of the Dog" is a brief account which, like Mote's "Primrose," is written in order to fix a generalized image of the Spaniard, and to teach Englishmen by experience how to deal with him ("My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemye, and never to trust the Spanish further," 10: 157). As with the "Primrose" too, a case of Spanish treason lies at the centre of the narrative. Apparently, the only reason why

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<sup>52</sup>For historical information and an assessment of Hakluyt's version of events, see Andrews, *Elizabethan Privateering*, 50-52. Additional testimonies of the voyage can be found in 53-58.



the narrative was written was to provide an example of Spanish treachery: it offers no information about any other stage of the journey, despite the fact that it seems to have been quite an adventurous one. Hakluyt's narrative is most succinct. One sentence provides us with the ship's name, burden, and size of crew, with the date of its departure and intended course, and with information about the various events that happened during the voyage. Similarly, the narration of the battle itself is stripped down to the essential facts, narrated in a dry, unembellished, straightforward manner:

The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, invited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselves of good meaning in the Spanish, went aboard: but honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Roger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were served with the like sauce. (10: 157)

The same blunt, vernacular style is also present in Mote's "Primrose." The narration begins by imparting information in the abrupt, matter-of-fact way so characteristic of the *Voyages*:

Upon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585,<sup>53</sup> the shippe called the Primrose being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of Bilbao, having beene there two dayes, there a came a Spanish pinnesse to them, wherein was the Corrigidor and sixe others with him: these came aboard the Primrose, seeming to be Marchantes of Biscay, or such like, bringing Cherries with them, and spake very friendly to the Maister of the ship, whose name was Foster. (6: 413)<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>The original reads: "the 26. day of May last past," A2r.

<sup>54</sup>The original reads: "whose name is Foster," *ibid.*

Whereas Hakluyt's narrative style remains close to the style exemplified by Sir Philip Sidney's portrait of the historian (the "bare *Was*"), Mote insists on telling his tale "poetically."<sup>55</sup> The verb "seem" which Mote applies to the Spaniards who enter the *Primrose*, introduces an element of reserve, and even suspicion, dramatising in a most undocumentary way the response of the hosts to their visitors, and introducing a riddle that will be solved later on. Indeed, the verb "seem" serves to establish an essential difference between the two national groups, as the Spaniards become parodies of the true merchants that are aboard the *Primrose*. Significantly enough, the same verb is applied to the Spaniards at another crucial moment of the story--when the battle is about to begin. I cite the whole passage:

Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neverthelesse they took small heede of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came foorth of the boate, entring the shippe, every Spaniarde taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme wherewith to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves under the decke, some entring the Cabbens, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor having an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister said to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would have slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they sought was to bring him and his men safe alive to shore. (6: 414)

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<sup>55</sup>Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, 110.

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The eventual reaction of the two nations, however, restores their difference.

The initial bafflement of the Master gives way to a trail of verbs which give us an insight into the hearts and minds of the English prior to their counterattack ("some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea," 6: 415). This process establishes the English character, which in the face of danger stands valiant and resolute and fights till the bitter end. In direct contrast, the amazement of the Spaniards points to their underlying cowardice, and again emphasises the falsity of the fight that they have tried to stage. Instead of fighting bravely, "they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger" (ibid.); they "tumbled as fast over boord on both sides with their weapons in their handes" (ibid.); they end up prisoners, craving mercy at the hands of the English. The enemy is utterly ridiculed--all the more given that their cowardly antics are consistently interspersed with a recitation of the heroic deeds and magnanimous behaviour of the English. The narration of the battle thus becomes the triumph of the *man* over the *actor*: the English strike mortal blows on the enemy's bodies (Mote focuses on the brain, the heart and the genitals), signalling total victory. Finally, the Corrigidor, having shed all his former splendour, takes Philip's orders out of "his hose which were wet," and explains that "it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commandement of the king himselfe" (6: 416). In

the intercepted letter, which is now incorporated into the account, Philip orders the Spaniards to arrest the English ships “with great foresight”<sup>56</sup> and “with as much dissimulation as may be” (6: 417). These orders can be regarded as licensing the obvious theatricality which Mote inscribes into the Spaniards’ conduct.

Alongside the amazement of the two groups there is a considerable inconsistency which contributes to the narrative’s overall effect, and which shows, once again, how the presentation of the two nations follows different criteria. Early on in the narrative we are told that Master Foster “misdoubting some danger” (6: 414) was not wholly convinced by the Spanish act. The matter is dropped and we are not informed of any measures that might have been taken to resist the attack. But some preparation did apparently take place, and we find that out rather casually, during the narration of the battle. The English “tooke them to their javelings, lances, bore-speares, and shot, which they had *set in readinesse before*, and having five Calievers readie charged . . . did shoote up at the Spaniards” (6: 415, my emphasis). The English were made to seem as though they were responding quite spontaneously, when there are in fact indications of prior preparation; thus the amazement of the Master couldn’t have been as great and sudden as the narration suggests. More is involved here than an elevation of English heroism; these half-subterfuges serve to establish a crucial difference between the two nations which points to the way in which the English perceive their respective

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<sup>56</sup>The original reads: “with great provision.” The word that Hakluyt substitutes for “provision,” “foresight,” seems to emphasize in plain English the mentalistic root which is buried in the Latin.

power structures. The English win a spontaneous victory: taking orders from no one outside their own microcosm, they act as a closely bound, united community depending on their own sound judgement. In direct contrast, there is a split in the presentation of the Spaniards: on the one hand there is the isolated image of the Spanish king, who devises plans and sends out orders, and on the other there is the image of his subjects, who become useless instruments in his hands, having neither will nor incentive of their own.

A split in the image of the enemy is central to my next narrative, John Hawes' "The valiant fight performed . . . by the Centurion of London" (7: 35-38). In this case, however, the split is not between an invisible sovereign and his subjects, but exists within the subjects themselves.

### II. iii. "The Centurion's Valiant Fight"<sup>57</sup>

"The Centurion's Valiant Fight" is rather atypical in its representation of the enemy, not because it offers us an improved moral image of the Spaniard, but because John Hawes immediately focuses on the outward, visual appearance of the Spanish soldiers. This is the passage which describes the first approach of the enemy:

immediatly they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious sort: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies bravely apparelled in silke coates, with their silver whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Calivers shot at the Centurion so fast as they might. (7: 36)

Silk, silver and feathers combine to evoke an ostentatious opulence, quite characteristic of the stereotype of the enemy at the time. It is significant, however, that Hawes isolates "the chiefe Leaders and souldiers," leaving the rest of the mariners unnoticed. In this way, the author points to an implicit distinction, within the enemy's party, between leaders and mariners. The image of the enemy is an exclusively courtly image, as becomes still more apparent in the following passage:

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion sounded fourth

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<sup>57</sup> John Hawes, *The Valiant and most laudable fight performed in the Straights, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish Gallies, who is safely returned this present Moneth of May. Anno. D. 1591*. In reprinting this item Hakluyt modifies occasionally the spelling and punctuation of the original but does not include any significant word alterations.

the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their adversaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whistles of silver, which they sounded fourth to their owne contentment. (7: 36)

The interest and complexity of this extract arises not only from the way in which the author distinguishes between manhood and effeminacy, primarily by means of auditory images (the deep sound of the trumpet/the shrill sound of the whistles), but also by means of diction (the word “contentment,” which comes to denote an ethos of pleasure associated with the enemy, and even a fundamental uselessness, masked by the expensive dress but betrayed by the silver whistles). The image of the enemy is that of a self-absorbed, isolated group, unable to provide inspiration and encouragement to their followers.

In this respect, that image is in sharp contrast to the presentation of the English group. At the beginning of his account, Hawes suggests that the bond established among the English crew does not rest only on nationality but also on occupation: he refers to “sundry shippes appertaining to severall Marchants of London” (7: 35). The ships take part in various mercantile expeditions, and Hawes accordingly emphasizes the virtues of work and diligence.<sup>58</sup> The two national groups, therefore, take on the characteristics of class; thus the confrontation is not only between two national states, but between two social classes and, consequently, two

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<sup>58</sup>Hawes was a merchant himself (10: 38). According to K. R. Andrews (*Elizabethan Privateering*, 105) he was a member of one of the most significant merchant families of the time. He was the son of James Hawes, a clothworker who became Lord Mayor of London in 1574-5 and the brother-in-law of the alderman John Wats, whose ships, the *Margaret* and the *John*, are mentioned in two narratives, one preceding, the other following Hawes' in the *Voyages* (7: 31-34 and 7: 38-53).



opposing ideologies--the courtly and the mercantile. The behaviour of the English merchants during the fight is described in the following way:

such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gave them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble alive into the Sea, being remedlesse for ever to get up alive. (7: 37)

The "entertainment" that the English provide overturns the Spaniards' previous "contentment." It is therefore this quality of unselfcritical self-satisfaction, reflecting the ethos of a particular class, that is so fiercely subverted and shattered by Hawes' narrative. The fight of the *Centurion* signals not only the victory of one national group over another, but also the domination of one social class over another.

## II. iv. "A True Report of a Worthy Fight"

The political implications of the two previous narratives are developed to a fuller extent in Philip Jones's "A true report of a worthy fight" (6: 46-57). Like Mote, Jones discovers a schism between the Spanish sovereign and his subjects; like Hawes, he promotes a merchant community and merchant ideals. Unlike Mote or Hawes, however, Jones was not a participant in the events that he describes. Moreover, his report was not written shortly after the event but composed especially for publication in the 1589 edition of the *Voyages*. I have mentioned elsewhere that G. B. Parks's earlier assumption that Jones "had gone to the Levant in a company ship and written an account of the voyage for Hakluyt," has been challenged.<sup>59</sup> It is now believed that Jones either based his report on a news-pamphlet in verse (no copy of this pamphlet survives) or compiled it out of the records of the Levant Company.<sup>60</sup> Jones was, as I have mentioned in my Introduction, Hakluyt's protégé: like Hakluyt he had been a student of divinity at Oxford and shared Hakluyt's interest in geography and exploration. He was also a close friend of John Newbery, one of the founding members of the Levant Company. He was therefore well placed to acquire material for this report. His decision to

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<sup>59</sup>Parks, *Richard Hakluyt*, 120.

<sup>60</sup>According to Quinn (*Hakluyt Handbook*, 345-46) Jones's account was probably based on *Newes From Turkey, A Newe Report in verse of a sea fight in the straightes by 5 ships of London against 11 Gallies and 2 Frigattes of the king of Spaine (1586)*. No copy of this item survives but it was registered among the books of Humphrey Dyson—a "notary public" who collected English printed books and especially items "concerning the rise of the merchant companies and . . . sea fights with Spain." See William A. Jackson, "Humphrey Dyson's Library, or, Some Observations on the Survival of Books," *PBSA* 43 (1949): 279-87 (279, 285).

replace verse with prose (if this was indeed the case) would reflect his readiness to contribute a piece of "reportage" of the kind Hakluyt wanted for his collection.

Towards the end of the narrative, Philip Jones brings out the implications he discovers in the battle between the two fleets, and defines the battle's significance:

and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the revenger of al evils, and the giver of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarell of theirs, in defending themselves against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion which the insolent enemie sought so much to overthrowe. Contrarily, the foolish Spaniardes cried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O lady helpe, O blessed Lady give us the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on bothe sides the fight continued furious and sharpe. (6: 54-55)

This battle takes on a dimension greater than any of its predecessors. It is now more than a military encounter, but a contest between good and evil, and the victory is that of true religion over false. To be sure it is also a moral victory over Spanish tyranny and pride. But Jones leaves us in no doubt that this victory could not have been achieved without the help of God. In the course of his account, Jones has provided ample explanation of the terms that emerge at its climax, such as "tyranny," "pride" and "evil." He has defined the voyage of the English merchants as "good." He has also

represented the qualities of the two nations and religions by concentrating the characteristics dispersed in other accounts. Following Jones's narrative chronology, I will therefore retrace his definitions, in order to show how he draws out and evolves Englishness out of mercantile interests, and God's elect nation out of Englishness.

Unlike the majority of travel accounts, which begin abruptly, Jones's narrative goes back to the months of preparation preceding the embarkation. The same event which provoked the action of Mote's "Primrose"--Philip's seizure of the English ships trading on the Spanish main--prompts Jones's narrative. Jones, however, dilates on the causes of the incident and offers interpretations of the behaviour of the Spanish king. Philip is "grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome" and ordered the arrest of "al English ships, bodies and goods, in Spaine" (6: 46); he is "maligning the quiet traffique" to the Levant, and tries to "hinder the passage of all English ships, and . . . to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons and goods" (6: 47). For Jones, Philip II has clearly assumed that by damaging English commerce he is striking at the heart of the English nation. Philip's orders against the interests of the merchants should therefore be construed as a blow struck against the general well-being of England herself. He therefore converts the arrest of the merchant ships into a national concern.

At the same time, Jones suggests that the merchants are not fighting simply to protect their own narrow interests, but to defend the integrity of the nation. Towards the end of the first part of the narrative (before the two fleets come to open confrontation) Jones writes that

our men . . . grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee delivered from such as without reason sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And . . . ech shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemie. (6: 49-50)

“The Marchants of London” (6: 46) have become “our men.” Like Mote’s “Primrose” Jones’s “Report” converts traders into elemental Englishmen and awakens a common patriotic bond between himself, the protagonists of his account, and his readers. The “goodnesse” of the merchants’ cause is “the adventure through the Seas,” an adventure which contributes significantly to the “prosperitie of this kingdome” (6: 46). It is this common or shared “goodnesse” that the merchants want to defend as they take up the cause of “the honour of their Countrey.” In the battle that ensues they may fight over the future prosperity of England. But that prosperity rests on two conditions: territorial expansion, and divine approval. Their victory confirms both.

As they face the enemy, these English merchants become God’s elect people and behave accordingly. They have faith in “the promise of God” but they are not “secure,” they do not “presume altogether of his helpe.” This relationship sanctions overseas adventure and the mercantile enterprise, acknowledging commerce as a valid pursuit of the chosen

people. But at this crucial stage, prior to the battle, the notion of the elect is no more than a hope or a promise. The battle, when it comes, acts as confirmation.

Throughout the narrative, Jones presents a vivid and detailed picture of this elect society. A heightened dramatic effect is achieved by his use of carefully balanced opposites. The narrative begins by depicting the Spanish king as an isolated figure—an envious, malicious and irrational human being. Referred to as the singular “he,” the King is contrasted to the collective “they” (or “we” and “our”) of the English, whose first characteristic is, in contrast to Philip’s isolation and arbitrariness, their rational thinking and their ability to arrive at a collective decision.

In his description of the proceedings of the journey, Jones converts the fleet into an ideal society. He introduces the vessels by name so they become heroes in the action. The five ships set off together and separate after a while, following their own courses, but which remain part of a common enterprise. This represents England at work, and exhibits the following characteristics: business efficiency and diligence; common interests and purposes, teamwork and good organization; effective communication and co-operation, the absence of internal strife. When the ships meet at the predetermined port, other, more human aspects of the English character emerge: dignified joy and relief at the successful outcome of the task, friendliness and solidarity in the face danger and success. The collective description of the enemy which will shortly follow rests on different principles: the peaceful group of English trading vessels contrasts with the overwhelmingly aggressive Spanish fleet. The homogeneous

group of English subjects contrasts with an army “of the Isles of Sicilia and Malta” which is “in the service and pay of the Spaniard” (6: 50).

After his collective presentation of the opponents, Jones singles out their representatives. Two emerge from each side—two messengers and two figures of authority. The first to appear is Cavallero, the messenger of the Maltese frigate. In his own opinion he is a “true knight and a souldier” (6: 52); the narrative, however, presents him as a stock clownish figure,<sup>61</sup> typifying the enemy’s “inconstancie and perjurie” (6: 53), whose discourse degrades from “bragges” to “threats,” to “quiet persuasion,” then to “deeper othes and protestations” (6: 52). On the other hand, Master Wilkinson, who negotiates with the messenger from Malta, exhibits true leadership: he is experienced, intelligent and firm, and he protects his men. As for the other figure of authority, the Spanish general, he is proud, imperious and absolute. The figure who outshines all the rest, however, is Master Rowit, the English messenger. Mild yet sufficiently fiery, he becomes the embodiment of Christian virtue as he responds to and cares

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<sup>61</sup>In a short book entitled *A Comparison between the English and the Spanish Nation*, translated from the French *Discourse Politick* by Robert Ashley of the Middle Temple and published in London in 1589, “Cavaliero” is a pejorative term that highlights the discrepancy between words and deeds, between appearance and essence, which is such a characteristic element of the presentation of the Spaniards in the *Voyages*. In the Dedication to Sir Robert Hatton Ashley writes that the book contributes to the English learning “to despise those magnificent *Dom Diegos* and *Spanish Cavalieros*, whose doughtiest deedes are bragges and boastinges, and themselves (for the most part) shadowes without substance” (A3r). In the main body of his translation Ashley writes: “we have here set the Spaniardes on stage like good Apothecaries, to furnish our selves with laughter at their charges. And I pray you what man is there so melancholy, that could forbear laughter, seeing a burden-bearer, a cobbler, or a carter, to call himself Cavaliero: or else to see a Cavaliero of Spaine, going through the fields, to carrie the fragmentes of his dinner in a budget” (24). The *Politike Discourse* was also translated by Francesco Marquino and published by John Wolfe in 1589. In that version we read: “And who is the man (I pray you) so melancholicke, that could with-holde himselfe from laughing, seeing a porter, a cobler, and a carman, to *play* the Cavaliero” (23-24, my emphasis).

for the general blood-letting in a way which transcends the agenda of particular religions.

In this chapter I have shown how the English attempt to counter Spanish naval might through an elaborate conceit about truth and falsity, morality and duplicity, which in turn draws on the Protestant concept of the Reformation battle between true and false religion. England's right and probity, its moral steadfastness, are represented by the integrity of English essence and appearance—seeming and being are one—whereas Spanish duplicity, immorality and, it is to be hoped, underlying military weakness are represented in this case by a split between essence and appearance. In some of the passages that I have looked at there is a sense that the English are trying to take courage from their own propaganda: because the Spanish are bad actors, their King will prove to have feet of clay.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE VOYAGE OUT: NATURE AND FATE

The first volume of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* deals with the travels of the English to the north and northeastern parts of the world. The volume begins with the navigations and conquests of the legendary king Arthur and proceeds to recount the territorial conquests of later kings—conquests which established and consolidated the frontiers and territory of Elizabethan England. From the voyage-as-conquest the volume then moves on to the voyage-as-trade and in a series of documents Hakluyt illustrates the beginning and growth of English mercantile relations with the Continent. Finally the volume brings the narrative down to the time of Elizabeth and the discovery, by her subjects, of the kingdom of Muscovy. This event led to the further widening of English trade and also constituted an important step in the discovery of a world beyond Europe. As we have seen, both trade and discovery are equally important for Hakluyt. It is appropriate, therefore, that the opening volume of the *Voyages* should acknowledge, celebrate and culminate in the discovery of Muscovy.<sup>1</sup> Interwoven with this

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<sup>1</sup>For the importance that Hakluyt attributed to the Muscovy voyages, see his "Preface to the Second Edition, 1598," 1: xl, xlv.

triumphant strain, however, is another, darker theme. This is the theme of failure, which acquires considerable significance within the *Voyages*.

The collection of narratives which describes the voyages that led to the discovery of Muscovy opens with a letter written by King Edward VI to the Princes of the Northeast.<sup>2</sup> In the letter Edward defines travel as an activity peculiar to humans, as a God-inspired desire “to love, and be loved,” to “joine friendship” with one another, “to give and receive mutuall benefites” (2: 209). Edward urges the unknown Princes to treat the travellers courteously and humanely, since their efforts demonstrate the intensity of their desire: “For how much the longer voyage they have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them” (ibid.). Immediately following Edward’s letter is the “true copie of a note found written in . . . the *Speranza*,”<sup>3</sup> the ship that had undertaken the first English reconaissance expedition to the Northeast, “where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death” (2: 212). The inclusion of these two short pieces in succession juxtaposes the fierce and intractable force of nature with the force of human desire and in its stark way, devoid of any moral qualifications, it encapsulates the situation with which I deal in the present chapter. This situation

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<sup>2</sup>“The letters of king Edward the sixt, written at that time to all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of the Northeast,” 2: 206-11.

<sup>3</sup>“The voyage of sir Hugh Willoughby knight, wherein he unfortunately perished at Arzina Recca in Lapland, Anno 1553,” 2: 212-24 (212).

can be expressed as a dramatic triptych defined by the words "desire," "voyage" and "death."

### I. i.

The present chapter focuses on two moments in the history of Elizabethan expansion: Frobisher's voyages in search of the Northwest Passage (1576-78), and Cavendish's attempt to be the first Englishman to complete the circumnavigation of the globe twice (1591). Both Frobisher and Cavendish were naval heroes of Elizabethan England; both their attempts sprang from a personal vision conceived in terms of a national enterprise; both their efforts ended in failure. In his three successive voyages to the Northwest, Martin Frobisher failed to find the Passage to Cathay, or to bring back the gold ore that he had promised. As for Cavendish, his ships never made it beyond the South Seas where he himself perished. The narratives of these two enterprises are found in the third volume of the second edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*.<sup>4</sup> In both, the events are reported by

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<sup>4</sup>"The first voyage of M. Martin Frobisher to the Northwest for the search of a passage to China, anno 1576," 7: 204-11; "The second voyage of M. Martin Frobisher to the West and Northwest regions, in the yeere 1577," 7: 211-30; "The third and last voyage of M. Martin Frobisher for the discovery of a Northwest passage, in the yere 1578," 7: 231-42; "A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall," 7: 250-375; "The last voyage of M. Thomas Candish intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with three tall ships, and two barks, begun 1591," 11: 389-416.

men who participated in them, rather than by the expeditionary leaders themselves. Part of the concern of the present chapter is to explore the ways in which the narrators of these voyages--people who played a significant role in the events but who were answerable to another person's authority--try to make sense of their experience and to explain the reasons for the expedition's failure.

The theme of failure is discernible throughout Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Kenneth Andrews has remarked that at the time that Hakluyt was completing the first edition of the *Principall Navigations* (1589) the English had little to show for forty years of overseas exploration.<sup>5</sup> They had tried to open up new trades in Guinea and the Caribbean and they had failed; they had tried to establish a permanent foothold in North America and they had also failed. A succession of failures and disasters was only "occasionally relieved by some brilliant feat such as Drake's voyage round the world, or some modest success like the opening of trade with Muscovy" (1). All in all, the enthusiastic tone of Hakluyt's "Epistle Dedicatorie" in the first edition serves to highlight the gap between the glory of Elizabethan nationalist propaganda and the unglamorous goings-on in the real world.

During the decade that separates the first and the second editions of the *Principal Navigations* the English made many more voyages, but their success continued to be dwarfed by the achievements of the Iberians. Hakluyt himself draws attention to this in his "Preface" to the

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<sup>5</sup> Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 1-2.

second edition of the *Voyages* (1598).<sup>6</sup> Limiting himself to voyages of discovery and comparing the achievements of Columbus and Vasco da Gama to the achievements of Chancellor, Willoughby, Jackman and Pet, and clearly trying to forestall his readers' criticisms, Hakluyt writes:

Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. (1: xl-xli)

Hakluyt goes on to explain that whereas the Iberians set off for destinations that were known to ancient writers (Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle) the English were "either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to give them encouragement" (1: xlii).

Hakluyt cannot deny that the Spaniards and Portuguese also had to face dangers; "yet," he suggests, "a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable unto them" (1: xliii). Moreover, their "continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, silver, gold, and other precious

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<sup>6</sup>"Preface to the Second Edition, 1598," 1: xxxix-lix.

wares" (ibid.), served as "allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giving over their attempts" (1: xliii-xliv). By contrast, the English had "to expose themselves unto the rigour of the sterne and uncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waves and boistrous winds" (1: xlii). They became "the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape" (1: xl), and once the discovery of one part was made they were not "contented" but pressed the matter further: "not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times over the unknowen and dangerous Caspian sea" (1: xlv).

I am drawing attention to Hakluyt's words not because they appear to be making excuses for the lesser achievements of the English, but because they point to a central issue in Englishmen's perception of the difference between their own expansionism and that of the Spanish. It is clear that for Hakluyt this difference should not be seen quantitatively but morally, and that the worth of an expedition should be gauged by its final aim. Thus, whereas Spanish expansionism is characterised by its eagerness for personal wealth and fame and is bent to the attainment of material goals, its English counterpart is defined by its quest for spiritual greatness. For the English discovery is an inner urge, to be pursued irrespective of its outcome. The Spaniards need "allurements" and "proppes" in order to be sustained; the English greatness lies in the fact that they "adventure"--that they are prepared to risk "their persons, shippes, and goods" in order to contribute to the

“reformation of the mappe of Europe.”<sup>7</sup> If travel brings fame and wealth with it, well and good; if not, the cumulative effects of travel still bring forth fruit. One person “enterprises” and another “performs”<sup>8</sup>--it is the collective, collaborative action that matters here. Seen within this moral framework, a success which would otherwise be termed “modest” takes on another significance, and the laudatory terms lavished on it will seem justified. By the same token, failure can now be *reinterpreted and redefined*, since *spiritual* greatness can still be manifest in failure.

In this section the accounts from which I will take my examples share as their central theme the discovery of, and conflict with, nature. As in the previous chapter the sea remains their principal setting, but its connotations now change drastically. In the narratives of naval warfare the sea was a watery battlefield where the definition of heroism was achieved at the expense of another, well-defined, and allegedly antithetical human opponent. As we now turn from narratives of open conflict between two enemy nations, to voyages of discovery, where the English find themselves alone with nature, we turn from issues of self-definition in the external world of action to what I can only describe as

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<sup>7</sup>“The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoveries of the English, made of Moscovie by the Northeast,” 3: 460.

<sup>8</sup>“The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: *Enterprised* by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and *perfourmed* by Richard Chancelor Pilot major of the voyage,” 2: 239-70 (239), my emphasis.

a preoccupation, in the midst of action of a different sort, with a kind of internal world. In other words, in the absence of an enemy to whom various unwanted characteristics can be conveniently ascribed, the English turn in on themselves to scrutinize their own actions. In attempting to explore the implications of this inward turn I would like to begin by glancing at the representation of nature in the *English Voyages* and their perception of man's place in nature.

## I. ii.

As a work that is intimately connected with the pursuit of the new learning the *English Voyages* express a new, scientific approach to nature and its phenomena. The various log-books, ships' diaries, geographical and hydrographical tables that Hakluyt includes express the need for accurate measurement and close observation in an effort to understand the workings of nature.<sup>9</sup> In travels to unknown or unfrequented places, scrupulous observation and recording become part of the duties of the voyage: "the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Navigation of every day and night, with the points, and observation of

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<sup>9</sup>On the importance of scientific observation and the ways of obtaining factual knowledge during the 15th and 16th centuries, see Margaret Deacon, *Scientists and the Sea 1650-1900: A Study of Marine Science* (London and New York: Academic Press, 1971), chap. 3.



the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres."<sup>10</sup> The travellers are urged to learn how to make correct use of the new scientific instruments in order to measure "the true platformes, and distances."<sup>11</sup> The accumulated data become part of the experience which is passed on from one traveller to another and which will serve a mariner in his next voyage. They are also communicated to the circle of intellectuals interested in the new discoveries. These men systematize the information and make it, in its new form, again available to travellers. They also use it to compile or correct maps, and to generate geographical hypotheses, such as the existence of a northeast and a northwest passage.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, the travellers are also encouraged to describe the environment in terms of its use, particularly of the commodities a place yields or lacks. It is significant that this is the way in which Hakluyt describes his own initiation to the study of cosmography. According to his recollections, his elder cousin showed him an "universall Mappe" and "pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their

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<sup>10</sup>"The excellent orders and instructions of Sebastian Cabot given to sir Hugh Willoughby and his Fleete in their voyage intended for Cathay," 2: 195-205 (197).

<sup>11</sup>"Necessarie notes to be observed, and followed in your discoverie," 3: 122-24 (123).

<sup>12</sup>On the collection and systematization of information, see for example John Dee's "briefe advises" to Jackman and Pet in their northeastern voyage, 1580 (3: 262-63); see also Mercator's letter of the same year written to Richard Hakluyt, in which he asks for specific information from the travellers to the Northeast (3: 275-82) as well as his "testimonie" which acknowledges the importance of the discoveries (3: 460).

speciall commodities, & particular wants."<sup>13</sup> The expedient approach to exploration is endorsed by the two Hakluyts in their notes to travellers and prospective colonizers.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the names of places remain linked with the names of their produce. What the readers learn about the Islands of the Mollucas, for example, is that they are full of "Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom . . . Dates . . . Pepper . . . and other Spices . . . Rubies, Diamonds, Balasses, Saphyres, Jacincts, and other like."<sup>15</sup> In Chancellor's "Book of Russia," the names of places are followed not by a description of their topography but by a list of their "wares and commodities";<sup>16</sup> in Harriot's *Briefe and True Report*, the description of Virginia is prefaced by an inventory of "Merchantable commodities."<sup>17</sup> For Virginia Woolf this makes the *Voyages* "not so much a book as a great bundle of commodities loosely tied together, an emporium, a lumber room strewn with ancient sacks, obsolete nautical

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<sup>13</sup>"The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Edition, 1589," 1: xvi-xxii (xvii). I have discussed other aspects of Hakluyt's initiation to geography in my Introduction.

<sup>14</sup>See for example, the extensive notes prepared by "Richard Hakluyt of Eiton" for the 1580 Pet-Jackman navigation to the northeast (3: 264-75), his instructions "for a principall English Factor at Constantinople" written in 1582 (5: 231-43), as well as the notes that he prepared for the voyagers to the northwest (7: 244-50). Hakluyt also includes a letter written by Anthony Parkhurst and addressed to Richard Hakluyt of the Middle Temple (8: 9-16), in which Parkhurst answers the specific points which Hakluyt had asked him to observe in Newfoundland.

<sup>15</sup>"The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne in the yeere 1527. in Sivil," 2: 164-81 (164-65).

<sup>16</sup>"The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553," 2: 239-78 (261).

<sup>17</sup>"A briefe and true report of the commodities aswell marchantable as others, which are to be found and raised in the countrey of Virginia, written by M. Thomas Harriot," 8: 348-86 (353).

instruments, huge bales of wool, and little bags of rubies and emeralds."<sup>18</sup>

In talking about a work of such inclusiveness as the *Voyages*, the categorization of the different tendencies that it encompasses is often the most convenient tool of analysis. In its totality, however, the book eschews strict categorization. The *Voyages* is a space where different (and sometimes conflicting) currents coexist; often an individual narrative is also such a space. The recording of scientific information in Jenkinson's account of his travels through Russia,<sup>19</sup> for example, does not displace the description of the occasional marvel or superstition but exists side by side with it. Jenkinson talks of "a great stone, to the which the barks that passed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that unlesse they did so, their barks or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie" (2: 417). Similarly, as the purposes of travel become more varied and complicated, expedient description often coexists with both descriptive topography and primitive anthropology. Harriot's *Report*, for example, does not simply see Virginia as a land full of exploitable commodities; it also sees it as a land populated by specific people, with their own customs and beliefs,

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<sup>18</sup>Virginia Woolf, "The Elizabethan Lumber Room" in *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, ed. Andrew McNeillie, vol. 4, 1925-1928 (London: Hogarth Press, 1994), 53-61 (53).

<sup>19</sup>"The first voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, from the Citie of London toward the land of Russia," 2: 413-25.

which he scrupulously records. Similarly, in his *Discoverie of Guiana*,<sup>20</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh moves from the description of the land in terms of its wealth ("In Guiana . . . al the rocks, mountains, al stones in ye plaines, woods, & by the rivers side are in effect throughshining, and seem marvelous rich," 10: 344) to a description of the landscape and the effect that it had upon him:

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautifull countrey that ever mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles, bushes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene used to a keepers call. (10: 387-88)

Raleigh's is a voyage through an alien landscape, but it is a voyage *on land*, and as such it will be the subject of my next chapter. In this chapter I want to focus on narratives which relate the experience of life on the sea, where the narrators seek to express their contact with elemental nature, and to place themselves in relation to the external world.

Regardless of the social status of the narrators of these voyages, and of the differences in the perception and articulation of their experiences, they all start by sharing the same belief: that there is

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<sup>20</sup>"The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana," 10: 338-431.

nothing more dangerous than a voyage by sea. They hold that mariners, like “no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and . . . of so many, so few grow to gray heires.”<sup>21</sup> They concede that a traveller “commits his life (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the uncertainties of many dangers.”<sup>22</sup> The dangers of the voyage are frequently contrasted to the safety and stability of home: the men who are left behind “keepe [their] owne coastes and countrey,” but the traveller will “commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea” (2: 243). Rarely does a writer express genuine delight in the experience of travel.<sup>23</sup> The world outside one’s “owne coastes” is full of uncertainty, risk, hardship and struggle with the elements--and nature is experienced as an alien, frightening, and inhospitable place. Travellers experience continuous setbacks because of “flawes of winds and terrible whirlewinds,” “thicke and misty fogges,” “contagious, evil weather” and “monstrous heapes of yce.” The “huge and mightie sea” is usually “raging” and “outragious”; the tempests are “cruell” and “terrible”; the waves are “surging mountainous”; the voyage “dangerous, miserable and chargeable with losses.” These are stock

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<sup>21</sup>Richard Hakluyt, “The Epistle Dedicatorie in the First Volume of the Second Edition, 1598,” 1: xxxiv.

<sup>22</sup>“The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Moscovia . . . Written . . . by Clement Adams,” 2: 239-70 (243).

<sup>23</sup>One of these rare exceptions is “A Letter written from Goa . . . by one Thomas Stevens an English man, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Stevens: Anno 1579,” 6: 377-85.

phrases, formulas that the narrators of the accounts--from the most stylistically elaborate to the most plain--resort to in evoking their experience. Moreover, the image of a frightful, inhospitable and unpredictable sea is reinforced by an equally frightening image of the unknown shore. The shore can subvert expectations: Stephen Parmenius describes Newfoundland as "a very wilderness";<sup>24</sup> John Davis is amazed at the first sight of Greenland which he describes as "the most deformed rockie and mountainous land that ever we saw . . . the true patterne of desolation";<sup>25</sup> Dionyse Settle is dismayed by finding in his landfall "in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of musicall birdes . . . the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of June and July."<sup>26</sup> The foreign shore can also be openly dangerous. In his voyage through Russia Anthony Jenkinson describes his fear, during a storm at sea, of falling "into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwracke";<sup>27</sup> sailors sickened and exhausted by the relentless hardships of a voyage are left on a shore "where they ended their lives

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<sup>24</sup>"A letter of the learned Hungarian Stephanus Parmenius Budeius to master Richard Hakluyt the collectour of these voyages," 8: 78-84 (82).

<sup>25</sup>"The first voyage of M. John Davis for the discovery of a Northwest passage, 1585," 7: 381-93 (384).

<sup>26</sup>"The second voyage of M. Martin Frobisher to the West and Northwest regions, in the yeere 1577," 7: 211-30 (214).

<sup>27</sup>"The voyage of M. Anthony Jenkinson through Russia, and over the Caspian sea into Persia, Anno 1561," 3: 15-38 (19).

in the highest degree of misery."<sup>28</sup> Others prefer to die at sea rather than venture on a shore where "they should eyther have perished for lacke of foode to eate, or else should themselves have beene eaten of those ravenous, bloodie, and Men-eating people."<sup>29</sup> At every turn the encounter with nature becomes an encounter with an awesome and inhuman power. In the words of one witness faced with the "wonderfull and strange workes of nature": "nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men."<sup>30</sup>

In these cases of extreme helplessness help comes from one source alone: God, who, as Nature's creator, rules it and subdues it. Thus one of the narrators refers to the "raging of the seas (whose rage God is above to rule)."<sup>31</sup> The accounts of the voyagers are full of expressions of deep faith in the role of God in their deliverance.<sup>32</sup> "It was wonderfull," writes one of the narrators, "that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of

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<sup>28</sup>"The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish . . . Written by M. John Jane," 11: 389-416 (392).

<sup>29</sup>"A true discourse of the three Voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the Northwest, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall," 7: 250-375 (335).

<sup>30</sup>"The voyage of M. John Lok to Guinea, Anno 1554," 6: 154-77 (172).

<sup>31</sup>"A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of marchants adventurers of Guinea, Anno 1561," 6: 255-57 (257).

<sup>32</sup>Louis B. Wright acknowledges that the religious feeling expressed by the travellers is undoutful and genuine in his book *Religion and Empire: The Alliance Between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 3-4. In the course of his study, however, he is principally interested in emphasizing the importance of the religious motive for colonization.

God, who never fayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him."<sup>33</sup> "Oftentimes," writes another, "when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driven one upon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the same happened at sometimes so neere unto the lighters, that they expected it would have overwhelmed them to their utter destruction: but God who had preserved them from many perils before, did also save and deliver them then."<sup>34</sup> In order to understand the relationship between man, God and nature in these narratives of discovery we can turn again to Hakluyt's "Epistle Dedicatorie" to the first edition of the *Voyages* (1589). We may remember that Hakluyt identified the two main factors that drew him to the study of cosmography as his cousin's talk of the benefit of trade, and the words of Psalm 107: "they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe" (1: xvii). In short, he discovered his vocation in a correspondence between the map and the Bible. What those who travel discover is the sovereignty of God in nature. They see and understand that "all things in heaven and on earth have been created for his glory."<sup>35</sup> This relationship finds an almost ritualistic expression in the interchangeability of the phrases "we committed

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<sup>33</sup>"The Navigation and discoverie toward the river of Ob, made by Master Steven Burrough . . . in the yere 1556," 2: 322-44 (341).

<sup>34</sup>"The voyage of Christopher Burrough into Persia the sixt time, Anno 1579," 3: 214-47 (242).

<sup>35</sup>John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 1536 edition, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (London: Collins, 1986), 15.



ourselves to the raging seas" and "we committed ourselves to the conduct of Almighty God."

The words of the Psalm appear within the *Voyages* as the testament of experience. In their unadorned expression of faith in the presence of divine Providence the voyagers unanimously acknowledge the continuous action of God in his creation. Thus they see the universe in which they voyage imbued with teleological significance. It represents a reality where nothing is left to chance: "all events are governed by God's secret plan."<sup>36</sup> This is not to suggest that this conception of the universe is only true of the voyages of discovery: on the contrary, the whole of the *Voyages*, in its attempt to promote a notion of the chosen people, subscribes to the same teleological view. My claim, however, is that because of their defining situation--a ship alone in nature--the voyages of discovery provide us with an enlarged or a heightened sense of what Max Weber describes as the "feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual" that he took to be one of the principal effects of the Calvinist doctrine on Protestant man.<sup>37</sup> In the voyages of discovery the relationship that emerges as central is less that between man and nature as that between man and God revealed *through the encounter with elemental nature*. God is, in Calvin's own words, a God who "gazes within the secrets of the heart"

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<sup>36</sup>John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (London: S. C. M. Press Ltd, 1969), 1. 16. 2.

<sup>37</sup>Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 104.

(1536 *Institutes*, 16) and who is both “a just judge” who takes “harsh vengeance upon those who have turned aside from his precepts, who have not followed his will through all things, who think, say and do things other than those that pertain to his glory” (1536 *Institutes*, 15), as well as “merciful and gentle, ready to receive the miserable and poor that flee to his mercy and put their trust in him; prepared to spare and pardon if any ask a favor of him; willing to succor and give aid, if any, ask for his help; willing to save any who put all their trust in him, and cleave to him” (1536 *Institutes*, 15).

In the two remaining sections of this chapter I will examine in detail four narratives of discovery. In each case, I will be examining, through three interrelated notions, an encounter which can, I believe, be most usefully understood in Calvinist terms. The first of these notions is the Calvinist assumption of divine order that is essential in man’s effort to deal with the apparent chaos of the universe; secondly, there is the narrative order, which the reporters themselves impose on events in their attempts to make sense of (to order) their experience; finally, there is the question of the individual’s place in all this (the question of what he makes out of what Weber calls his “unprecedented inner loneliness”), as the voyage into nature leads to a moment of crisis or epiphany, challenging or reaffirming ideas about the self.

## II. The three voyages of Martin Frobisher

The voyages of Martin Frobisher in search of a northwest passage are included in the third and final volume of Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Their structural position within the volume turns them into a continuation of Cabot's western navigations,<sup>38</sup> which led to the discovery of North America and the establishment of the Newfoundland fisheries.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, however, Frobisher's voyages provide a thematic link with the travels which are included in the first volume of the *Principal Navigations*. Both the travels to the northeast and those to the northwest sprang from the same incentive: the discovery of a quick, northern route to the Orient "for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe."<sup>40</sup> The voyages to the northeast failed to find a sea passage to Cathay but were successful in establishing trade with Muscovy. The Muscovy Company, which was formed as a consequence of these voyages, held the monopoly on all navigations and discoveries in the North and hindered the quest for a northwest passage for many

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<sup>38</sup>The voyages in search of the Northwest Passage comprise a separate section within the *Voyages* (7: 141-466). It includes the navigations of Sebastian Cabot, Sir Martin Frobisher and John Davis, which are presented chronologically; Hakluyt also includes a variety of illustrative documents such as the letters patent written to the discoverers by King Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth I, as well as Gilbert's "Discourse" on the NW Passage and the elder Hakluyt's notes to the voyagers. It is also important to note that the section includes the voyages of the Zeni brothers (the discoverers of many imaginary islands in the north) whose discoveries Frobisher "confirmed," and Dee claimed for Queen Elizabeth (see Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 171).

<sup>39</sup>*Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 44.

<sup>40</sup>"The foresaid Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the thirde volume of the *Navigations*, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot," 7: 149-50 (150).

years. Thus, whereas belief in the existence and navigability of the passage had existed from at least 1553, it was only in 1576 that Martin Frobisher finally managed to find substantial backing for his first voyage.<sup>41</sup>

Frobisher's first expedition reached the shores of Greenland in the summer of 1576; and as a "token of Christian possession"<sup>42</sup> in October 1576 he brought back to England an Eskimo with his boat, and a small black stone which he found in the new land. London gold refiners were convinced that the stone was worthless, but an Italian goldsmith claimed that it contained a substantial amount of gold. Michael Lok, who was the principal financier of the voyage conveyed this finding to the Queen in a secret letter, and although Sir Francis Walsingham replied sceptically on her behalf, news of the alleged gold ore leaked out, and people became eager to invest in a second voyage. That expedition was prepared, and the Queen was persuaded to invest in it. It was larger than the first one; and it had a different objective (not only discovery of lands but also of gold) and different complexion, since it was backed by the Court and patronised by the Queen herself.<sup>43</sup>

Frobisher's second voyage reached Baffin Island, and after three weeks of continuous mining the English laded their ships with 200 tons of ore. The fleet returned immediately to England arriving in

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<sup>41</sup> Andrews, *Trade*, 167. In my summary of the events of the Frobisher voyages I rely on Andrews, chap. 8, "Northwest with Frobisher and Davis."

<sup>42</sup> The quotation comes from Best's account of the first voyage, 7: 282.

<sup>43</sup> *Trade*, 173-75.

September 1577. An examination of the ore was ordered, but Lok and his associates delayed the proceedings for several months. Meanwhile, a new expedition was prepared, which left England in May, 1578, once again under Frobisher.<sup>44</sup> The aims of this third voyage were slightly modified. The fleet was ordered to return to England laden with ore but to leave a colony of about one hundred men at Meta Incognita, under the command of Captain Fenton, for the exploration of the interior and the search of the passage. The expedition, however, was beset with extremely bad weather; the passage through the straits was hard, and the snow and ice made the recognition of places very difficult. Frobisher discovered by mistake a different strait, but since he had responsibility for the rest of the fleet he did not pursue this discovery, but resumed mining and brought the fleet back to England in October 1578. Upon their return to London, the travellers found that the ore had proved to be worthless.<sup>45</sup> Frobisher thereupon abandoned voyages to the northwest and re-directed his energy to the South Seas. His travels north were continued by John Davis, an experienced navigator who also made three voyages to the northwest (1585-87). Hakluyt presents these expeditions after Frobisher's.

The three Frobisher voyages generated a lot of interest but publicity was not immediate. According to John Parker "the book trade ignored events at the beginning of the northwest passage enterprise,"

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<sup>44</sup>*Trade*, 175-76.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 176-78.

and it was only after the interest in the ore had begun to mount that an account of a Frobisher voyage appeared in print.<sup>46</sup> Entitled *A true reporte of the laste voyage into the West and Northwest regions*, it was written by Dionyse Settle and published by Henry Middleton, shortly after the return of the second expedition to England in 1577. It was the “first printed account on record of any of the Frobisher voyages,”<sup>47</sup> “the first book to contain English eyewitness impressions of America”<sup>48</sup> and, moreover, “the first report printed in England of an English voyage of discovery.”<sup>49</sup> Two more narratives were printed in 1578. One was an account of the third voyage written by Thomas Ellis, “sailer and one of the companie.”<sup>50</sup> The other was George Best’s *A true discourse of the late voyages of discoverie, for the finding of a passage to Cathaya, by the northweast, under the conduct of Martin Frobisher Generall*. Best accompanied Frobisher in two of the three expeditions; his was the official report of the voyages<sup>51</sup> and his narrative has been described as “the first substantial triumph of the new [travel] literature.”<sup>52</sup> Hakluyt

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<sup>46</sup>Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 69.

<sup>47</sup>V. Stefansson and E. McCaskill eds., *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, 2 vols. (London: The Argonaut Press, 1938), 2: 226.

<sup>48</sup>Parker, 70.

<sup>49</sup>G. B. Parks, “The Two Versions of Settle’s Frobisher Narrative,” *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2 (1938): 59-65 (64).

<sup>50</sup>Stefansson and McCaskill, 2: 227.

<sup>51</sup>Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, 41.

<sup>52</sup>G. B. Parks, “Tudor Travel Literature: A Brief History,” *Hakluyt Handbook*, 105.

had included accounts of Frobisher's expeditions in the 1589 edition of the *Voyages*, but the volume of 1600 was substantially more complete. It contained a separate account of each journey, in every case written by a participant in the events (Christopher Hall for 1576, Dionyse Settle for 1577, and Thomas Ellis for 1578).<sup>53</sup> It also contained Best's account of all three voyages, prefaced by a substantial part of Best's original introduction in which he had tried to prove "all partes of the World habitable" (7: 250). Hakluyt also printed supplementary material, like Gilbert's "Discourse" (which is the most important English theoretical document on the NW Passage), the views of the geographer Richard Willes, who had also confirmed the existence of the passage, and the notes that his cousin Richard Hakluyt had prepared for the explorers. With respect to material which had already been published separately Hakluyt left the text of the voyage narrative more or less unaltered but he omitted the various Dedications, the Epistles to the Reader and the poems which prefaced the separate editions.<sup>54</sup> As a consequence, he was able to offer a tight and well-documented section on the northwestern navigations. Moreover, the way in which he organized his materials,

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<sup>53</sup>Two more narratives of Frobisher's voyages were also extant, but Hakluyt did not print them in his collection. These are: (i) Michael Lok's account of the first Frobisher voyage, based on Lok's conversations with Frobisher and (ii) an account of the third voyage written by Edward Sellman. Sellman was "the notary sent by Michael Lok to report the proceedings of the expedition of 1578 to him" (Stefansson, 2: 273); his narrative is a first hand account of the voyage but much inferior to that of Ellis. Both accounts were first printed in R. Collinson's edition of the three Frobisher voyages to the Northwest. See R. Collinson ed., *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1867).

<sup>54</sup>I will be pointing out the differences between the original editions and the accounts within the *Voyages* in my subsequent discussion of the separate narratives.

slightly modified the emphasis of individual voyages. A case in point is Thomas Ellis's account of the third voyage.

## II. i.

The narrative of Thomas Ellis, entitled *A true report of the third and last voyage into Meta Incognita* was first published in 1578. The author was probably the same Thomas Ellis who appears twice elsewhere in the *Voyages*: as a captive of the Spanish Inquisition in 1570 and as a member of Raleigh's lost Virginia colony in 1587.<sup>55</sup> In its original publication the account of the voyage was surrounded by various poems in praise of Frobisher and also included a "Preface" to the reader by Ellis.<sup>56</sup> In this Preface the author gives his reasons for deciding to publish his account of the journey: the voyagers who have returned before him have not tried to communicate their experience in print and in this way, the "serious affection" of the reading public has not been satisfied (Stefansson, 2: 33). Ellis knows that the "manie learned and skilfull Gentlemen" (ibid.) who participated in the voyage will print their own recollections of the expedition--but they have not yet returned to England. Ellis, therefore, takes it upon himself "to

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<sup>55</sup>Stefansson, 2: 273.

<sup>56</sup>I have consulted the reprint of the account in Stefansson, 2: 31-51. The Preface can be found in 2: 33-34.



satisfie and answeare" the readers' "desire and expectation" and tries "with all expedition to accomplish the same, knowing, that the nature of man is always desirours of newes." The Preface lends the account a hasty air; the impression left is of catering for an audience eager for adventures and excitement. Read with the Preface, the report itself, with its emphasis on the unfavourable weather and the perils of the voyage, makes for what seems to be deliberately sensational reading. Moreover, as the critic Wayne Franklin has rightly observed, Ellis fails in his report to confirm the heroic theme which he deploys in his poems in praise of Frobisher.<sup>57</sup> However, this is an incongruity--an "irony" in Franklin's terms--which can only be felt if the reader refers back to the original publication. None of the hastiness or incongruity is evident in the *Voyages*, where, as I have said, the original prefatory material is omitted, and the narrative takes on a different significance.<sup>58</sup> The author's fascination with the weather distinguishes his report from the more elaborate accounts of Settle and Best--and the way in which he approaches his subject makes his narrative an intensely

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<sup>57</sup> Wayne Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 142.

<sup>58</sup> Hakluyt's usual practice is to revise the syntax and grammar of an account in order to make it more readable; sometimes he also omits certain words or phrases which might have been significant in the original publication but were deemed to be no longer relevant by the time the account was included in the *Voyages*. Hakluyt follows this practice with the narrative of Thomas Ellis, where he frequently changes the punctuation and syntax of a sentence, generally to good effect; he also omits the last paragraph of the original account because it refers to Ellis's poem on Frobisher which Hakluyt does not include in his collection. Otherwise, he reprints Ellis's narrative as it stands, only editing drastically an overlong paragraph in praise of Captain Fenton (see Stefansson, 2: 43). The paragraph, praising excessively the heroism of Captain Fenton and the other men who had decided to spend the winter at Meta Incognita, unwittingly lays bare the dangers that any future colonists would have to face.

personal record of a journey and one of the best illustrations within the *Voyages* of the attempt to describe the experience of travelling within an alien landscape.

Considered in relation to Best's account of the third voyage, which is admirably informative and inclusive, Ellis's narrative clearly seems incomplete. Some events which we know took place Ellis does not mention at all, and others he passes over rapidly in his eagerness to reach the next incident. Typical is his account of the start of the expedition. After a rather detailed description of the gathering of the fleet at Hartwich and its departure from England, Ellis indicates that he will "speake of our adventures and chances by the way" (7: 231): the "landing at Plimmouth" (of which no further mention is made) and the meeting with "certaine poore men" who had been robbed by pirates. Whereas Best explores the latter incident in order to paint a very favourable and humane portrait of Frobisher, Ellis makes nothing of it.<sup>59</sup> He dismisses it as a digression, "impertinent to the matter"--the "matter" being "our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blasts" (7: 232). Plainly, Ellis's subject is the voyage through nature. The image of the ships at the mercy of nature which launches the journey, shows that he makes nature, not man, the protagonist of his account. In this respect, a comparison of

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<sup>59</sup> For Best's treatment of the same episode, see 7: 325.

Ellis's and Best's treatment of their voyage after the departure from Ireland is instructive.

The expedition's first land-fall is "Frizeland," which Ellis describes as "a very hie and cragged land . . . almost cleane covered with snow" (7: 232), and its first landing is West Frisland coast, which he describes as "a place somewhat voyd of yce" (*ibid.*). Best, on the other hand, begins by associating the new land with an existing space on the map ("the General descried land, & found it to be West Frisland," 7: 326), then proceeds to record the new name of the country ("now named west England"); he is careful to note that Frobisher and the men who go on shore are "the first knowen Christians that we have true notice of, that ever set foot upon that ground," and he records the formality of taking possession of the land for the English crown. Moreover, he indicates that a discourse on the potential of the land can be found in the account of the second voyage, and finally he tries to establish that this land is a continuation of Greenland. In short, Best's account of the new country is filled with verifications and explanations.

None of this seems to interest Ellis. He reports that Frobisher went on shore "with certaine other" (7: 232) but omits the formal act of taking possession; he gives some information about the natives of the country, but rather hastily in comparison with Best; he does not mention the potential of the land for further use. The departure from this place is, for Best, an opportunity to record another act of naming ("we departed from thence . . . But first wee gave name to a high cliffe

in West England, the last that was in our sight, and for a certaine similitude we called it Charing crosse," 7: 327); Ellis, on the other hand marks the departure from Frisland by mentioning the weather: "being scarce out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist that we could not see one another" (7: 233). Indeed, the changes in the weather become for Ellis the main indices of chronology. For example, he describes the events that take place between the 5th and the 19th of July together because they are associated with a particularly heavy fog ("the fift of July there fell a hidious fogge and mist, that continued till the nineteenth of the same," 7: 236; "till the 19. day of July: at which time the fogges brake up and dispersed," 7: 237); Best, however, mentions the same events starting at the 7th of July, when the ships lost touch with one another, and ending on the 23rd when the fleet reassembled. Best mentions dates throughout his account; Ellis tends to record a date when it is associated with a change in the weather ("There fell also the same day being the 26. of July, such an horrible snow, that it lay a foot thick upon the hatches," 7: 238) or when it is associated with some danger from the surrounding ice ("the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce"; "the second of July, on which day . . . we saw so much yce," 7: 233).

A year before Ellis, Dionyse Settle, who had participated in Frobisher's second voyage,<sup>60</sup> had also been fascinated with the "monstrous and huge yce" (7: 215), which for him was "a thing both

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<sup>60</sup>"The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest regions, in the yeere 1577," 7: 211-30.

rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded" (7: 218), and he had been amazed at the coldness of the northern regions. Once again I think the comparison is instructive. Unlike Ellis's account, Settle's narrative is filled with an underlying sense of frustration. It is evident from quite early on that Settle was not prepared for what he encountered and that his attitude towards it was, to say the least, ambiguous. In many respects he was disappointed, and describes the approach to the shore of Frisland with a sort of grim humour:

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant smels of sweete gums, & pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countreys in more temperate Zones do yeeld, wee tasted the most boisterous Boreal blasts mixt with snow and haile, in the moneths of June and July, nothing inferior to our untemperate winter. (7: 214)

Elsewhere, he records the extreme weather conditions that he and the rest of the company encountered: "we tasted cold stormes, in so much that it seemed we had changed summer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooved us from that opinion" (7: 215). He repeatedly mentions "the extremity of cold, that the Countrey seemeth to be infected with all" (7: 227), he expresses doubt that the icebergs will ever melt, he refers to the "extreme winds, and furious seas" (7: 218) that any navigator to the northwest would have to encounter. As for the land itself, and its inhabitants, Settle is hardly more encouraging. The encounter with the Eskimoes had proved difficult, and Settle talks of their "fiercenesse and cruelty" (7: 221); elsewhere, he mentions that they are "crafty" (7: 222), "rude and of no capacitie to culture" (7: 228),

content only with their fishing and hunting. He describes the land as full of “rough stony mountaines” (ibid.), a place where “yce lieth, as a continuall bulwarke” (7: 214), surrounded by “many monstrous and great Islands of yce” (7: 218), a place “barren and unfertile” (7: 228) where “there is nothing fit or profitable for the use of man” (ibid.).

Dionyse Settle was a gentleman who had joined Frobisher’s second voyage out of “sheer curiosity and interest in travel.”<sup>61</sup> As his “Epistle Dedicatorie” indicates, Settle enjoyed the sponsorship of the Earl of Cumberland, one of the adventurers of the expedition.<sup>62</sup> His loyalty to Cumberland, then, may have served to temper his largely negative impressions. His narrative does display, albeit cautiously, the need to prolong hope, to offer some kind of explanation for the state of things, and to provide the audience with some affirmative statement:

Foure dayes coasting along this land, we found no signe of habitation. Little birds, whiche we judged to have lost the shore, by reason of thicke fogges which that Countrey is much subject unto, came flying into our ships, which causeth us to suppose, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and also habitable within, then the outward shore maketh shew or signification. (7: 214)

Unlike Settle, however, Ellis does not feel the need for hopeful speculation. He records the conditions around him as he experienced them and never tries to imply that things may change for the better: further voyages that will or might follow do not interest him. To a

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<sup>61</sup> Stefansson, 2: 273.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 2: 7.

greater extent than in any other narrative of the Frobisher voyages, Ellis's confronts us with an individual travelling subject. It insistently limits itself to the natural environment as it is--fogs, rocks, icebergs--and the demands it makes on the travellers. Ellis sees a landscape unlike any that he has ever seen before, and his narrative resonates with a sense of wonder and fascination. This in its turn, opens out into what may be, in effect, a religious awe that converts the encounter with nature into an encounter with divine power. Realistic representation becomes infused with metaphysical overtones. Here again, the comparison with Settle reveals a different understanding of the position of man within the landscape. In Settle's sophisticated, hopeful, playfully ironic account the need for affirmation that springs from the confrontation with what can be best described as "negative evidence"<sup>63</sup> is part of a general conception of human potential. Consider the following description of a storm:

the ship and barks . . . were forced to abide in a cruell tempest, chancing in the night, amongst and in the thickest of the yce, which was so monstrous, that even the least of a thousand had bene of force sufficient, to have shivered our ship and barks into small portions, if God (who in all necessities, hath care upon the infirmitie of man) had not provided for this our extremitie a sufficient remedie through the light of the night, whereby we might well discern to flee from such imminent dangers, which we avoyded with 14. Bourdes in one watch the space of 4 houres. If we had not incurred this danger amongst these monstrous Islands of yce, we should have lost our Generall and Master, and the most of our best sailers, which were on the shoare destitute of victuals: but by the valure of our

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<sup>63</sup>Franklin, 127.

Master Gunner, Master Jackman, and Andrew Dier, the Masters Mates, men expert both in navigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers aforerehearsed, before we would with our own safetie, runne into the seas, to the destruction of our sayd Generall, and his company. (7: 216-17)

Faced with the danger of the surrounding icebergs Settle acknowledges the active presence of God in the landscape, which manifests itself in the "light of the night"; but he also shows a firm belief in the capabilities of man himself: the heroic efforts and skill of the mariners are recognized and celebrated. It is an acknowledgement of the weakness and "infirmities" of man, that simultaneously acknowledges his strength. By contrast, Ellis's description of a storm loses much of what is, in Hakluyt's edited version, Settle's bold confidence:<sup>64</sup>

This day wee were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the first. For through the darknesse and obscuritie of the foggie mist, we were almost run on rocks and Islands before we saw them: But God (even miraculously) provided for us, opening the fogges that we might see clearely, both where and in what danger we presently were, and also the way to escape: or els without faile we had ruinously runne upon the rocks. (7: 236)

The terms of the description are almost identical: in both cases we are made aware of the hand of God protecting the travellers, lifting the

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<sup>64</sup>It is interesting to note that Hakluyt, in reprinting the account in the *Voyages*, excises the remaining part of the paragraph I have just quoted. In his usual ironic style, Settle observes, once the tempest has ended: "Behold the glorie of man, to night condemning riches, and rather looking for death than otherwise: and to morrowe devising howe to satisfie his greedie appetite with Golde." This passage can be found in the reprint of the account in Stefansson, 2: 15. Settle's capacity to affirm man's power does not exclude a certain wry awareness of the uses to which it is put.



fogs, assisting their escape. What has disappeared, however, is any reference to the active participation of man in this escape. It is man's weakness that is implied, as his escape is presented as (literally) a miracle. Ellis shows us quite early how he perceives man's situation in the world. He marks the departure from England with the phrase "committing our selves to the conducting of Almighty God" (7: 231); a while later he writes that the "matter" of his discourse is "our ships now sailing on the surging seas, sometime passing at pleasure with a wished Easterne wind, sometime hindered of our course againe by the Westerne blasts" (7: 232). These two statements designate the boundaries of human endeavour: the travellers are at the mercy of nature, but under the watchful eye of God. These boundaries become, as it were, simultaneous in Ellis's most impressive passage--the description of a storm that occurred on the 2nd of July ("the night that we put into the yce," 7: 234). I quote it in full:

At the first entring into the yce in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrow, and difficult but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce for the most part, being a league in compasse, the yce being round about us and inclosing us, as it were, within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sailes, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waves began to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere us, and comming on so fast upon us, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on us so fast, we were in great danger, looking every houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selves and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent. . . .

The storme still increased and the yce inclosed us, so that we were faine to take downe top and top mastes: for the

yce had so invironed us, that we could see neither land nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables to hang over boord for fenders, somewhat to ease the ships sides from the great and driry strokes of the yce: some with Capstan barres, some fending off with oares, some with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, some going out upon the yce to beare it off with their shoulders from the ships. But the rigorousnes of the tempest was such, and the force of the yce so great, that not onely they burst and spoyled the foresaid provision, but likewise so rased the sides of the ships, that it was pitifull to behold, and caused the hearts of many to faint.

Thus we continued all that dismall and lamentable night plunged in this perplexity, looking for instant death: but our God (who never leaveth them destitute which faithfully call upon him, although he often punisheth for amendements sake) in the morning caused the winds to cease, and the fogge which all that night lay on the face of the water to cleare: so that we might perceive about a mile from us, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an easie breath of wind which our God sent us, we bent our selves. And furthermore, hee provided better for us then we deserved or hoped for: for when we were in the foresaid cleare place, he sent us a fresh gale at West or at West Southwest, which set us cleare without all the yce. And further he added more: for he sent us so pleasant a day as the like we had not of a long time before, as after punishment consolation.

Thus we joyfull wights being at libertie, tooke in all our sailes and lay a hull, praying God for our deliverance, and stayed to gather together our Fleete. (7: 234-35)

The situation which Ellis describes can be considered typical of the early voyages of discovery, in which man is trying to break through new frontiers. It is of particular poignancy here, as the voyagers are at a critical stage in their journey: the advance through the straits will determine the outcome of Frobisher's enterprise. Ellis's description effectively dramatises the sudden and dramatic change in the landscape, where a "faire open place," a "parke," abruptly turns into a prison, and a momentary calm turns into an oppressive enclosure

before the storm breaks out in violence. The sense of imprisonment is brought about through the movement of the icebergs. At first the "yce" forms a protective boundary, which is compared to the "pales of a parke" briefly transforming the quivering watery expanse into a firmer, less frightening place. Almost at once, however, the "yce" turns into an agent of destruction, moving "fast upon" the travellers, and closing in on them. The original image of a park, the Elizabethan name for a designated hunting ground, is reversed: now it is the Englishmen who are the hunted. Ellis's language makes the reader aware of the frightening dimensions of the icebergs as well of their terrifying proximity. The "yce" steadily becomes a symbol encompassing the whole concentrated force of nature.

A significant change in the presentation of the events occurs in the third paragraph of the episode. Whereas at the beginning of the description nature seemed to possess its own volition, it is now rendered passive by the direct intervention of God, who calms the waters, quietens the winds, brings daylight upon the face of the earth, offers a breath of fresh air and eventually sends the company clear of all danger. This change, from darkness to light, from violence to calmness, has a strong primordial resonance: the travellers seem to experience for themselves the wonder of the original creation, when "the Spirit of God moved upon the waters."<sup>65</sup> In this passage God does not only

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<sup>65</sup>Genesis 1: 2. I quote from *The Geneva Bible. A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*, with an introduction by Lloyd E. Berry (Madison; Milwaukee; London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

appear as the Creator of the universe, but shows Himself as the “Everlasting Governor and Preserver” of his creatures.<sup>66</sup>

Man is placed between the fury of nature and the benevolence of God, as the middle paragraph of the episode demonstrates. Ellis evokes the terrifying proximity of the icebergs to the ships and to the bodies of the mariners, as well as the tremendous effort that they make to push off the danger. But compared to the treatment of the storm and of God’s intervention, Ellis’s account of this effort is brief, and ends abruptly in a sense of suspension. The power of the ice “caused the hearts of many to faint.” Only God saves them.

In his discussion of Ellis’s account, Wayne Franklin makes only passing reference to its persistent evocation of the role of divine Providence.<sup>67</sup> For Franklin the narrative stands as an example of the “mood of realism” discernible in the early descriptions of travel to America (123). He regards it as a reminder that even at such an early stage travellers to the Americas showed a remarkable ability to disengage themselves from the larger mythical structures with which the American landscape had already been invested. According to Franklin, Ellis’s prose is “experiential” (141), his style is “contingent” (138) and the landscape which he encounters “surrounds the author’s awareness like a ring of unignorable circumstance”: it is there; it is not to “be passed over (in deed or word)” (ibid.). In Franklin’s analysis,

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<sup>66</sup>Calvin, *Institutes*, 1. 16. 1.

<sup>67</sup>*Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers*, 135-43.

however, the insistence on Ellis's "experiential" prose disallows any serious consideration of divine Providence. It is as if Franklin regards Ellis's insistence in evoking it as no more than a convention--partly believed, partly expedient, partly rhetorical ("a good dramatic touch in his prose," 138). To support his argument Franklin brings into his discussion an illustration which accompanied the original publication of the text: a woodcut of an iceberg which Ellis encountered on the night of the storm. (The woodcut is reproduced as Plate 25 in Franklin's book.) The iceberg is drawn from four different perspectives which reveal that, even though it seemed solid all round, it proved to be hollow on one side. In Franklin's persuasive reading the woodcut provides further evidence that "the world rendered in Ellis's prose is fully dimensional, that many perspectives are required for a complete understanding of it" (140). "What is pictured," he adds, "is a process of perception, the stages by which a voyager can arrive at the truth of his experienced world" (141). This woodcut was not included in the *Voyages*, however: in Hakluyt's collection Ellis's text stands on its own, and thus forces us to pay attention to the words, the only clues to the author's "process of perception." And Ellis's words seem to tell a rather different story: far from complementing the message that Franklin draws out of the illustration, they destabilize it. To borrow one of Franklin's own terms, the passage and the woodcut placed side by side reveal an "irony" similar to the one that Franklin finds in the discrepancy between the heroic theme of Ellis's poem on Frobisher, and the absence of that theme in Ellis's narrative.

Yet another perspective is missing from Franklin's otherwise nuanced and perceptive reading, without which Ellis's "fully dimensional" world cannot be properly understood. This perspective is provided by Ellis himself. The passage quoted above contains a marked shift of tone. The prose, from attempting to be (in Franklin's term) "experiential" in the first paragraph becomes inescapably mystical in the third: the storm is no longer *described* but *interpreted*. Ellis now treats the event in terms of "punishment" and "consolation," and sees the storm as a moral blessing ("for amendment's sake"). More generally, the storm is internalized, and becomes the scene of a symbolic encounter between man and God. Thus the scene of crisis is also an affirmation of faith. Whereas the first paragraph strives towards empirical, realistic representation, the third paragraph becomes a written manifestation of faith. The tension here, momentary and unresolved, is between "experience" (in Franklin's sense) and "faith"; between the realistic perception of the world, and a perception of it that goes beyond realism. According to Calvin "carnal sense, once confronted with the power of God in the very Creation, stops there . . . But faith ought to penetrate more deeply";<sup>68</sup> in the words of one of Calvin's commentators, "where unbelievers can see only the play of natural forces or the effect of chance, believers will perceive the hand of God."<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Calvin, *Institutes*, 1. 16. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Francois Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought*, trans. Philip Mairet (London: Collins, 1965), 179.

through and through the sides of their ships, notwithstanding our former provision: for planks of timber of more then three inches thicke, and other things of greater force and bignesse, by the surging of the sea and billowe, with the yce were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seeme more then credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainely to bee proved, and that by many substantiall witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up betweene Islands of yce, a foote welneere out of the sea above their watermarke, having their knees and timbers within boord both bowed and broken therewith.

And amidst these extremes, whilest some laboured for defence of the ships, and sought to save their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to save the soule by devout prayer and meditation to the Almightye, thinking indeede by no other meanes possible then by a divine Miracle to have their deliverance: so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remayning for his best safetie.

Thus all the gallant Fleete and miserable men without hope of ever getting foorth againe, distressed with these extremities remayned here all the whole night and part of the next day. . . .

. . . And even now whilest amidst these extremities this gallant Fleete and valiant men were altogether overlaboured and forewatched, with the long and fearefull continuance of the foresayd dangers, it pleased God with his eyes of mercie to looke downe from heaven to sende them helpe in good time, giving them the next day a more favourable winde at the West Northwest, which did not onely disperse and drive foorth the yce before them, but also gave them libertie of more scope and Sea-roome, and they were by night of the same day following perceived of the other foure shippes, where (to their greatest comfort) they enjoyed againe the fellowship one of another. Some in mending the sides of their ships, some in setting up their top Mastes, and mending their sayles and tacklings; Againe, some complayning of their false Stemme borne away, some in stopping their leakes, some in recounting their dangers past, spent no small time & labour. So that I dare well avouch, there were never men more dangerously distressed, nor more mercifully by Gods providence delivered. (7: 330-33)

Whereas Ellis describes the helplessness of the individual within an overpowering nature, Best is more interested in establishing a heroic image of a resourciful and well-governed company. In this sense, if the patristic metaphor of the voyage as an image of life lies behind Ellis's storm, it is the political metaphor of the ship as a microcosm that lies behind Best's. Whereas in Ellis the ships that are "tossed and troubled" in the storm become expressive of the anxiety of man in his encounter with death, in Best the ships are the containers of an ideal community. Whereas Ellis is content to show the degree of misery that the English went through, Best, while by no means ignoring the men's misery, regards them as members of a "gallant Fleete"; for him the storm is the scene of a "greate distresse," but by the same token is an opportunity to show that Englishmen are "men of best valour." His language is decidedly figurative: he employs the grand rhetorical flourish ("having left much behinde them, thorow which they passed, and finding more before them, thorow which it was not possible to passe"; "sundry men with sundry devises"; "the mercy of the unmercifull yce"; "as in greatest distresse, men of best valour are to bee discerned") that led G. B. Parks to call his narrative "epic" in tone.<sup>70</sup> Unlike Ellis, who focuses on the storm and the presence of God in it, Best's main concern is the way in which the crews deal with the danger. Beginning with the sinking of the *Dennis*, an event which he terms a "fearful spectacle," he then shows how the men react to the possibility of a "like fortune."

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<sup>70</sup>Parks, "Tudor Travel Literature," 105.



Whereas for Ellis the sudden sinking of the *Dennis* cows the men ("this sight so abashed the whole Fleete," 7: 234) for Best it is their readiness that is the surprise. His "sundry men with sundry devises" make up an *exemplary whole*, which simultaneously acknowledges community and individualism. He distinguishes every section of the group, mainly according to the division of labour. The captains encourage their companies, the mariners and miners try to shun off the danger, the men of "milder spirit" pray for everyone's deliverance. This orderly narration, however, opens up a split between the body and the soul: "whilst some . . . sought to save their bodies, other some of more milder spirit sought to save the soule by devout prayer and meditation to the Almightye." Best's broken allusions to body and soul come in sharp contrast to Ellis's treatment of that duality, which is reduced, and even closed up, by his use of religious imagery. For Ellis the soul is never detached from the body's torment, but is in effect merged with it at the prospect of "instant death." Moreover, Best's representation of the sinking of the *Dennis*--the way, that is, in which he converts the sinking bark into an emblem of death--creates a figural distance between the narrator and the event. This distance might suggest the absence of the religious anxiety we observe in Ellis. But this is clearly not the case: the anxiety that is provoked by the confrontation with death can also be seen in Best, who insists on the "fear" that the "spectacle" creates. However, what is radically different is the way in which the narrator combats this anxiety. Whereas for Ellis the individual abandons himself to the will of God, for Best the individual

conquers anxiety by means of labour. Best concludes his description of the men's reaction with the words: "so that there was none that were either idle, or not well occupied, and he that helde himselfe in best securitie had (God knoweth) but onely bare hope remaining for his best safetie." The connection here is one between labour and deliverance: even prayer and meditation are conceived in terms of labour, not simply because they show that no member of the expedition was "idle," but also because they are the only "devises" that certain men have for saving themselves and helping the rest. The whole thrust of the description, in the duration of the storm and even after it is over, shows a group of people that are "well occupied." Not even at the moments of rejoicing, when the men "(to their greatest comfort) . . . enjoyed againe the fellowship one of another," are the men allowed to remain passive. At once they spend "no small time & labour" in "mending the sides of their ships," in "setting up their top Mastes," in "stopping the leakes," and in "mending their sayles and tacklings."

In the section which follows I will attempt to show that this correspondence between labour and deliverance that becomes apparent in the description of the storm permeates the whole of Best's account. In its attempt to come to terms with the consequences of a failed action Best's narrative would seem to bear out Max Weber's contention about the importance of wordly activity as a means of tempering religious anxiety.<sup>71</sup> It is precisely upon the notion of "worldly activity" that Best's

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<sup>71</sup>Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 112.

text puts pressure, as it seeks to achieve a definition of the virtuous life. For Best, participation in the voyages to the northwest poses a significant challenge. This, as we shall see, has a political basis but also a religious outcome. In their social formation (I mean, the social composition of the crews and the part it comes to play in the expeditions) the voyages of discovery signal a change in the established order of things. This change precipitates a crisis of conscience, and hence of identity. To make these points clear, however, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of Best's narrative and examine the context within which he locates the three Frobisher voyages.

## II. ii.

The narrative of George Best is generally considered to be the official report of Frobisher's voyages to the Northwest. Best had official status in the second and third expeditions since he accompanied Frobisher as his lieutenant. In his "Dedication" to Sir Christopher Hatton he writes that when he first decided to go to the northwest in search of Cathay he applied himself "wholy to the science of Cosmographie, & secrets of Navigation" not only to be able to understand his professional companions, but also to be able to participate actively in the discovery "and so thereby be better able to make a true reporte of al Occurents in the same voyage."<sup>72</sup> There are no clear indications as to whether the report was commissioned, but the dedication to Hatton as well as intrinsic evidence in the account suggest that it was meant for a public audience.<sup>73</sup> To understand the importance of this claim it is worth bearing in mind that when Best's *Discourse* was published, in 1578, narratives of English voyages of discovery did not commonly appear in print. The Muscovy Company, the largest organization of overseas exploration at the time, required reports of its agents, and even commissioned official accounts of certain voyages; but these were not intended for general publication, and remained in the

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<sup>72</sup>Printed in Stefansson, 1: 5-10 (5).

<sup>73</sup>On this point see Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 99, n. 43.

Company's archives. According to G. B. Parks, it was probably the publication of Dionyse Settle's journal, with its inadequate attention to issues of governmental policy, that alerted someone in authority and precipitated the publication of Best's account.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the private records of Hall, Settle and Ellis, Best's account does not simply reflect the author's eyewitness experience but synthesizes information from a variety of other sources. As a result, it is the most informative of all accounts of Frobisher's voyages. It provides a wealth of information about the expedition and the places it visited, and pays very close attention to government policy bearing on the English right of precedence to the Northwest and the Queen's titles to the new lands.

Best's account was published at a time when the level of support for Frobisher's voyages was low. By the time the third expedition had returned to England it was already apparent that the ore was worthless, and the new stones which Frobisher brought back proved no better. It seemed that Frobisher had failed on all counts: the expeditions were not only a huge financial failure, they had also failed to establish an English settlement in the new lands and to discover a passage to Cathay. Many of Frobisher's former associates joined his adversaries in holding him personally responsible for the failure of the enterprise.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, as the printer of Best's report notes, a number of "trifling Pamphlets have bin secretly thrust out, not only without the consent of

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<sup>74</sup> Parks, "The Two Versions of Settle's Frobisher Narrative," 64-65.

<sup>75</sup> See "The Abuses of Captayn Furbusher agaynst the Companye. Anno 1578," reprinted in Collinson, 359-62.

the Captaynes and executioners of the same, but also rather to the greate disgrace of the worthy voyage."<sup>76</sup> It was in this climate of negative publicity that Best wrote his report, clearly intending to put the record straight. In his "Dedication" to Sir Christopher Hatton, he writes:

And for that now the common reporte therof is so vaine and uncertaine, bycause some men rather contendyng what they are able to say, than considering what in truth they should and ought to say, whereby, by sundrie mens fantasies, sundry untruths are spred abroad, to the gret slaunder of this so honest and honorable an action: I have thought good to lay open to your honourable iudgement, the plain truth, and ful discourse of the whole service.  
(Stefansson, 1: 5)

The record of the voyages so far is fragmentary and partial; the various publications, licenced or unlicenced, as well as the men who direct their accusations personally against Frobisher, only express their own limited, subjective version of the events. As a result, the English public is not adequately informed about the voyages and the public abroad receives only "sundry untruths." Against these rumours and allegations Best opposes his all-embracing history of Frobisher's ventures. He provides an authoritative version of the expeditions, counteracting the vagueness and limited value of the other reports. His report provides a concentration of information lacking from any other narrative; it also locates for the first time the three voyages within the history of the search for the Northwest Passage, and of Europe's general

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<sup>76</sup>"The Printer to the Reader," in Stefansson, 1: 11.

expansion into the world at large.<sup>77</sup> This is one of the ways in which Best tries to pay tribute to the larger framework surrounding the voyages--to move away from immediate experience (what one is "able to say") towards historical context (what one "should and ought to say"). Best's purpose, however, is not only to enlarge the public's historical and geographical knowledge. His exposition of the various "commodities and instructions" which can be gained from a "diligent reading" of his *Discourse* (7: 250) shows that its relevance is not confined to the three voyages as such. For Best the Frobisher voyages have an exemplary value: they teach patterns of behaviour, in that they show how "a Discoverer of new Countries is to proceede in his first attempt of any Discoverie" (*ibid.*), and how "valiant Captaines use to deale upon extremitie" (7: 251) and "trustie souldiers dutifully use to serve." In this way, Best provides a variation of the distinction Sidney makes of the historian, who "wanting the precept, is so tied, not to what should be but to what is, to the particular truth of things and not to the general reason of things."<sup>78</sup> Paying attention to the "particular truth of things" Best writes a report which *includes* the "general reason of things." His *Discourse* is an effort to minimize the gap between conception and application, or meaning and practice. The result is a complex narrative with a strong political purpose, which engages with

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<sup>77</sup>On this last point see the beginning of the account (a section which Hakluyt does not print in the *Voyages*) and in particular Best's description of the expansion of the known world in terms of the liberation of man from "thraldome and restraint." See Stefansson, 1: 16.

<sup>78</sup>Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, 107.

the question of individual and society. Structured around the actions of a single individual (Sir Martin Frobisher) it offers a powerful portrayal of a modern Elizabethan hero. At the same time, understanding clearly the ways in which a given social structure comes to bear upon the individual, it suggests a criticism of Elizabethan society. More generally, it attempts to provide a prism through which the alleged failure of the Frobisher voyages can be re-focused and re-examined. Finally, in its presentation of the author's own part within the larger action, it also provides an unostentatious self-justification on his part.

Unlike the three other narratives of Frobisher's voyages to the northwest Best's account is prefaced by a long and scholarly assessment of the evidence of the existence of a Northwest Passage. There Best reviews the opinions for and against, and tries to prove that the whole earth is habitable. In this way, Best suggests from the outset that the enterprise, which started as a voyage of exploration but gradually enlarged its scope to include settlement at *Meta Incognita*, was well grounded. The link between the introductory, explanatory discourse and the narrative proper is provided by the figure of Martin Frobisher. Partly trying to refute the charge that Frobisher was a man of "obstinate ignorance,"<sup>79</sup> Best presents him as a person who is well aware of the arguments for the existence of the passage ("our Generall captaine Frobisher . . . is thorowly furnished of the knowledge of the sphere," 7:

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<sup>79</sup>See "The Abuses of Captayn Furbusher agaynst the companie," Collinson, 361.



277), who weighs them carefully before committing himself to the quest ("which thing being well considered," *ibid.*) and who is experienced enough to carry out the project ("he is thorowly furnished of . . . all other skilles appertaining to the arte of navigation, as also for the confirmation he hath of the same by many yeres experience both by sea and land"). As for his "obstinacy" Best gives it an explicitly glorious, heroic resonance: Frobisher is described as one who "determined and resolved with himselfe to go make full prooffe thereof, and to accomplish or bring true certificate of the truth, or els never to returne againe." For Best the Northwest Passage represents the last frontier, "the only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate" (7: 277-78), "a matter in oure age above all other, notable."<sup>80</sup> Best's protagonist, therefore, cannot be the rash, arrogant, ignorant, and obstinate man of the "common reporte"; on the contrary, he is knowledgeable, experienced and careful, a commander who typifies the modern ideal of putting received knowledge to the test of experience.

From the start of Best's account, however, Frobisher's purposive, exemplary action, is fully located within the various constraints that Elizabethan England places upon it. Best sustains a clear and sophisticated view of the financial framework that envelops the three voyages, first in its social, then in its ethical dimensions. Financial and ethical dimensions are connected, for the merchants and the aristocracy

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<sup>80</sup>Stefansson, 1: 5.

(the two main financial forces) represent different moral attitudes. The distinction, as Best perceives it, is one between the ethics of the merchants, who “never regard vertue without sure, certaine, and present gaines” (7: 278) and the ethics of the Court “(from whence, as from the fountaine of our Common wealth, all good causes have their chiefe increase and maintenance)” (ibid.). This distinction remains in force throughout Best’s account. A mark of the depth of this distinction is the fact that Frobisher, who had the “will” to “performe this notable voyage” but lacked the “meanes and ability to set forward,” tried vainly for fifteen years to secure mercantile investment in his scheme, while obtaining more or less immediate support from a member of the Court.

The beginnings of Frobisher’s campaign, therefore, are affected by two conflicting notions of profit. The merchants interpret expeditionary success in strictly material terms. In contrast, the aristocracy retains a more abstract and elusive notion of gain: their support of discovery includes the wish to advance virtue and the reputation of the nation. In terms of profit Best links the noblemen with the public realm, but regards merchants as a separate, self-interested, and ultimately self-absorbed group.

The merchants become active in Frobisher’s ventures at a later stage. Initially it is a Court grandee who backs Frobisher and enables him to prepare himself for his first voyage. Set within the context that I have described above the presentation of the first Frobisher voyage acquires a mythical value, as it becomes imbued with nostalgia for a distant past. Of the three, it is the only one which is thoroughly

dedicated to discovery; and its concentration on the achievements of a single individual recalls the narratives of the medieval section of the *English Voyages*, whose solitary explorers appear as Frobisher's ancestors.<sup>81</sup> Best emphasizes the smallness of the expedition which sets off from England with "two small barks" (7: 278) and "one small pinnesse" (7: 279) and which is further reduced when one of the barks is lost in a storm, and the pinnace defects, leaving Frobisher alone with a handful of men. Throughout his account Best uses the singular pronoun "he" rather than the more inclusive "they," as if to make the whole voyage, from its inception to its successful conclusion, the work of Frobisher alone. It is Frobisher who secures financial backing, who furnishes the three vessels, who persists in the face of extreme adversity "knowing that the sea at length must needs have an ending, & that some land should have a beginning that way" (7: 279), and who finally returns home triumphant. Full of delightful details of encounters with icefloats, strange lands, "mighty deere that seemed to be mankinde" (7: 280) and boats full of Eskimoes which are at first thought to be "some kinde of strange fish" (*ibid.*), the first voyage is a tale of adventure, worthy of a man who sailed "beyond any man . . . hath heretofore discovered" (7: 279).

Divorced from the pursuit of material profit, solely dedicated to the discovery and exploration of new lands, the first voyage of Martin Frobisher has the purity of an exemplary action. Best preserves this

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<sup>81</sup>On the image of the solitary explorer in the *Voyages* see chapter 1, p. 108 of this study.

purity by postponing any mention of the ore (the "blacke stone," 7: 282) until the voyage is formally over. It is only after Frobisher's London reception, "where he was highly commended of all men for his great and notable attempt" (ibid.) that Best mentions the incident of Frobisher's asking his crew to bring him from the shore "whatsoever thing they could first finde, whether it were living or dead, stocke or stone, in token of Christian possession." This turns out to be the "blacke stone." In comparison with another "pray" brought back from the North--the living marvel of an Eskimo with his boat, a "strange infidell, whose like was never seene, read, nor heard of before" (7: 282), the stone seems trivial, "a thing of no account in the judgement of the captaine at the first sight" (7: 283). Only "for novelty it was kept in respect of the place from whence it came" (ibid.). Best does his utmost to dissociate Frobisher's virtue from the discovery of the stone's commercial value. In particular he emphasizes the role of chance in the discovery: "it fortun'd," he writes, that a gentlewoman had a piece of the stone; "by chance" she threw it into the fire, where after many hours of burning "it glistered with a bright marquesset of golde" (7: 283).<sup>82</sup> The impact that it has not on Frobisher but on a section of the public is immediate: the "Goldfiners promised great matters thereof if there were any store to be found, and offered themselves to adventure

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<sup>82</sup>It might be worthwhile to mention here that with the sole exception of Queen Elizabeth this "gentlewoman" is the only female that has any bearing upon the action of the three voyages. Gender, rather than class, is what is important in this particular instance, and it is gender which gives us another clue that Best might be seeing the whole action as a trial to which the English are subjected: "fortune" and "woman" come together for the only time in the account at this most crucial juncture. From this point on the emphasis switches from discovery to gold.

for the searching of those parts from whence the same was brought” (ibid.).

The aftermath of the first voyage is crucial insofar as it marks a significant change in the original objective of the enterprise. A greater section of the public becomes interested in Frobisher’s efforts through “the hope of more of the same golde ore” (ibid.). As a result, Frobisher is “more specially directed by commission for the searching more of this golde ore then for the searching any further discovery of the passage.” At the outset, therefore, exploration and mining are set in conflict: the first, aptly illustrated in Frobisher’s voyage represents knowledge, adventure, *the heroic enterprise of movement for its own sake*; the second represents a utilitarian enterprise, movement for profit’s sake only, whose long-term consequences will become an obstacle to movement. Best is aware of this, but does not present it as an outright debasement of the enterprise. He carefully distinguishes between the uses of gold for “publike profit” and for “private gaines,” again suggesting that the concentration on “present profit” makes for bad citizenship: “Some that had great hope of the matter sought secretly to have a lease at her Majesties hands of those places, whereby to enjoy the masse of so great a publike profit unto their owne private gaines” (7: 283).

It is at this stage, that “George Best . . . Gentleman” (7: 250) embarked on the second voyage to the northwest as Frobisher’s “Lieutenant” (7: 285). Reference to his social standing and his official status is important, since both become instrumental in Best’s self-

presentation and self-justification. Best's narration of the two remaining voyages presents him as a self-constituted spokesman for the desires and aspirations of the gentlemanly party. Indeed, by shifting attention from the deeds of one man to the actions of a group, Best's remaining voyages attempt to provide an example of paradigmatic social behaviour. In his "Dedication" to Sir Christopher Hatton he claims that his aim is to demonstrate to the queen the "good . . . government" (Stefansson, 1: 6) among her subjects and makes the following observation:

For even from the beginning of the service hitherto, there hath neither passed mutinie, quarrel, or notorious fact, either to the slaunder of the men, or daunger of the voyage, although the Gentlemen, Souldiors and Marriners (whiche seldome can agree) were by companies matched together.  
(Stefansson, 1: 8)

Nevertheless, instances of mutiny and disorder are not absent from his text. As a conscientious reporter, Best records cases when the mariners "forgetting themselves" (7: 342) speak harshly of their general's "wilfull maner of proceeding" (7: 341-42) or when the crew, exhausted by the hardships of the journey, become persuaded by a pilot (a man "neither of honest duetie, manhooede, nor constancie," 7: 355) to turn back. What is interesting here, however, is not just the apparent inconsistency between the Dedication's affirmation of exemplary *behaviour* and the text's demonstration of flawed conduct. More important is Best's reference to *a change in the accustomed order of things*. In the expedition to the northwest--as indeed in any voyage of exploration

and settlement—men of highest and lowest rank who would not normally be in close association are “by companies matched together” to work towards a common goal. The “Dedication” affirms that adaptation to this new order was achieved, but the *Discourse* is much more uneasy about it. More generally, the narrative of the second voyage gives rise to a pervasive anxiety. The society which the expedition comprises replicates the order of English society in that it organises itself according to the same hierarchical structure. However, such an organization can only survive if the ideology which sustains it is preserved. Yet Best’s account of the second expedition shows that this ideology is under threat. It does so in two ways. First, Best frequently reminds us of the change of the objective of the expedition from discovery to gold; and second, he describes the consequences of this change for the gentlemen. In what follows, I will provide a brief account of Best’s presentation of the society of the expedition; then I will focus on his perception of the role of the gentlemen within it; and finally I will indicate the way in which he understands the challenge that the situation poses to the role and identity of the gentlemen.

The society that Best presents in his *Discourse* is made up of men of various professions, and it is noticeable that a man’s personal identity and his profession are integrally connected: a man is what he does. In the two remaining voyages each section of the population is exclusively connected with the performance of a particular task: each group, and each member of a group, has a specific role to play. The

gold-refiners are employed in searching for and refining the ore; the miners are occupied by digging for it; the mariners "ply," "mend," and generally take care of the ships; the master pilots prove their expertise by deliberating matters of seamanship in order to negotiate uncharted seas or steer the company clear of danger; the carpenters build boats and houses; the pastor takes care of his flock, delivers the first Christian sermon in the northwest and is zealous to convert the heathen.

Within this social structure, gentlemen and soldiers are frequently presented as members of the same group. The role of that group is rather more versatile, and usually revolves around issues of defence and leadership: its purpose is to provide for the safety of the rest and to set an example of diligent behaviour. In particular, the gentlemen are the only group exclusively associated with discovery. Whereas, for example, Frobisher takes the goldfiners ashore in order "to proove whether there were any store [of ore] to be found" (7: 291), the gentlemen accompany him in order "to discover the Inland and habitation of the people" (ibid.). This distinction operates at various points in the account and becomes a source of tension. It becomes gradually clear that whereas both the discovery of land and the discovery of gold are the objectives of the enterprise, the discovery of a gold-mine takes precedence over any further prospects of serious geographical exploration. The gentlemanly group's insistence that their association should not be side-lined, however, keeps the confrontation alive. Consider the incident in which this tension surfaces for the first time. On the 23rd of July Frobisher "with his best company of



gentlemen, souldiers and saylers" marched upon the "continent of the Southerland" (7: 297). "And so," writes Best,

in as good sort as the place suffered, we marched towards the tops of the mountaines, which were no lesse painfull in climbing then dangerous in descending, by reason of their steepnesse & yce. And having passed about five miles, by such unwieldie wayes, we returned unto our ships without sight of any people, or likelihood of habitation. Here diverse of the Gentlemen desired our Generall to suffer them to the number of twentie or thirtie persons to march up thirtie or fourtie leagues in the countrey, to the end they might discover the Inland, and doe some acceptable service for their countrey. But he not contented with the matter he sought for, and well considering the short time he had in hand, and the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present savour and returne of gaine, bent his whole indeavour only to find a Mine to fraight his ships, and to leave the rest (by Gods helpe) hereafter to be well accomplished. (7: 297-98)

Even though Best begins by talking of the "best company of gentlemen, souldiers and saylers," it is only the gentlemen who voice their desires and concerns. This turns them into a separate group. They alone do not wholly succumb to the quest for gold, and retain a firm grasp of their reasons for engaging in the venture: discovery as an "acceptable service" to their country. Part of their problem, is that after the reurn of the second expedition their country becomes less receptive to their notion of "acceptable service." The thirst for gold is now exciting the whole country: as Best puts it, "our countrey" has been swept by the "greedie desire . . . to a present savour and returne of gaine." This means that the perception of Frobisher alters: from being an "explorer"

he becomes an agent of economic activity.<sup>83</sup> The man who only a year before performed such a “notable voyage and worthy exploit” is now obliged to “bent his whole indeavour to find a Mine to fraight his ships.” Frobisher now represents the means by which his country can achieve a “returne of gaine.” This alteration in the function of the leader of the expedition entails a change in the role of the gentlemen answerable to him: they, too, have to conform to the larger wants of their country. Nor is this their only compromise. Consider the following reference to a skirmish between the natives and the travellers:

The gentlemen and souldiers had great will to encounter them ashore, but the Generall more carefull by processe of time to winne them, then wilfully at the first to spoile them, would in no wise admit that any man should put himselfe in hazard ashore, considering the matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest. (7: 313)

Even though the attempt to win the natives over by gentleness is one of the basic tenets of early English expansionist policy,<sup>84</sup> this incident shows how far the winning of friends and allies has been driven into second place. Moreover, both the above quotations show that the discovery of gold does more than inhibit a gentleman’s pursuit of “worthy” acts: it is also a challenge to his identity. For, as I have

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<sup>83</sup>For a concise and highly relevant discussion of the way in which the individual comes to be defined, “in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,” in terms of his economic function, rather than in terms of his place in a given community, see chap. 3 of Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), esp. 73-75.

<sup>84</sup>I deal with this issue in detail in the following chapter.

suggested, in Best's account desire and social standing are integrally connected, so that discovery and conquest become acts that befit a gentleman's position. Gold fever thus renders the gentlemen's participation in the last two expeditions almost superfluous. Best's account registers both his frustration and his criticism, but it is not openly subversive. The gentlemen, conforming to a sense of duty (another thing that befits a gentleman's position) try to accommodate their own desires to their country's, and try to accomplish their newly allocated tasks as best they can. Their success is handsomely acknowledged by Best:

It is not a little worth the memorie, to the commendation of the gentlemen and souldiers herein, who leaving all reputation apart, with so great willingnesse and with couragious stomackes, have themselves almost overcome in so short a time the difficultie of this so great a labour. (7: 314)

Best's narrative of the second voyage concludes with the Queen's praise of the members of the expedition for their "good order of government" and with her commendation of the fact that "every man [was] so ready in his calling" (7: 319). "Calling" is the important word here, for in his account of the third and final voyage Best explores its intermingled worldly and religious connotations. Insisting on the close relationship between a man's profession and his identity, he takes the word "calling" to signify both "station in life, rank" (*OED*) and "a strong impulse towards one course of action as the right thing to do; vocation" (*ibid.*). Both meanings are current in the sixteenth century. It is here in

particular that Weber's understanding of the protestant concept of the "calling" as "a life-task, a definite field within which to work" (*Protestant Ethic*, 79) becomes appropriate: worldly and religious connotations are combined in a word which denotes "the valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume" (*Protestant Ethic*, 80). As we shall see, this becomes central in Best's self-presentation, and in his explanation of the failure of the expedition.

To summarise the situation so far: even though Best continuously tries to affirm that the search for gold and for the North-West Passage were of equal importance during the last two voyages, he also makes it clear that in reality gold took precedence over exploration. And while he has been careful to refrain from an open condemnation of the pursuit of profit, he has nevertheless suggested that it represents a second-best, both for the gentry and for himself. Thus, the tension that emerges during the second voyage is owed to the threat that one ideology poses to another.

To grasp the further implications of this, it is necessary to invoke the perspective offered by the third voyage. After it has become clear that for a variety of reasons, including a succession of furious and unexpected storms and blizzards, the discovery of the passage will not be made, the pastor of the expedition preaches a sermon. He reminds the voyagers of "the uncertainie of mans life" and wills them "to make themselves alwayes readie as resolute men to enjoy and accept thankfully whatsoever adventure his divine Providence should

appoint" (7: 345). The word "adventure" can be taken to refer not merely to the storms and dangers to which the travellers have been exposed, but to the action of the three expeditions as a whole. As such it can be redefined as a divinely appointed trial, which the preacher urges the members of the expedition to "accept thankfully." This notion of acceptance can best be explained in relation to Calvin. In his *Institutes* Calvin urges the believers to have absolute faith in the secret counsels of God, to accept that "whatever happens to us, happy or sad, prosperous or adverse, whether it pertains to the body or the soul, comes to us from him [ . . . ] (sin only excepted, which is to be imputed to our own wickedness)" (*Institutes* 1536, 49).

This allows us to envisage Best's problem in a new way. Given that this pattern of events no longer corresponds to his values and ideals, how is he to proceed? How can he justify to himself participation in an action so remote from the aristocratic world-view he finds so congenial? It is here that the concept of the "calling," as outlined earlier, becomes fundamental.

The problem that we are confronted with here, however, is that the two notions that we have been discussing, "calling" and "acceptance," while they may be reconciled in the religious sphere (as we shall see later on in the narratives of Cavendish and Jane), are not so easily reconciled in the material world of overseas exploration, where aristocratic and mercantile motives readily come into conflict. Thus, there emerges, as I see it, an incompatibility in Best's narrative between the ideas of "calling" and "acceptance." The appropriate test of

Best's concurrence with the providential concept of acceptance is not, as he appears to think, in his accepting the voyage as a spiritual trial of the English. For a man of Best's professed faith and patriotism such acceptance is not difficult to achieve. The proper test--the testing test--would be for him to accept the inevitable ascension of the mercantile ideology which is really determining the direction of the voyage.

However he is, at certain points, unable to accept it; and it is precisely at such points that he reverts to his "calling" as a gentleman. This is what I shall attempt to explore in the final part of this section, in relation to Best's presentation of Frobisher and himself.

I shall begin with Frobisher. Among the various accusations that were levelled against Frobisher was that over three voyages he failed to find a passage to Cathay; that, unable to identify the place where he discovered the ore during his first voyage, he led the fleet to a different place, where he was primarily interested in lading his own ships with stones; finally, that through his "obstinate ignorance" he led the fleet to the wrong place in *Meta Incognita*, thereby endangering the men's lives.<sup>85</sup> I have already shown that Best variously refutes these accusations. In his account of the second voyage, for example, he suggested that Frobisher neglected the pursuit of the passage because he was constrained by financial pressure and by the commissioners' orders. Best repeatedly argued that the failure to make any further discovery was not Frobisher's fault, but a direct consequence of the

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<sup>85</sup>See "The abuses of captayn Furbusher agaynst the companye. Anno 1578," Collinson, 359-63.

financial priorities of the adventurers. As for Frobisher's entry into the Mistaken Straights, Best did not deny it, but once again turned the accusation upon itself: what the adventurers call "obstinacy" is in reality the true mark of a heroic mind. Frobisher did not proceed into the Mistaken Straits through ignorance: "with the first perchance he found out the error . . . that this was not the olde straights" (7: 335); on the contrary he saw it as his opportunity to pursue "further discoverie." "I suppose," writes Best, "he rather dissembled his opinion therein then otherwise, meaning by that policie (being himselfe led with an *honourable desire of further discoverie*) to induce the Fleete to follow him, to see a further prooffe of that place" (7: 335-36, my emphasis). Thus, dissimulation is the only way left to Frobisher to rid himself of the financial constraints that encumber him and to perform the "only thing of the world that was left yet undone, whereby a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate" (7: 277-78). Once again, Best claims that it is the sheer financial pressure upon Frobisher, restricting and inhibiting the scope of his initiatives, that is ultimately responsible for his alleged failure:

And as some of the companie reported, he hath since confessed that if it had not bene for the charge and care he had of the Fleete and fraughted ships, he both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to find to the rich countrey of Cataya. (7: 336)

To go on to Best: as a participant in the events that he narrates, Best also provides justification for his own actions. He draws attention

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To go on to Best: as a participant in the events that he narrates, Best also provides justification for his own actions. He draws attention



to himself (even though he refers to himself in the third person) in one episode during the final voyage. Best decides as the captain of the *Anne Francis* but contrary to his fellow-mariners' admonitions, to look for Frobisher and the other men who have been lost during a storm. In this episode, the concepts of "acceptance" and "calling," to which I have drawn attention, come into friction. So far, Best has demonstrated his "acceptance": he has subsumed his own preferences to the financial priorities of the journey. He is a gentleman who, "leaving all reputation apart," has dug for the ore. Despite his "great will to encounter [the natives] ashore" he has conformed to Frobisher's undertaking that the "matter he now intended was for the Ore, and not for the Conquest" (7: 313). Even in the separate journey that he now undertakes to find his lost comrades, he does not rule out the discovery of a gold-mine--in the hope, he says ironically, "that it might reasonably suffice all the golde-gluttons of the world" (7: 355). But in all other respects, Best's separate voyage constitutes a pronounced move away from the adventurers' commands and towards his own predilections. It becomes the space in which he attempts to act according to his inward values, that is to say, to his "calling" dictated to him by his position in the world.

Leading an expedition which is beset with trouble, faced at every turn with the possibility of death, becoming painfully aware of the "uncertainetie of mans life," Best's separate voyage is a bold move into freedom, which demonstrates, in Weber's words, that "the only way of living acceptably to God was . . . solely through the fulfilment of the

obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world" (*Protestant Ethic*, 80). For Best, these "obligations" are connected with his understanding of his status as a "gentleman." He regards the undertaking of the voyage to find his lost general as a matter of honour:

hee resolved rather to fall into any danger, then so shamefully to consent to returne home, protesting that it should never bee spoken of him, that hee would ever returne without doing his endeavour to finde the Fleete, and knowe the certaintie of the Generals safetie. (7: 353)

His journey is a revolt against the commonsensical authority of gold-digging in the name of his gentlemanly nature. The separate voyage is a re-enactment, in a smaller scale, of Frobisher's first voyage to the northwest. It might be worth recalling here that Best presented *that* voyage as an exemplary action; his own separate voyage is an attempt to perform this ideal for himself. There are other correspondences between Frobisher's first voyage and Best's separate journey. He too sails off with a handful of men (just eighteen); like Frobisher, who sailed to the northwest to "make full prooffe" (7: 277) of the existence of the passage and to "bring true certificate of the truth, or els never to returne againe" (*ibid.*), he too "determined to depart up the streights, to proove and make tryall, as before was pretended" (7: 357). Such correspondences, create a strong link between the two men, and justify Best's status not only as Frobisher's lieutenant but as a co-leader in the venture.

It is not just the discovery of hitherto unknown territories that Best attempts in his voyage; he also tries to “conquer,” and thus to realise the other objective that he and his fellow gentlemen have long been deferring. At some point during the voyage, Best and his crew discover an English flag in a secluded spot. Believing that the flag had been stolen by the natives to be used “for a policie, to bring them . . . within their danger” (7: 359), at first the men are apprehensive, but they soon decide to confront the natives and recover it:

Whereupon the sayd Captaine with his companies,  
resolved to recover the same ensigne, if it were so, from  
those base people, or els to lose their lives, and all together.  
(7: 359-60)

In the sentiments that it professes this resolution signals another uncompromising break from the decrees of the merchants, whose repudiation of adventure was earlier sloganised as “for the Ore, and not for the Conquest” (7: 313). As it turns out Best’s reckless gallantry proves redundant: the flag turns out not to have been stolen. It is a sign that their lost comrades are alive, and “conquest” turns into reunion. Significantly, the reunited party applies itself immediately to the search for new mines, in an attempt to satisfy the adventurers’ hopes. This isolated episode, however, in which discovery and conquest are momentarily prioritised represents a crisis of conscience. It reveals the tension between Best’s “acceptance” of his lot and his “calling” to another.

Frobisher's failure meant that it was not until 1585, a good seven years later, that another attempt to find the Northwest passage was launched, this time by John Davis. According to John Jane, the principal chronicler of Davis's voyages to the northwest, the search of the passage had been "unhappily given over by accidents unlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose."<sup>86</sup> Davis was instrumental in reviving interest in the discovery of a quick route to the fabled wealth of the Orient; in the three years from 1585 to 1587, he made three successive voyages to the northwest, gradually advancing the geographical knowledge of the area. It was Davis's desire to pursue the discovery of the passage from its alleged western entrance, off the coast of California, that made him join Thomas Cavendish in the 1591-92 circumnavigation. It is to this voyage that I now turn.

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<sup>86</sup>"The first voyage of M. John Davis, undertaken in June 1585. for the discoverie of the North-west passage, Written by M. John Janes," 7: 381-93 (381).

### III. The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish

The last voyage of Thomas Cavendish is the final account of a journey by an Englishman in Hakluyt's *Voyages*.<sup>87</sup> The word "last" in the title acquires here an added poignancy: in the *Voyages* it is often used in the sense of "latest," in order to denote the most recent attempt in an on-going process. Here, however, it suggests finality: this is the last earthly voyage of Thomas Cavendish, who never returned from the South Seas.

Thomas Cavendish set off from England for the Southern Pacific on August 26, 1591.<sup>88</sup> His intention was to complete the circumnavigation of the globe for the second time (his first, successful, attempt had been the voyage of 1586-88), and to inflict some serious harm on the Spanish possessions in the New World. Cavendish had also enlisted the services of John Davis, one of the most experienced of Elizabethan navigators and Frobisher's successor as explorer of the Northwest. (According to Davis, he had embarked on the understanding that the two men would part company off the coast of California to enable him to explore the Northwest Passage from its hypothetical western entrance.) The voyage, however, did not go as

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<sup>87</sup>"The last voyage of M. Thomas Candish intended for the South sea, the Philippinas, and the coast of China, with three tall ships, and two barks, begun 1591," 11: 389-416.

<sup>88</sup>In my summary of the events of the voyage I rely on Philip Edwards, ed., *Last Voyages*, 23-27.

planned. An inexplicably long delay at Santos, in Brazil, seriously impoverished the provisions of the fleet and also meant that the English started for the straits of Magellan very late in the year. There they were beset by extremely bad weather. One of the ships gave up the voyage and returned to England; opinion among the others was divided. Cavendish wanted to turn back and go towards the East Indies via the Cape of Good Hope; the rest of the crew wanted to return to Brazil and try to replenish themselves there. The decision was finally taken to return to Brazil, but on the night of May 20, 1592 the ships lost touch with one another. Cavendish never regained contact with the other ships. It is presumed that he died at sea, for when his ship returned to England in February 1593, it was carrying a sealed package which contained Cavendish's will and his account of the journey, written in the form of a letter to his friend Tristram Gorges. In this letter Cavendish accused Davis of deserting him and put all the blame for the failure of the expedition on Davis's alleged treachery.

Meanwhile, Davis had spent a long time waiting for Cavendish at Port Desire; when he and his company realised that there was no hope of meeting with their General they set off for England. After a gruelling journey, they reached Bearhaven in Ireland, heavily depleted in numbers. When Davis finally returned to London he was confronted with a public inquest. He appears to have vindicated himself successfully, even though no record of the interrogation survives.

Cavendish's own account of the voyage was known to Hakluyt but it was not included in the 1598-1600 edition of the *Voyages*.

Together with the rest of Hakluyt's papers it passed on to Samuel Purchas who published the narrative himself, after Hakluyt's death, in the 1625 edition of the *Pilgrimes*. In the *English Voyages* Cavendish's last journey is narrated by John Jane, "a man of good observation, imployed in the same, and many other voyages" (11: 389). The exclusion of Cavendish's account from the *Voyages* can be seen as a deviation from Hakluyt's professed practice. In dedicating the third volume of the second edition to Sir Robert Cecil, Hakluyt writes: "if I finde one voyage well written by two severall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those journals, as finding divers things of good moment observed in the one, which are quite omitted in the other . . . Plus vident oculi, quam oculus."<sup>89</sup> Hakluyt adds that he follows this course "very seldome and sparingly" (1: lxxvi); but multiple testimonies of a voyage are not uncommon in the third volume of the *Voyages*. In the section of the northwestern navigations, for example, Hakluyt supplements the separate narratives of the three voyages of Martin Frobisher with Best's *Discourse*: in this way he throws additional light on each journey and also clarifies most of the questions that arise either from a reading of the accounts themselves, or from knowledge of the contemporary controversies. He follows a similar course with the northwestern navigations of John Davis. In this case also, Hakluyt includes a separate narrative for each individual journey as well as considerable additional material: he prints Davis's

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<sup>89</sup>"The Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Robert Cecil, in the Third Volume of the Second Edition, 1600," 1: lxxiv-lxxx (lxxvi).

own traverse book in order to complement the account of the third voyage written by John Jane; he includes the testimony of one of the passengers who provides information about a smaller reconaissance expedition undertaken during the second voyage; and he closes the whole section with Davis's summary of the three voyages, taken from his book *The World's Hydrographical Description*.

Yet a similar plurality of voices is absent from the record of Cavendish's journey. Instead, Hakluyt includes the account of a third party, a man who was not directly involved in the controversy between Davis and Cavendish. The account, however, is hardly the testimony of a neutral observer. Jane makes his allegiance to John Davis clear from the start when he presents himself as a friend of Davis, "with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage" (11: 389). His role in the account confirms this allegiance. John Jane appears in person only in four scenes in the entire narrative, and he expresses his personal feelings in only one of them. In the other three he appears in relation to Davis--as a person who is there to witness Davis's words and actions, to assist Davis in times of misfortune and to provide Davis with a confidant. Thus, we are confronted with a paradox: the protagonist of "The last voyage of Thomas Cavendish" is not Cavendish himself but John Davis. Thomas Cavendish, hero of the circumnavigation, whose glorious adventures had themselves been told only a few pages earlier in the volume, disappears quite early on in the voyage and is never heard of again in Hakluyt's collection.



It is in an attempt to understand this sudden disappearance and its meaning for the structure of the *English Voyages* that in the following section I will break with my usual practice and examine the story of a journey that could not find a place in Hakluyt's monumental collection. I must make clear at the outset that not enough evidence survives to determine the reasons for the absence of Cavendish's narrative from the *Voyages*, and that accordingly scholarship is ambiguous. D. B. Quinn appears to put the matter succinctly when he writes:

Hakluyt . . . was connected by marriage with Thomas Cavendish and obtained much material, very rapidly, on the circumnavigation . . . He was also in a good position to acquire materials on the Last Voyage: he was, for example, able to publish John Jane's pro-Davis narrative in 1600, and he may have already had (and withheld out of delicacy) the copy of the Cavendish manuscript which he passed on to Purchas, though of course he may equally well have acquired it after 1600.<sup>90</sup>

However, Quinn makes this statement in an appendix towards the end of his edition of Cavendish's last voyage. In fact, he leaves rather less room for doubt at the beginning of his book, where he appears to suggest that Cavendish's account was not available to Hakluyt at the time that the second edition of the *Voyages* went to press. In a footnote on the publishing history of the narrative, Quinn writes: "Richard Hakluyt acquired a copy, presumably after he had published *The*

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<sup>90</sup>D. B. Quinn, ed. *The Last Voyage of Thomas Cavendish 1591-1592* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 151-55.

*principal navigations, voiages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*, 3 vols. (1598-1600), which was seen by Samuel Purchas before he published the second edition of his *Pilgrimage* in 1614" (*Last Voyage*, 1, n. 2). With equal plausibility Philip Edwards implies in his edition of Cavendish's voyage, that its absence from the *Voyages* was a matter of deliberate choice: "Purchas's contents list indicates that he had the manuscript from Hakluyt, who presumably had decided not to print it in the 1598-1600 edition of his collection of voyages" (*Last Voyages*, 27). What this opens up of course is the question of a given author's or editor's intentions, which in this case we do not have the information required to resolve.

In the section that follows I will examine the two narratives side by side with a view to exploring what Cavendish's version, the one that is not included in the *Voyages*, tells us about Jane's, the one that is. For although it cannot be proved that Hakluyt made a choice, what we can do, I believe, is to investigate the grounds on which such a choice might have been made. The fact that these grounds are very much in keeping with what I have called the objective structure of the *English Voyages*, lends plausibility to such an investigation.

There are three related points I wish to make about the account of Thomas Cavendish. The first is made by both Quinn and Edwards; that one of the most conspicuous characteristics of Cavendish's account

is his tendency, in a crisis, to deny responsibility, or to palm it off to others.<sup>91</sup>

My second point is equally important, and should complicate the way in which we see the first. When we read Cavendish's narrative, we are immediately aware of his obsession with *performance*: the term is his, and he uses it to designate a kind of successful action, preferably heroic, which establishes or confirms a man's reputation. This is clearly a very typical Renaissance-humanist idea, originally derived from Aristotle, and variously present in writers from Castiglione and Sidney to Machiavelli.<sup>92</sup> Equally pervasive, however, though more indirectly so, is Cavendish's concern with the antithesis of heroic performance--the "vile," "wilfull" or "base" (the words are Cavendish's) species of *unsuccessful* action, which in one sense perhaps is no action at all. I will use the term travesty to denote this. It is Cavendish's obsession with the threat of travesty, which partly lies behind his obsession with performance. It is at this point that the denial of responsibility mentioned above becomes complicated; for it is at moments when travesty threatens that Cavendish tends to deny and to defer responsibility.

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<sup>91</sup>Quinn, 2; Edwards, 29.

<sup>92</sup>"The ending end of all earthly learning [is] virtuous action," writes Sidney in the *Apology*(104). He is echoing Aristotle's insistence, at the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, that the real purpose of moral education is "action, not knowledge," Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans., with Introduction and Notes, by Terence Irwin (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1985), 1.3. For a detailed discussion of Aristotle's theory of virtuous action see Alasdair MacIntyre's *After Virtue*, which I draw on in the Introduction to this thesis and again in chapter four.

My third point concerns the extreme context, as it were, in which these questions of responsibility and action arise--that is, when Cavendish and his crew are confronted by death. Death represents the "ending end" (to adapt Sidney's words) of all earthly action. The irony for Cavendish is that his death appears to become the one action to which he can adequately rise--a Hamlet-like resolution to the Hamlet-like question that he puts to himself in his narrative: "to perform or die."<sup>93</sup>

### III. i.

For when acting is up to us, so is not acting, and when No is up to us, so is Yes. Hence if acting, when it is fine, is up to us, then not acting, when it is shameful, is also up to us; and if not acting, when it is fine, is up to us, then acting, when it is shameful, is also up to us. Hence if doing, and likewise not doing, fine or shameful actions is up to us; and if, as we saw [doing or not doing them] is [what it is] to be a good or bad person; then it follows that being decent or base is up to us.

Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 3.41

The first instance of death that Cavendish records in his narrative is the massacre of twenty-five of his men in an ambush set by the Portuguese, near Santos in Brazil. Cavendish fails to mention an

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<sup>93</sup>"Master Thomas Cavendish his discourse of his fatal and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea," Edwards, *Last Voyages*, 55-80 (75). All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.

earlier incident, in which a number of sick and exhausted men from his ship the *Galleon Leicester*, were put on shore and left to die. This event is mentioned both by John Jane (who writes: "all the sicke men in the Galeon were most uncharitably put a shore into the woods in the snowe, raine, and cold, when men of good health could skarcely indure it, where they ended their lives in the highest degree of misery," 11: 392) and by Anthony Knivet, another participant in the voyage, who himself narrowly escaped the same fate: "the General would have set me on shore, but Captain Cocke entreated for me; so I remained in the ship."<sup>94</sup> As it turned out, Knivet was abandoned on the coast of Brazil later in the voyage. After ten years of extraordinary adventures, he managed to return to England, where he put his recollections of the voyage in writing, probably at Hakluyt's request (Edwards, 32). Even though there is a temporal distance of nearly seven or eight years between the writing of the account and the events that it narrates, Knivet's recollections surprise the reader with their vividness and "phenomenal detail" (Edwards, 35). Moreover, his is the only other testimony we have that provides additional evidence for part of Cavendish's voyage. It might be productive, then, to interpolate Knivet's recollection of the massacre in Santos with Cavendish's, if only to highlight how Cavendish chooses to record the episode.

One of the main objectives of Cavendish's 1591-92 expedition

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<sup>94</sup>"The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Anthony Knivet, which went with master Thomas Candish in his second voyage to the South Sea," Edwards, *Last Voyages*, 80-96 (90).

was to inflict serious harm on the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the New World, by raiding their towns and settlements.<sup>95</sup> His attempt to capture the town of Santos in December 1591 was only partly successful. The English took the town, but most of the fresh victuals (the main reason for Cavendish's action) were carried away by the natives. As a result the English left Santos in a worse state than they arrived ("wee departed out of the towne through extreeme want of victuall, not being able any longer to live there").<sup>96</sup> A few days after the fatal separation of 20 May, 1592 Cavendish's ship found herself near Santos again. The English had, by this stage, endured great hardship and the state of their provisions was desperate. Descrying a sugar-mill not far from the spot where the ship had anchored, some of the gentlemen asked Cavendish for permission to go on shore, raid the mill and bring back victuals for the rest of the company. Cavendish gave them clear instructions as to how to proceed; the gentlemen went on shore, followed his orders, and soon returned unharmed, carrying a store of provisions.

Immediately after this example of orderly behaviour Cavendish records the incident resulting in the death of twenty-five of his men. According to him, a native known to him from his previous voyage came aboard with news of a rich Portuguese farmhouse which the English could plunder and asked Cavendish to allow some of his men

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<sup>95</sup>Quinn, 20.

<sup>96</sup>John Jane, 11: 390.

to accompany him to the farmhouse. Captain Barker, one of Cavendish's aides "whom [he] most trusted in the conduction of men" (63) was appointed to take about thirty men ashore with him. Cavendish asked Barker "not to stay but to come presently away, finding anything or nothing." The men departed early in the morning and some time later they sent back a boat with "guinea wheat and six hens and a small hog." The paucity of the consignment infuriated Cavendish, who ordered the men to come back, but none obeyed. Cavendish heard nothing of them until the next morning when he saw an Indian who "came down to the sea side and waved unto the ship." Cavendish quickly ordered a raft to be made ("for boat we had none"). When the Indian came aboard, Cavendish found him wounded and learnt that the English had been killed in an ambush set by the Indians and the Portuguese. On further inquiry as to why the men had stayed so long on shore he discovered that "some were unwilling to come, and the rest did nothing else but eat hens and hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard" (64). "I leave you to judge," writes Cavendish to his friend Tristram Gorges,

in what grief I was in, to see twenty-five of my principal men thus basely and wilfully cast away; but I leave you to enquire of others the practices of these men, lest in writing unto you it should be thought I did it of malice, which I protest is far from me, they being now dead and myself looking imminently to follow them. (ibid.)

The style that Cavendish adopts here is one of intimate, tentative self-justification. Moreover, he had appointed what he calls "others" of whom he intended Gorges to enquire. At the beginning of his account he writes to Gorges: "I have appointed some of the most sensiblest men that I left behind me to make discourse unto you" (55). The only "other" "discourse," however, that has survived to *our* day is that of Anthony Knivet--a man who was *not* "appointed" by Thomas Cavendish. And Knivet's recollection of the episode differs from Cavendish's in one important respect--the availability of boats.<sup>97</sup> Whereas Cavendish states that he had no boat with which to find out what was happening on shore, Knivet implies that Cavendish indeed had one, captured by the men at the sugar mill, which he could have used. Moreover, whereas Cavendish writes that he made a raft in order to help the wounded Indian to come aboard, Knivet writes that "this Indian swam aboard unto us upon a log, and told us that all our men were slain" (92). There is a serious discrepancy here, which casts a different light upon Cavendish's presentation of himself and of his company, and illustrates his practice, which we have already noted, of passing off responsibility to others. In the words quoted above, Cavendish refers to the "practices of these men," which must refer to the disobedience of his men in their unwillingness to return aboard. The case is less clear when he observes "lest in writing unto you it should be thought I did it of malice." In the light of Knivet's

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<sup>97</sup>On this point see Edwards, 92, n. 55; Quinn, 74, n. 2.



recollection, this might betray Cavendish's subliminal awareness of his own responsibility, for having subsequently abandoned the men on shore. His presentation of them as "base" and "wilfull," gratifying themselves in the most carnal way--they did "nothing else but eat hens and hogs"--is clearly intended to justify Cavendish. But what is perhaps most remarkable of all is the poise of the verb "cast away": "twenty-five of my principal men thus basely and wilfully cast away." Whether or not the men are base and wilfull, who is responsible for casting them away? The subject of the verb is elided, so that here in the very text itself Cavendish defers responsibility--actually and gramatically. Most significant of all, this deferral of responsibility occurs at precisely the point at which the opportunity for "heroic" action--taking revenge on the Portuguese by raiding one of their settlements--is converted into what I have called "travesty": an unsuccessful action threatening to become a mockery of action. Cavendish presents a similarly un-heroic image of his company in the next massacre he records, when the word "wilfully" reappears in connection with the deaths of his men, and when another frustrated attempt at revenge on the enemy is recorded.

After they have been let down by a Portuguese who offered to pilot the English ships to Espirito Santo but misguidedly led them to a harbour with shoal water, the Englishmen notice three ships at anchor not far from the town. The ships turn out to be rich Portuguese carracks and the men rejoice at the prospect of plunder. Cavendish suggests that they attack the carracks immediately, before the Portuguese have time to organize their defence; his crew, however, prefer to wait until the

morning. Cavendish insists that they either attack immediately or not at all, but the men are not convinced and there is no action that night. The next morning, while Cavendish is preparing to sail away, some of his company implore him "with tears in their eyes" to let them try to capture the Portuguese ships, adding that "to depart without attempting to do this was a thing that most greatly grieved them" (69). Cavendish weighs the situation and, concluding that "if they landed not, they could receive no prejudice," he finally gives his consent. He puts Captain Morgan in charge of eighty men and makes it clear that the party is not to land but simply to attempt a reconnaissance expedition. By this stage, the Portuguese have taken their precautions and have fortified the narrow channel through which the English have to pass. Morgan soon realizes that the place was "very narrow and that they could not well pass it without danger" (70); he reminds the men of Cavendish's admonitions and suggests that they turn back. At this, some "harebrain sailors" (ibid.) accuse him of cowardice and dare him to land. Morgan's pride is touched and he decides to proceed. From that moment on, death awaits the Englishmen at every turn.

The first to die is Morgan himself. Incensed at the sailors' provocations, "Captain Morgan (more resolute than discreetly) scaled the wall and ten more with him which went out of the boat together. Then the Indians and the Portingales showed themselves, and with great stones from over the trench killed Morgan and five more" (ibid.). Some of the men who have landed are left to fend for themselves when their fellow countrymen desert them: Cavendish writes that the

master of the *Roebucke* ("a most cowardly villain that ever was born of a woman," 71) rowed the only boat away, leaving the men destitute in the hands of the enemy. Some others find themselves in an open place, where "they could not escape killing with stones" (72). All in all, twenty-five men are killed, and the rest are mortally wounded. All of them, writes Cavendish, were "thus wilfully and indiscreetly spoiled" (ibid.). Finally, he transmits the explanation for all these deaths as it was related to him by some of the men who managed to escape:

I demanding of them the cause of all their mishaps, and how they durst land, considering my strait commandment to the contrary, they answered me that there was no fault in Captain Morgan, but the greatest occasion of all this spoil unto them happened upon a controversy between the captain and those soldiers that landed with him and were killed at the fort; for their ill speeches and urging of Captain Morgan was the cause that he landed contrary to my commandment, and upon such a place as they all confessed forty men were sufficient to spoil five hundred. (ibid.)

Once more, therefore, Cavendish presents a situation in which the opportunity to take revenge upon the Portuguese, the opportunity for heroic action, is frustrated, not so much by the enemy but by the behaviour of the men under his command. He presents, once again, an image of himself as the leader of an unruly, decidedly un-heroic crowd --a company of men who act without thinking and who, accordingly, bring death and destruction on themselves as well as on others. And yet again, Cavendish absolves himself from all blame, by suggesting that there was nothing that he could have done to prevent such an outcome. He creates a gulf between his men and himself, between

"them" and "I," and in effect turns them into the enemy. It is they that bring the misfortune upon him, much more than the Portugusese who, in both cases, are only able to inflict harm upon the English because of the unheroic behaviour of the crew.

It is in contrast to deaths like these--"vile," "base," "wilful," "undiscreet"--that Cavendish wants to shape his own death. Throughout the account Cavendish insists on his allofness from his "abject minded and mutinous company" (56). The story of the voyage becomes a narrative of conflict in the course of which any contact between himself and his men becomes increasingly remote. It is against such wretched forms of death, or wretched forms of living amounting to death, that he erects the following statement:

I . . . telled them that although we had many mishaps fallen upon us, yet I hoped that their minds would not in such sort be overcome with any of these misfortunes that they would go about to undertake any base or disordered course; but that they would cheerfully go forward to attempt either to make themselves famous in resolutely dying, or in living to perform that which will be to their perpetual reputations. And telled them the more we attempted, being in so weak a case, the more (if we performed) would be to our honours. But contrariwise, if we died in attempting, we did but that which we came for, which was either to perform or die. (74-75)

"To perform or die": for Thomas Cavendish these are the only alternatives available to voyagers--or, in his equally stark formulation "that which we came for." Travel brings with it the possibility of "performance," and performance is interpreted as glorious action--as the kind of action that confers reputation. Reputation is something that

begins in life and carries on after death ("in living to perform that which will be to their perpetual reputations"), or else something that is purely posthumous ("famous in resolutely dying"): but in either case it depends on one's being remembered by the living and is thus firmly rooted in this world. To return homewards at this stage is interpreted by Cavendish as a "base and disordered course"--like the slackness and disorder that the men exhibit and the baseness of the deaths that they "wilfully" bring upon themselves. The men who have died already have not "performed": they may have "died in attempting" but it was not the right kind of attempt, for what it did was to convert "performance" into "travesty."

If part of the tension that informs Cavendish's self-presentation stems from the irreconcilability of his perception of his men's identity and the construction of his own self-image, another part is owed to his revolt against what he perceives to be his fate. Like most voyagers Cavendish sees the overall pattern of his journey as ultimately shaped by God. His remark on the separation of 20 May is as follows: "This is God's will, that I should put him [i.e. Davis] in trust that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action" (62). Such a phrase goes well beyond the passing of responsibility from himself to John Davis: it somehow recognizes Davis as the instrument of God's inexorable purposes. Similarly, the "fortune" which he describes as "never ceasing to lay her greatest adversities upon me" (77) is an expression of the self-same providential pattern--the one which prevents him from reaching Santa Elena due to contrary winds even

though he is very close to it ("had the wind favoured us . . . we had found the island. But it was not God's will so great a blessing should befall me," 78), or that makes it impossible for him to fulfil his ultimate ambition ("I desired nothing more than to attempt that course, rather desiring to die in going forward than basely in returning backward again. But God would not suffer me to die so happy a man, although I sought all the ways I could still to attempt to perform somewhat," 77). The growing realization here is that what Cavendish is to be denied is more than a heroic death in action. At the time of writing he is on his way back to England; his sailors' wishes have prevailed; and a great voyage has become a "base and disordered course." His final, desperate attempt to find a small island and there to commit suicide has also failed: "I sought it with all diligence, meaning if I had found it to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered no such happiness to light upon me, for I could by no means find it; so as I was forced to go towards England" (79). It is not death, therefore, but survival that has been decreed for him--yet an "infamous and beggarly" (75) survival. Thus we are confronted here with what could be described as the secularization of despair, wherein the individual's sense of what Weber calls the "unprecedented inner loneliness of the single individual"--that is to say, the gap between himself and God--results not in the expected obsession with the after-life ("the question, Am I one of the elect?"), but rather in a *desperate* fixation with worldly

reputation.<sup>98</sup> Cavendish's narrative, then, becomes the space within which he fashions a death for himself, a death which is, in its own way, every inch as "wilfull" (as hostile to authority, the authority of fate) as the death of his mariners, since it seems to be brought upon himself by himself.

Nevertheless, given our definition of travesty as an action which fails to secure for the actor the glory for which the action was originally undertaken, Cavendish's death is also a travesty. It makes a mockery of performance, and effects the very thing that he had sought at all costs to avoid. For even as his narrative hints at his death, it also masks it by a self-presentation that is deliberately ambiguous. For instance, Cavendish makes repeated reference to his exhausted state, as when he writes: "I am grown so weak and faint as I am scarce able to hold the pen in my hand" (77), or "I protest I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand" (80). This leads Edwards to comment that "it is for the reader to judge whether the voice we hear in the narrative is the voice of a dying man or of a man determined to die" (Edwards, 29). What Edwards is responding to is, in my terms, the hollowness at the core of the performance, the fact that Cavendish is suspended within his own narrative between action and inaction, that is to say, between action and travesty.

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<sup>98</sup>"For us the decisive problem is: How was this doctrine borne in an age to which the after-life was not only more important, but in many ways also more certain, than all the interests of life in this world? The question, Am I one of the elect? must sooner or later have arisen for every believer and have forced all other interests in the background" (*The Protestant Ethic*, 109-110). The remarkable thing about Cavendish is just this "wilfull" willingness even in the midst of his despair to put "the interests of life in this world" over the interests of the "after-life."

Cavendish's recording of his own end is "the final act of defiance of a defeated leader" (Edwards, 29). To this, John Jane counterposes a narrative that is build around a very different principle: that of endurance and perseverance. Against Cavendish's embittered reaction to his fate and his "wilfull" death, Jane preaches the acceptance of failure as a recognition of God's eternal decree. While Cavendish lays bare the way in which his mind was finally "overcome with . . . misfortunes" (74), the way in which his "spirit was clean spent" (79), John Jane portrays a hero who undergoes comparable misfortune but who accepts that "whatever happens to us, happy or sad, prosperous or adverse, whether it pertains to the body or to the soul, comes to us from [God]" (*Institutes* 1536, 49). To the self-portrait of a man who shows his own will running counter to the will of God ("the elect soul is incapable of resisting God")<sup>99</sup> and who accordingly despairs of God's grace, John Jane opposes the presentation of a man who experiences God's mercy because he receives it "in perfect faith, and repose[s] securely in it" (*ibid.*, 42). To be sure, John Jane's narrative describes a deeply miserable voyage, but it does not conclude Hakluyt's compendium in a spirit of negativity, which, as E. G. R. Taylor would have us believe, betrays the tiredness of the compiler.<sup>100</sup> On the

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<sup>99</sup>Wendel, *Calvin*, 274.

<sup>100</sup>Taylor, *Original*, 61.



contrary, it brings the second edition of the *Voyages* at last into harbour--that of an exemplary Christian life.

### III. ii.

John Jane's account begins in the usual, matter-of-fact style characteristic of the early narratives of travel: "The 26. of August 1591, wee departed from Plimmouth with 3. tall ships, and two barkes" (11: 389). The recording of the date of departure and of the composition of an expedition had by this time come to typify the beginning of the objective, reliable, eye-witness record of a journey. This intentionally impersonal tone, however, is modified early on in Jane's account by the insertion of a parenthetical clause "(with whom and for whose sake I went this voyage)" which defines the relationship of the narrator with one of the principal figures of the voyage. Henceforth, Jane's account is more than a record of "the events as they happened"; it is also the testament of a friendship.

The first section of Jane's account is concerned with the events that took place between the departure of the fleet from England to the time that Davis and Cavendish lost one another during the night of May 20th. In strict chronological order, Jane narrates the following episodes: the departure from England; the arrival at Santos, in Brazil, and the failed attempt to plunder the town; the departure from Santos

towards the Magellan Straits; the arrival at Port Desire while the weather changes for the worse; the conference among the leaders of the expedition and the decision to return towards the coast of Brazil; the separation of Cavendish and Davis during the night; the events that made Davis decide not to go and search for Cavendish, but to await Cavendish's return at Port Desire. In this, the first part of his account, John Jane does not simply narrate a succession of events: with consummate skill he sketches the characters of the main figures of his story, he illustrates the various patterns of relationship that exist among the members of the expedition and he establishes John Davis as the protagonist of the journey. Davis gradually emerges as the stable point of reference in an expedition which is beset with trouble almost from the start. He and not Cavendish manages to balance the chaos and uncertainty that surrounds him. It is Davis, and not Cavendish, who proves to be the most experienced mariner, to whom everyone, including Cavendish, turns for advice. When the English ships are near the Straits of Magellan, for example, and the men are dying of cold and famine, "doubting what the ende would be," Cavendish draws on Davis's "good experience" (11: 392). It is Davis, who looks after his fellow travellers, even though they are responsible for the disruption of the expedition. When John Cocke, captain of the *Roebucke* and Cavendish's close friend, finds himself in trouble, Davis asks everyone "to be carefull in all their watches not to loose The Roebucke" (11: 391)--even though, as Jane had indicated earlier, it had been through the "negligence of our governour master Cocke" that "the towne [Santos]

that was able to furnish such another Fleete with all kinde of necessaries, was left unto us nakedly bare" (11: 390). It is to Davis that the captain of Gilbert's bark turns ("by reason of the great friendship betweene them") when he is deserted by the members of his crew, who leave him "without any provision more then the apparell that hee wore" (11: 391). Finally, it is Davis who can be relied upon to act with scrupulous rationality. In all these instances the contrast between Cavendish and Davis is unobtrusive but unremitting. Moreover, Jane undermines faith in Cavendish's judgement when he recalls what Cavendish thought of his men and how differently the other travellers regarded them. For example, Cavendish "spake most hardly of his company, and of divers gentlemen that were with him," 11: 391; however, "wee found them faithfull, honest, and resolute in proceeding, although it pleased our Generall otherwise to conceive of them" (11: 392). The implication here is that Cavendish's judgement unreliable as it shows itself to be in this instance, is unlikely to be more reliable in his accusations against Davis.

The section of the account which deals with the events that take place between the separation of the two captains on 20 May to the decision of the travellers to make for Penguin Isle on 2 June marks a turning point in the narrative. To begin with, the separation coincides with the first of many references to God's role in the journey. Moreover, this first reference establishes a correspondence between this stage of the Englishmen's journey and a passage from *Exodus*, one of the foundation texts of the notion of the chosen people, which is

related, as we shall now see, to a structural pattern which bears on the actions and fate of the mutinous members of the crew.

The separation of the two captains during the night of 20 May introduces a significantly unifying pattern into Jane's narrative. The episode begins with the extremely difficult situation the travellers are in, and an acknowledgement of their despair: "we came to Port Desire, where not finding our Generall, as we hoped, being most slenderly victualled, without sailes, boate, ores, nailes, cordage, and all other necessaries for our reliefe, wee were strooken into a deadly sorrow" (11: 394). The men then entrust themselves to God in a spirit of submission and confidence: "But referring all to the providence and fatherly protection of the Almighty, wee entered the harbour" (*ibid.*). Finally, the episode ends with a recognition of God's care, protection and mercy. God shows them the way ("by Gods favour [we] found a place of quiet roade, which before wee knewe not," *ibid.*); He relieves their thirst by sending them fresh water ("wee found a standing poole of fresh water . . . whereby wee were greatly comforted . . . And because at our first being in this harbour wee were at this place and found no water, we perswaded our selves that God had sent it for our reliefe," *ibid.*); He relieves their hunger by sending them fish ("there were such extraordinary low ebbes as we had never seene, whereby wee got muskles in great plentie. Like-wise God sent about our shippes great abundance of smelts, so that with hookes made of pinnes every man caught as many as hee could eate," 11: 395). The intervention of God in response to the needs of the English voyagers evokes the relief of the

Israelites in *Exodus*: 16, 17. The correspondences are close. In *Exodus* the Jewish assembly complains that they have escaped the bondage of Egypt only to die in the desert; God then proclaims his providence by sending them quails and manna from heaven, and making water flow from a rock. This parallelism is developed in the ensuing episode, in which Jane reveals a correspondence between Davis, natural leader of the English voyagers and Moses, leader of Israel through the desert towards the promised land. In that episode, Jane describes the actions of two men who try to stir up a mutiny among the voyagers.

The events are as follows: realizing that Cavendish is not at Port Desire, Davis and the master of his ship review the situation and decide "to take the pinnesse, and to furnish her with the best of the company, and to goe to the Generall with all expedition, leaving the shippe and the rest of the company untill the Generalls returne" (11: 395). When this decision is announced, two of the men ("two most pestilent fellowes") mistrusting Davis's intentions persuade the rest of the crew that Davis and the master "would leave them in the countrey to bee devoured of the Canibals, and that they were mercillesse and without charitie." They prepare to kill Davis and his friends, but the boatswain gives the plot away to the master of the ship. The matter is reported to Davis, and a confrontation between him and the mutineers ensues. Davis, however, finds himself "constrained to use lenitie, and by courteous meanes to pacifie this furie" (11: 396). Eventually a compromise is achieved; the men are persuaded of Davis's honesty and the leaders agree to proceed together. The incident closes with Davis's

prophetic words ("The Lord judge betweene you and mee") and with Jane's grim prolepsis ("which after came to a most sharpe revenge even by the punishment of the Almighty")—the only case in Jane's otherwise chronological narrative of future projection.

Prefaced as it is by the explicit recognition of God's protection, this episode helps to highlight what is probably the most crucial issue in the whole of Jane's account: that of faith. From this point of view, we can construe the narrative in terms of two movements, one affirming faith positively, the other negatively through its opposite, doubt.

The first, with its examples of the relief of mortal hunger and thirst, reinforced by Biblical echoes, evokes God in his guise as the creator of the world and as the father and protector of man, in the context of a providential universe, the scene of God's permanent presence and continuous action. Significantly, when Janes refers to the pool of fresh water discovered by the travellers, he uses the phrase "we perswaded our selves that God sent it for our reliefe." Dispensing at the outset with the possibility of a chance occurrence he demonstrates that he perceives the universe through faith. Inevitably, therefore, he presents the travellers as "referring all to the providence and fatherly protection of the Almighty" (11: 394). The word "refer," with its overtones of "trust" and "submission in confidence" (*OED*), reinforces faith tying it inexorably with hope. The men show the depth of their belief by hoping, for hope "is nothing else than the expectation of those things which faith has believed truly promised by God" (1536 *Institutes*,

65). "Faith believes God to be our Father; hope waits for him always to act as such toward us" (ibid.). Thus the first narrative movement describing the travellers' "great deliverance" (11: 396), becomes itself a testament of faith.

The second narrative movement, which describes the disruption and danger introduced by the "two pestilent fellowes," presents their challenge to faith as a direct consequence of doubt. At first, this doubt is directed personally against Davis, and specifically against his charitable intentions. Jane, however, alters the perspective from the temporal to the divine. Davis's admonitions to the mutineers imply that it is not their belief in him and his leadership that is shaken but their belief in God and his protection. Davis accuses the ringleaders, Charles Parker and Edward Smith, of blasphemy (he explicitly "desired them to shewe themselves Christians, and not so blasphemously to behave themselves," ibid.). This means that he relocates the object of their disobedience from the temporal to the eternal realm. (Compare the inverse process by which Cavendish evolves from the assertion of his crew's "wilful" disobedience of his authority, to the disclosure of his own explicit disobedience of God's Providence.) For Davis the men show signs of "ingratitude"--not towards him, but towards God, because it was God who has delivered the company from danger. Their "treachery" consists in their un-christian behaviour, which shows no "regard or thanksgiving to God for their great deliverance, and present sustenance." The whole thrust of Davis's speech to the mutineers is an understanding of Moses' words to the congregation of complaining

Israelites: "for what are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord" (Ex. 16:8). That he refrains from punishing the men and refers them to a higher court ("The Lord judge betweene you and mee") enables him to close the episode by re-defining the place of man in the creation.

In sum, then, the pattern of despair, followed by faithful submission to God's protection and consequent escape from danger, together with Davis's words to his crew and Jane's proleptical comment, create an unescapable teleological view of the universe. Jane's narrative operates within a world where there is no space for accident or chance and where everything conforms to God's inexorable purposes. Unsurprisingly, issues of faith, hope and Christian love persist in the remainder of Jane's narrative, mainly concerned with the sufferings and eventual survival of John Davis. I shall, however, begin with their effects on his recording of the deaths of the two mutineers.

The deaths of the men who fomented mutiny against Davis occur separately. The Englishmen have now been travelling for over a year, but find themselves once more near Port Desire. Gradually they manage to shape their course toward Penguin Isle where they find an abundance of birds to replenish their near-exhausted provisions. John Davis instructs Charles Parker and Edward Smith to go over to the island to kill and salt the necessary number of penguins for the men's sustenance. "But Parker, Smith, and the rest of their faction," Jane writes, "suspected, that this was a devise of the Captaine to leave his men on shore, that by these meanes there might bee victuals for the



rest to recover their countrey: and when they remembered, that this was the place where they would have slaine their Captaine and Master, surely (thought they) for revenge hereof will they leave us on shore" (11: 409). This is the second time, then, that the men make the same mistake: as previously they misinterpret Davis's intentions and believe he will desert them. Haunted by the memory of their fellow mariners in the *Galleon Leicester* who were "most uncharitably put a shore" (11: 392) at an earlier stage in the voyage, the men twice suspect Davis of being "mercillesse and without charitie" (11: 395). Davis's subsequent answer, Christ-like in its righteousness, especially as recorded by John Jane's apostolic pen, reveals that nothing could be further from the truth:

I understand that you are doubtfull of your security through the perversenesse of your owne guilty consciences: it is an extreame grieffe unto me, that you should judge mee blood-thirstie, in whome you have seene nothing but kinde conversation: if you have found otherwise, speake boldly, and accuse mee of the wrongs that I have done; if not, why do you then measure me by your owne uncharitable consciences? All the company knoweth indeed, that in this place you practized to the utmost of your powers, to murder me and the master causeles, as God knoweth, which evil in this place we did remit you: & now I may conceive without doing you wrong, that you againe purpose some evill in bringing these matters to repetition: but God has so shortened your confederacie, as that I nothing doubt you. (11: 409)

We observe, firstly, the symbolic resonance of the locale: the action unfolds at the very place where Parker and Smith devised their "treachery" in the first instance--where they showed clear signs of

“ingratitude” (11: 396) towards God. This is also the place where Davis treated them with “lenitie” and “courteous means,” or, as he now puts it, where “we did remit you” reminding them only of “Gods sharpe punishment for such ingratitude.” Most important of all, this is the place where God manifested his power over his creation (by providing food and drink for the travellers), and where John Davis declared his faith in God’s providence by not inflicting any punishment on the culprits. Jane explicitly recalls all this when he describes the men’s suspicion and fear of revenge. However, he adds a further, religious explanation of the men’s offence when he reports Davis’s words to the mutineers. Originally Davis had indicated that the men’s offence was not against him but against God. Now he adds that it is their “uncharitable consciences” that lead them constantly to misinterpret his intentions; and that it is the “perverseness” of their “guilty consciences” that makes them fear for their safety. Davis invokes a well-known set of religious oppositions contrasting charity to rancour, and the intention to murder and the fear of revenge on the one hand, in contrast to forgiveness and leniency on the other. It is a set of oppositions that is determined by the concept of “doubt,” which means both “uncertainty” and “fear.” The fundamental difference between the actions, and hence the identities of the two parties is that whereas the mutineers are “doubtfull” of their security, Davis is not (“I nothing doubt you”). In both cases, however, Jane’s use of the word “doubt” implies the issue of faith, since he believes that insufficient faith in

God's secret counsils accounts for the men's fear, or, to put the matter positively, Davis rests his faith upon the signs of God's care ("God has so shortened your confederacie") and has nothing to fear.<sup>101</sup>

Parker and Smith eventually become convinced of Davis's good intentions and they agree to go on shore, taking seven more men with them. Davis asks them to go armed: "for (sayd he) although we have not at any time seene people in this place, yet in the countrey there may be Savages" (11: 410). The men depart on the sixth of November; Jane's comment on that date is memorably blunt: "from that day to this day wee never heard of our men." The riddle of this disappearance is solved a few days later. A "great multitude of Salvages" suddenly appears: "Hereby," writes Jane, "we judged that these Canibals had slaine our 9 men"--instantly capping this with the following verdict: "when we considered what they were that thus were slaine, and found that they were the principall men that would have murdered our Captaine and Master, with the rest of their friends, we saw the just judgement of God, and made supplication to his divine Majesty to be mercifull unto us" (11: 410-11). This is not where the wrath of God stops, however. A few days later, the travellers being on the Isle of Placentia, more men are killed, this time in an ambush set by "a multitude of Indians & Portugales" (11: 413). Like the earlier "Salvages" who resembled "brute beasts, having vizards on their faces like dogs

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<sup>101</sup> "[I]t is held to be an absolute duty to consider oneself chosen, and to combat all doubts as temptations of the devil, since lack of self-confidence is the result of insufficient faith, hence of imperfect grace" (Weber, 111).

faces" (11: 410) this new enemy appears out of nowhere, on an island where the English "thought no man had remained" (11: 412). These two abrupt, fleeting but destructive appearances, are a manifestation of the other face of a previously providential God. Rather than attribute these deaths to the carelessness of the men or to an unlucky moment, Jane relates them to perverse conscience. Significantly, in both cases the men's earlier offence becomes for Jane the principal means of defining their identity (of "what they were," 11: 411, 414), as the following extract suggests:

bemoaning our estate one to another, and recounting over all our extremities, nothing grieved us more, then the losse of our men twise, first by the slaughter of the Canibals at Port Desire, and at this Ile of Placencia by the Indians and Portugals. And considering *what they were* that were lost, we found that al those that conspired the murtherring of our captaine & master were now slain by salvages, the gunner only excepted. (11: 414-15, my emphasis)

Whereas when Jane records the deaths of the mutineers God shows himself to be a "just judge," who takes "harsh vengeance upon those who have turned aside from his precepts" (1536 *Institutes*, 15), in the case of John Davis he reveals himself as "the Father of all mercies," 11: 407), "willing to save any who put all their trust in him and cleave to him" (1536 *Institutes*, *ibid.*). God's revenge is a response to the repeatedly "blasphemous" behaviour of the mariners; his mercy comes as an answer to Davis's integrity and deep-seated faith.

In his edition of the narratives relating to the last voyage of Thomas Cavendish, Philip Edwards writes that the account of John Jane "is inimical to Cavendish, and to Cavendish's men, from the start . . . The thrust of the narrative, however, is not to denigrate Cavendish but to justify Davis in his every action from the moment that the fleet separated during the night of 20 May on the way back from the Straits" (Edwards, 43). It is a point worthy of note, since the denigration of John Davis is what Cavendish attempts in his own version of the events, where he persistently explains the failure of his expedition as the product of Davis's alleged treachery. Contrary to Cavendish, Jane is careful to refrain from open accusations; nevertheless, he passes a different kind of judgement upon Cavendish, which functions within a religious perspective, and which ultimately relies on the outcome of Davis's survival and return to England as opposed to Cavendish's disappearance and presumed death.

I have already mentioned that, in the first part of his account, Jane undermines Cavendish's credibility when he records his and Davis's opinions, which are very different from Cavendish's, about the gentlemen aboard the *Galleon Leicester*; moreover, he also mentions that Cavendish never fixed a rendezvous in case something went wrong. Such remarks rely on inference rather than accusation but they taint the image of Cavendish. Moreover, at the same time as he indicates that Cavendish is neglectful and imperious, he presents Davis as experienced, practical and humane. After the fatal separation of the two captains, Jane shows that Davis, true to his word of honour, does

everything possible to reunite his party with their lost General; he even suggests that many of their eventual troubles were the result of Davis's commitment to his word. Davis justifies this commitment by protesting his love and companionship to Cavendish, and at the same time he apologizes to his crew in a formal oration. Even more significantly, Jane simultaneously absolves Davis from Cavendish's accusations and indicts Cavendish himself:

because I see in reason, that the limits of our time are now drawing to an end, I do in Christian charity intreat you all, first to forgive me in whatsoever I have bin grievous unto you; secondly that you wil rather pray for our General, then use hard speeches of him; and let us be fully perswaded, that not for his cause & negligence, but for our own offences against the divine Majesty we are presently punished. (11: 403)

Punishment for sin is graphically illustrated by Jane's account of the violent deaths of the mutineers. But its significance reaches beyond the confines of this particular episode. It envelops the larger action, by referring obliquely to Cavendish's disappearance and possible death, in contrast to which stands Davis's survival and repatriation.

Davis's public oration is followed by the disclosure of an extraordinarily private moment that constitutes one of the most resonant scenes in Jane's account:

The tenth of October being by the accompt of our Captaine and Master very neere the shore, the weather darke, the storme furious, and most of our men having given over to travell, we yeilded our selves to death, without further hope of succour. Our captaine sitting in the gallery very

pensive, I came and brought him some Rosa solis to comfort him; for he was so cold, that hee was scarce able to moove a joint. After he had drunke, and was comforted in heart, hee began for the ease of his conscience to make a large repetition of his forepassed time, and with many grievous sighs he concluded in these words: Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee, that the intollerable burthen of my sinnes may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me: and end our daies with speede, or shew us some mercifull signe of thy love and our preservation. Having thus ended, he desired me not to make knowen to any of the company his intollerable grieffe and anguish of minde, because they should not thereby be dismayed. And so suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere; so that he and the Master both observed the true elevation of the Pole, whereby they knew by what course to recover the Streights. (11: 405-406)

The extract has the formal composition of a set piece. Jane presents the reader with an evocative image wherein the force of nature, the infirmity of man and the ultimate power of God over his creation are balanced against each other in a starkly iconographic fashion. Nature in turmoil, represented by the raging storm ("the weather darke, the storme furious") is in sharp contrast to the weariness and helplessness of the exhausted mariners who have "given over to travell" and of John Davis, who is "scarce able to moove a joint."

More generally, Jane draws on a set of properties of the sea as emblem. "We yeelded our selves to death," Jane writes, "without further hope of succour." Here the vessel is clearly the container of death. We are at a perilous point in the journey, and the ship is in great danger of being cast upon the rocks. The vessel thus becomes the "storm-tossed ship," a figure familiar from a long iconographic

tradition, common to both patristic and secular literature. In its iconographical and literary associations the ship travelling on the raging seas is "one of the most appropriate examples of the life exposed to fortune," part of a picture of "danger and death, which yet carries within itself the suggestion of direction and control."<sup>102</sup> The sea is emblematic both of chance and danger, and of regeneration and order: "in the opinion of the Fathers of the Church, the immensity of the waters represented both the source of life and a vision of death."<sup>103</sup> All of these associations are present in this piece, which moves between the poles of imminent destruction and life-giving Providence.

Within Jane's composition, it is the figure of John Davis that stands out. Removed from the rest of the crew, he is represented alone, "pensive," "sitting in the gallery," a balcony built outside the main body of a ship. Hence, he is exposed—a cold, stiff, suffering human body, suspended between the sea raging below and the storm raging above. Davis's position on the ship becomes a heightened expression of the "inner loneliness of the single individual." But although it is an image of loneliness, it is not one of isolation, for it is qualified by the helping presence of John Jane, who steps on the scene in order to assist Davis ("I came and brought him some Rosa Solis to comfort him") and then immediately recedes into the background, becoming the passive

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<sup>102</sup>Kathleen Williams, "Spenser: Some Uses of the Sea and the Storm-tossed Ship," *Restoration Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 13-14 (1970-71): 135-42 (136-37).

<sup>103</sup>Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside 1750-1840* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), 8.



witness of a moment of direct, unmediated communion between a man and his God. The vessel has ceased to be a coffin; now it is a deathbed, as it were, where a man "for the ease of his conscience" makes "a large repetition of his forepassed time." We hear none of Davis's actual words apart from the exalted final sentence, the stylized formal rhetoric of which becomes another expression of obedience, of the "yeelding" of the individual will to the secret counsels of God. (Incidentally, Davis's language is in deliberate contrast with the grammatical chaos, the syntactical equivocation and the uncontrolled ambiguity of Cavendish's "wilful" rebellion against Providence.) The scene that Jane witnesses has the luminousness of a miracle, in which God gives Davis a "mercifull sign of [his] love and our preservation." Accordingly, the bleak surroundings are transformed: "suddenly, before I went from him the Sunne shined cleere."<sup>104</sup> It is a sign of mercy reserved for a man who, face to face with death, turns to God in "perfect faith," with the thought that, in Calvin's apt words, "his providence . . . looks after us and our salvation *while it is afflicting and oppressing us*" (1536 *Institutes*, 49, my emphasis).

This memorable passage distils the qualities of Jane's narrative as a whole, and highlights what distinguishes it from Cavendish's narrative. To begin with, the intimate closeness between Jane and

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<sup>104</sup> "When we read that at Joshua's prayers the sun stood still in one degree for two days [Josh. 10-13], and that its shadow went back ten degrees for the sake of King Hezekiah [II Kings 20: 11 or Isa. 38:8], God has witnessed by those few miracles that the sun does not daily rise and set by a blind instinct of nature but that he himself, to renew our remembrance of his fatherly favor towards us, governs its cause." *Institutes*, 1. 16. 2.

Davis contrasts sharply with the immense physical distance separating Cavendish and Gorges. The constant presence of John Jane, who perceives what happens to John Davis with an almost apostolic eye, in order to chronicle his friend's trials and eventual release, finds no equivalent in Cavendish's report. There, the protagonist of the action is his own chronicler, and he begins to write about his sufferings and misfortunes at precisely the moment that his closest friend in the journey ("my dear kinsman John Cocke . . . my most dearest cousin," 78-79) dies of exhaustion. Thus, whereas one account offers an image of loyal companionship, the other presents a picture of profound isolation.

The two narratives do not depict an essentially different nature: for both the surrounding universe is ultimately ruled by God. What is different, however, is the representation of the relationship of man and God through the encounter with nature. As we have seen earlier, for Jane the acknowledgement of the travellers' despair and helplessness when faced by a hostile nature usually precipitates their submission to the will of God. God's mercy is, in response, revealed through His active participation in His creation. Jane compares the English party to "lost wanderers upon the sea" (11: 416) and presents their leader as a deeply pious man who recognises God as his guide. Consequently, in the course of their voyage they receive "chastisement" (ibid.) for their "own offences against the divine Majesty" (11: 403) but the paternally punitive hand of God finally delivers them from danger. In contrast, Cavendish's "wilfull" desire "to perform somewhat" at all costs is an

attempt to break through the force of a prohibiting nature. In his case there is no "yeelding," no abandonment of self to the decrees of a divine Providence. Instead, we have a revolt against his fate, which receives final expression in his headlong drive into an unknown death.

And indeed, how he died has remained a point of conjecture, for all we know is what the narrative tells us, and, as we have seen, Cavendish's "discourse of his fatal and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea" is a remarkably tortured and ambiguous document: the narrative of an identity in contradiction. This sense of contradiction extends from matters of content to matters of style. As Edwards writes, "even as he begins his narrative, he thinks of himself as dead" (Edwards, 31).<sup>105</sup> And on first reading, the stylistic incoherence provides perhaps the most striking difference from what we perceive on reading Jane. It is difficult to believe that these features of contradiction and incoherence, stylistic, personal and ideological, would not have been apparent to Richard Hakluyt--supposing that he had received the document in time to publish it. Nor would it have been unprecedented for Hakluyt the editor to try and impose some order upon the material. However, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the decision (if he made one) not to use it, could have sprung from his conception of

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<sup>105</sup> Edwards comments on editorial intervention: "The language of Cavendish's narrative is remarkable. The elaborate syntax is in a perpetual state of defeat, which mirrors the continuous frustration he is describing . . . The punctuation in this edition is purely editorial; while it does less than Purchas's does to cool the fever of Cavendish's emotions, it still imposes on the narrative an order it does not possess (as can be seen from Quinn's transcript)," Edwards, 31.

what the *Principal Navigations* were about: the formation of a coherent national identity.<sup>106</sup> For any such conception Cavendish's written testimony was probably inadmissible.

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<sup>106</sup> As I argued in chapter 1 Hakluyt's voyagers don't just travel away from England, they bring their experience back to it. The fact that the voyagers return is crucial to the process of consolidation at both an individual and national level. Cavendish's refusal to return is absolutely inimical to this pattern.

## CHAPTER 4

### ENCOUNTER AND RETURN: HAKLUYT, HARRIOT AND RALEGH

The narratives that I will be examining in this chapter document the first English efforts towards the establishment of colonies in the New World. These are the voyages to Virginia, conducted under the auspices of Sir Walter Raleigh between 1584 and 1590, Raleigh's own voyage to Guiana in 1595 and the second voyage to Guiana, conducted by Lawrence Keymis in the following year.

North America was Hakluyt's field of specialization; its colonization by the English was his chosen mission, and *The Principal Navigations* were his major contribution towards the achievement of this goal. Accordingly, colonization becomes the culminating point in the concerns of the present thesis. The objective of the chapter is to examine the way in which personal and national identity are formed in the encounter with the natives and the land of the New World. But before I set out the particulars of my argument, it will be useful to offer a brief summary of the colonial context.

## I. i.

Elizabethan colonial activity in the New World begins with Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his efforts towards the detailed exploration and subsequent settlement of the east coast of North America, under his royal patent of 1578. Following the route of Sebastian Cabot, Gilbert directed his voyages to Newfoundland. He was not successful in establishing an English colony there, but his ventures paved the way for the exploration and settlement of Virginia, less than a year after his death.<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert's enterprises are of interest to the present chapter because they signal the publication of a series of books concerned with North America and its colonization by the English. The first of these publications was Richard Hakluyt's *Divers voyages touching the discoverie of America*, a slim volume of travel narratives which came out in 1582. Responding to Gilbert's plans, Hakluyt wanted to whip up support for further expeditions. At the same time, he tried to provide historical justification for the English claims in North America, in case Gilbert's voyages provoked unfavourable responses from other European countries. Finally, he offered a series of documents designed

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<sup>1</sup>For a detailed summary of Gilbert's efforts see the introduction to *The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, ed. D. B. Quinn (London: Hakluyt Society, 1940).

to help intending voyagers.<sup>2</sup> The volume was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, who had an acknowledged interest in the American enterprise. In his "Dedicatory Epistle" Hakluyt put forth an exposition of his colonial policy, concentrating on the spread of religion and the benefits to trade.<sup>3</sup>

Gilbert's colonial activities were also directly responsible for two other publications which argued for the necessity of colonization: Sir George Peckham's *True reporte of the late discoveries . . . of the new-found landes* (1583) and Christopher Carleill's *Discourse upon the entended voyage to . . . America* (1583); both works were later incorporated by Hakluyt into his *Voyages*.<sup>4</sup> Peckham's *True reporte* considers the ethical problem posed by colonization, and tries to show that the discovery, exploration and settlement of the New World is "as well pleasing to almighty God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Savages, as gainefull to the Christians."<sup>5</sup> He claims that the natives of America would benefit greatly from contact with the English, but the main thrust of his argument is reserved for the profits that the English, and in particular the merchants, are going to reap from the American voyages. This

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<sup>2</sup>On the reasons for the publication and its significance, see D. B. Quinn, *Richard Hakluyt, Editor* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., 1968), 9-12.

<sup>3</sup>The document is printed in Taylor, *Original Writings*, 175-81.

<sup>4</sup>8: 89-131 and 8: 134-47 respectively.

<sup>5</sup>"A true Report of the late discoveries," 8: 93.

same point is largely Carleill's, who directed his exhortations primarily to merchants.<sup>6</sup>

After Gilbert's loss at sea, the continuation of his ventures passed into the hands of his half-brother, Walter Raleigh. A fierce enemy of Spain, Raleigh was to remain at the forefront of colonial activity until the end of Elizabeth's reign, with Hakluyt as one of his principal associates. The two men became spokesmen for a growing, newly self-conscious nationalism. They developed a full-scale policy of imperial conquest, envisaging an economically self-sufficient empire, in which the colonies in the New World would play a crucial role. The abundance of commodities that the colonies were expected to yield meant that England would have no further need to try and capture markets in Europe. At the same time, the colonies were to be designed as forts which would facilitate the efforts of English privateers against the Spanish treasure fleets, and thus help the war with Spain to pay for itself.<sup>7</sup> Leaving Gilbert's Newfoundland fisheries behind, Raleigh focused his attention on much lower latitudes, and in 1584 the first expedition to the area around Roanoke set sail.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Parker, *Books to Build an Empire*, 112-15.

<sup>7</sup>On the close association between Raleigh and Hakluyt and the development of a common foreign policy see Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, 154-58. For an overview of Raleigh's colonising enterprises see D. B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

<sup>8</sup>On the reasons for Raleigh's choice see D. B. Quinn, ed., *The Roanoke Voyages* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1955), 6, 78. This is the authoritative modern edition of the voyages to Virginia.



Once more Hakluyt assumed his role as publicity agent and in 1584 he wrote his *Particuler Discourse* (or *Discourse of Western Planting*, as it is more generally known) in order to help Raleigh's bill pass through Parliament.<sup>9</sup> The *Discourse* was a theoretical tract, which was not intended for publication, but was specially prepared for a private hearing with the Queen and Secretary Walsingham. In it Hakluyt presented a full-scale colonial policy, developing in considerable detail the points that he had made in his *Dedication to Sidney* two years earlier. The essentials of this policy were the benefits to trade, the spread of religion, the eradication of unemployment in England, the end to Spanish expansion, and the consequent benefits to the English Crown. In the final chapter Hakluyt binds all the threads of his argument together and emphasizes reasons of state rather than private profit for the undertaking of the enterprise. He no doubt believed that both coincided, but in seeking to establish this he chose to dwell on national advantage, preferring to imply that patriotic individuals were concerned only with the benefit to the realm.<sup>10</sup>

The books that I have described so far argue for the necessity of colonization from a theoretical standpoint. The voyages to Virginia, however, produced a different set of texts, which were also designed to keep up colonial propaganda. These were the accounts that the

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<sup>9</sup>The *Discourse* was first printed in 1877. It was included in Taylor, *Original Writings*, 211-326; the most recent (and best) edition is D. B. and A. M. Quinn, eds., *Discourse of Western Planting* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993).

<sup>10</sup>Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 203 and Quinn, *Raleigh*, 53-55.

voyagers brought back from their travels. They described the first sustained encounter of the English with the New World, the prospects of the newly discovered territories, the nature of their inhabitants, and the proceedings of the first English colony. In short, these accounts put to the test the propositions and assumptions of the theoretical works that preceded them. Some of these narratives enjoyed a wide circulation both in England and abroad, where they were reprinted by Theodore de Bry in his *Great Voyages* (1590-1634). Written during the period of open conflict with Spain, they played their part in the propaganda campaign against the Spaniards by demonstrating "the capacity of Englishmen to explore and to experiment with colonies in North America."<sup>11</sup> Also, in their recording of the English attempt to "win" the Indians "by gentleness," they showed how the English colonial involvement in America differed from that of Spain.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Quinn, *Roanoke*, 8; see also Parker, 118.

<sup>12</sup>The quotation comes from Thomas Harriot, "A briefe and true report on the new found land of Virginia," 8: 380. However, the subject of the differences of the two nations in dealing with the natives should be approached with care. Loren E. Pennington argues that "it was the Spanish experience . . . that became a principal factor in determining English thinking on the New World in general and the Amerindian in particular" and that "far from being repelled by Spanish repression of the natives, English propagandists at first looked upon it as the model to be followed by their own countrymen." Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature 1575-1625," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650*. eds. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 175-94: 179, 180. Karen Ordahl Kupperman writes that "English writers commonly foresaw a two-step approach: gentleness to be followed, if necessary, by severity" and points out that the early colonial leaders "were chosen for their experience in chastising recalcitrant populations," experience which they had gained "in the cruel European and Irish wars." She concludes that "official colonial policy throughout was friendliness and fairness combined with swift and decisive punishment of any 'insolency.'" Karen O. Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640* (London, Toronto and Melbourne: J M Dent & Sons Ltd, 1980), 170, 171, 172. Both Hakluyts had urged at first a sympathetic treatment of the natives so as to win them as allies against Spain (Quinn, *Roanoke*, 138, n. 2). Hakluyt was to change

Hakluyt reprinted these reports in both editions of the *Voyages*, thereby leaving us a particularly well documented history of this first, unsuccessful English attempt to establish a transatlantic colony.<sup>13</sup> The history begins with the discovery of Virginia in 1584 and ends with the voyage in search of the lost colonists in 1590. In the following section I will refer to three of these accounts: "The first voyage made to the coast of Virginia by M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlow, 1584," Ralph Lane's "An account of the particular employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia . . . from the 17. of August 1585. untill the 18. of June 1586," and Thomas Harriot's "A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" (1588).<sup>14</sup> I have chosen these three narratives not only because they stand out for their narrative quality but also because in their preoccupations they form a kind of unity. As the report of the inaugural encounter between the English and the New World Arthur Barlowe's narrative opens up the question of colonial rule.

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this view later, partly as a consequence of Lane's experience and influence (ibid., 552, n. 5). In his "Dedication" of his translation of Laudoniere's *History of Florida*, Hakluyt suggests that the people who have returned from the wars in the Low Countries could be usefully employed in Virginia "against such stubborne Savages as shall refuse obedience to her Majestie" (ibid., 552). Hakluyt also mentions the way in which the experience that men had gained in Ireland could be used in Virginia. On this issue, see Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia 1550-1650" in Andrews et al., *The Westward Enterprise*, 17-44. As far as this chapter is concerned, the historical differences (or similarities) between the two colonial approaches are less important than the actual *representation* of differences by the English. This is something that I deal with in my discussion of Raleigh's *Discoverie*.

<sup>13</sup> According to Quinn, the 1600 edition of the narratives was not a "mere reprint of that of 1589, but a careful revision with a very large number of small alterations the object of which was, in general, to improve the accuracy and readability of the narratives" (Roanoke, 14). A further reason was "to avoid overt criticism" of Raleigh (ibid., 9).

<sup>14</sup> 8: 297-310, 320-45 and 348-86 respectively.

Lane's journal, recounting the proceedings of the first colony, illustrates some of the reasons that contributed to the Englishmen's failure to establish themselves in a position of power in Virginia. Finally, *Harriot's Report*, the only account of the Virginia voyages to be published separately, systematizes the available experience and proposes a way of going about solving the issue of power in the colonial situation.

The three narratives that I have chosen are among the better-known accounts that relate the early stages of the English involvement in America. As such they have been the subject of much recent writing on early colonization, particularly from a New Historicist perspective. In this chapter I propose to argue against the interpretative position generally adopted by critics and scholars usually associated with New Historicism, and it is with a broad exposition of my disagreement that I would like to begin.

## I. ii.

It seems to me to be unavoidable that I should be dealing with New Historicist approaches in some detail here, since they have become the most influential forms of contemporary critical response to Elizabethan writing. As I have indicated in my Introduction, my own attitude to this criticism is not purely negative. Some of the ways in

which I interpret Hakluyt's *Voyages* are deeply indebted to its historical scepticism--its ability, at its best, to combine doubt and suspicion with close reading.

However, in the course of reading such criticism, at the same time as the primary literature in relation to it, I frequently find myself dissenting from the tendency, as I see it, merely to replace the optimistic simplifications of the old historicists with an alternative set of pessimistic simplifications. The problem turns partly on the almost universal tendency of New Historicists to treat the primary literature as what they call "discourse." It would not be too much to say that the New Historicist sees himself, or herself, not as analysing history as such but rather as analysing those discursive practices which get called history. Literature likewise is seen to be made up of discursive practices. All writing, as it turns out, all documentation, represents the coming together of discursive practices.

One of the founding documents of New Historicism, frequently quoted in the cultural materialist literature, is Walter Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History." Benjamin writes:

To historians who wish to relive an era, Fustel de Coulanges recommends that they blot out everything they know about the later course of history. There is no better way of characterizing the method with which historical materialism has broken. It is a process of empathy whose origin is the indolence of the heart, *acedia*, which despairs of grasping and holding the genuine historical image as it flares up briefly. Among medieval theologians it was regarded as the root cause of sadness. Flaubert, who was familiar with it wrote: "*Peu de gens devineront combien il a fallu etre triste pour ressusciter Carthage.*" The nature of

this sadness stands out more clearly if one asks with whom the adherents of historicism actually empathize. The answer is inevitable: with the victor. And all rulers are the heirs of those who conquered before them. Hence, empathy with the victor invariably benefits the rulers. Historical materialists know what that means. Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate. According to traditional practice, the spoils are carried along in the procession. They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. For without exception the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplate without horror. They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. And just as such a document is not free of barbarism, barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another. A historical materialist therefore dissociates himself from it as far as possible. He regards it as his task to brush history against the grain.<sup>15</sup>

It is easy to see how the New Historicist critic takes his/her cue from such a passage. The crucial word here is "empathy"--the traditional historian's imaginative or imaginary assumption of a certain fellow-feeling with the point of view, intentions and experience of his or her historical subjects ("historians who wish to relive an era"). If the Marxist Benjamin would have us empathize with the mass of history's losers, those who never get to write their history, the New Historicists go one step further: they prefer to abandon empathy altogether.

This final move is decisively made by Michel Foucault in his

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<sup>15</sup>Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. with an introduction by Hanna Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 253-64 (256-57).

theory of writing as discourse. His insistence on discursive practices is precisely designed to wrest the written word from the claims of empathy. The written word for Foucault, when it is seen as discourse, is not the outward sign of the historical subject--a real historical personage who lived at some point in the past and experienced and/or wrote about history. To regard literature and history as discourse is to invert the old historical assumption that there is an experiential subject in an experiential world which is somehow anterior to discourse, prior to it:<sup>16</sup> on the contrary, it is to see the subject as a function of discourse, created by a network of discursive practices, determined by power relations (of which discourse is in its turn a determinant). Following Nietzsche, Foucault called his method "genealogy." In their study of Foucault, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow explain this term as follows:

Genealogy opposes itself to traditional historical method; its aim is to "record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality" (NGH 139). For the genealogist there are no fixed essences, no underlying laws, no metaphysical finalities. Genealogy seeks out discontinuities where others found continuous development. It finds recurrences and play where others found progress and seriousness. It records the past of mankind to unmask the solemn hymns of progress. Genealogy avoids the search for depth. Instead, it seeks the surfaces of events, small details, minor shifts,

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<sup>16</sup> As will be apparent from the discussion in the third part of my Introduction to some extent I still share this assumption, along with the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre: "It is because we all live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of the narratives that we live out that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of others. Stories are lived before they are told--except in the case of fiction," *After Virtue*, 212.

and subtle contours. It shuns the profundity of the great thinkers our tradition has produced and revered; its archenemy is Plato. As Foucault put it in an earlier essay entitled "Nietzsche, Freud, Marx," written with a different end in mind, "Whereas the interpreter is obliged to go to the depth of things, like an excavator, the moment of interpretation [genealogy] is like an overview, from higher and higher up, which allows the depth to be laid out in front of him in a more and more profound visibility; depth is resituated as an absolutely superficial secret" (NFM 187).<sup>17</sup>

In discourse analysis the point is not to try and imagine, to empathize with, the historical subject hidden beneath the sign. It is the sign (discourse) which is fully exposed.<sup>18</sup>

Whatever the philosophical problems of Michel Foucault's work might be, they are not my primary concern here. The essential point is that Foucault's break from historical interpretation as imaginative empathy liberated and motivated New Historicism, but without binding it to the mystical eschatological telos of Benjamin's Marxism.

As far as the work of the New Historicists bears upon issues that I have had to deal with in my own work, my problems with it are twofold. Firstly, the New Historicists' conception of what, following Foucault, they call *power relations* tends to resolve itself into a series of binary terms--at best simplistic, at worst inflexible. These binary simplifications cannot do justice to the complexity of the material they

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<sup>17</sup>Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (New York; London; Toronto; Sidney; Tokyo: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), 106-107.

<sup>18</sup>A perfect example on this assault on "empathy" can be found in Stephen Greenblatt's "The Improvisation of Power," in his classic study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. I deal with this in detail in section II, part iii of this chapter.



are supposed to interpret. Secondly, and perhaps more problematically, it seems to me that by dispensing with the historian's traditional right to empathize with the experiential subject--that is to say, the historical subject--one abandons one part of historical understanding altogether. By abandoning any concept of the historical agent's subjective depth, i.e. his intentions, his doubts, his sensitivity, his reticence, and so on--in short, by abandoning the whole inner life of his moral being--critical interpreters of historical literature not only tie their own hands, but also the hands of the very people and processes they are trying to understand.

These two limitations of New Historicist criticism, together with my own more qualified position, motivate my argument in the discussion that follows. I will begin by looking at one of the very first texts produced by the English voyages to America: Arthur Barlowe's first voyage to Virginia.

## II. i.

In 1705, nearly a century after the successful establishment of the first English colony in America, a book entitled *History of Virginia* was published in London. Its author was Robert Beverley, "a Native and Inhabitant of the PLACE," the son of an Englishman who had emigrated to America in the early seventeenth century. Beverley set

himself the task of describing the colony's past history and present conditions, and in his attempt to provide a chronological account of the colony, he went back to the very beginning--to the first, ill-fated colony established by Sir Walter Raleigh. Beverley begins his *History* with the 1584 reconnaissance expedition of Amadas and Barlowe. He recognizes that, as the report of the inaugural encounter between the English and the New World, Barlowe's account of the voyage played a decisive role in the formation of a mental picture of America in the minds of the English audience. He sums up this image and the effect that the report tried to create when he writes:

Being over-pleased with their Profits, and finding all Things there entirely new, and surprizing; they gave a very advantageous Account of Matters; by representing the Country so delightful, and desirable; so pleasant, and plentiful . . . that Paradiſe it ſelf ſeem'd to be there, in its firſt Native Luſtre . . . And, to make it yet more desirable, they reported the Native *Indians* (which were then the only Inhabitants) ſo affable, kind, and good-natur'd; ſo uncultivated in Learning, Trades, and Faſhions; ſo innocent, and ignorant of all manner of Politicks, Tricks, and Cunning; and ſo deſirous of the Company of the *English*: That they ſeem'd rather to be like ſoft Wax, ready to take any Impreſſion, than any ways likely to oppoſe the Settling of the *English* near them: They repreſented it as a Scene laid open for the good and gracious Q. *Elizabeth*, to propagate the Goſpel in, and extend her Dominions over.<sup>19</sup>

Like all the other accounts which are included in the Virginia section of the *English Voyages*, Barlowe's narrative is a work of propaganda, written with specific political objectives in mind. Far from

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<sup>19</sup>Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. with an introduction by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 15-16.

being untroubled reflections of the authors' experience, the narratives in the section were themselves part of the colonial argument. As such, they had to answer questions, overcome objections, and finally convince a sector of the population that it would be both relatively easy and extremely profitable to invest in the voyages of discovery and settlement. Barlowe's narrative in particular was written some time after the event, as part of a concerted propaganda campaign which was designed to attract support for Raleigh's next expedition to Virginia. As an historical record, the account is clearly incomplete.<sup>20</sup> It makes no mention of the proceedings of the voyage itself; in all likelihood it suppresses unfavourable incidents which can be deduced from other accounts (like the hostile treatment of the English by the natives during a prior landing and a possible case of cannibalism); it helps, as Beverley insinuates, to create an inaccurate and misleading image of Virginia as "Paradise it self . . . in its first Native Lustre," as an abundant garden populated by "affable, kind, and good-natur'd" natives.<sup>21</sup> The result is a "carefully selective narrative,"<sup>22</sup> what Greenblatt calls "an inventory of hopeful signs."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>For a thorough historical discussion of the voyage see Quinn, *Roanoke*, 15-17, 77-117.

<sup>21</sup>For the image of the garden as the "controlling metaphor" behind Barlowe's account see Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden. Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 37-38.

<sup>22</sup>*Roanoke*, 16.

<sup>23</sup>Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 94.

According to the nature of the letters patent, which were granted by the Queen to Sir Walter Raleigh, the right to "have, holde, occupy & enjoy"<sup>24</sup> a newly discovered territory was granted on the assumption that the patentee "would succeed in conquering the regions; otherwise the grant was to be of no force."<sup>25</sup> At a time when "the principal ethicolegal concern . . . was about the claims of rival European powers, not about the rights of the American Indian" (Washburn, 15), the act of taking possession of a newly discovered land was a necessity which was mentioned in exploratory narratives as a matter of course. The act of taking possession of the land is therefore recorded early on in Barlowe's account:

after thankes given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoyning, and "to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, as rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great Seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us."<sup>26</sup>

In her book *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*, Patricia Seed writes that "colonial rule over the

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<sup>24</sup>"The letters patents, granted by the Queenes Majestie to M. Walter Raleigh, now Knight, for the dicovering and planting of new lands and Countries, to continue the space of 6. yeeres and no more," 8: 289-96 (290).

<sup>25</sup>Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians" in *17th Century America: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 17.

<sup>26</sup>"The first voyage made to the coast of Virginia by M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlow, 1584," 8: 297-310 (298).

New World was initiated through largely ceremonial practices . . . Europeans . . . believed in their *right* to rule. And they created these rights for themselves by deploying symbolically significant words and gestures made sometimes preceding, sometimes following, sometimes simultaneously with military conquest" (emphasis in the original).<sup>27</sup> A year before Barlowe, Sir Humphrey Gilbert signified his possession of Newfoundland through an elaborate ceremonial practice of the kind that Seed describes: in George Peckham's words, he

caused his tent to be set upon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of English men and strangers . . . And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause his Commission under the great Seale of England to bee openly and solemnly read unto them . . . The effect whereof being signified unto the strangers by an Interpreter, hee tooke possession of the sayde land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turffe and receiving the same with an Hasell wand, delivered unto him, after the maner of the law and custome of England.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2. Seed identifies the different ceremonies used by the English, the Spanish, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese and argues that these symbolic acts of possession were readily understood by the members of the same nation but their meaning was not always understood or accepted by other European nations (3). These ceremonies targeted the audience at home rather than the indigenous population (11). The major means used by the English to signify possession were "building houses and fences and planting gardens" (18).

<sup>28</sup>"A true Report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight . . . Written by Sir George Peckham Knight," 8: 89-131 (90-91).

Unlike Peckham who records Gilbert's ceremony in solemn detail, Barlowe is reticent; and this reticence, as I see it, is important.<sup>29</sup> He asserts that the act of possession has taken place but he is rather evasive as far as the ceremony itself is concerned: all he writes is that they followed the "ceremonies used in such enterprises." It is of course possible that Barlowe omits a lengthier exposition of the subject thinking it an unnecessary matter, but in my opinion this brevity and absence of detail, are symptomatic of a deeper uncertainty. They betray a sense that this act of possession remains unrealized--it remains, that is, a formal or formulaic act rather than an accomplished one. I am referring less to the absence of any physical violence (any of what Seed calls "military conquest") from Barlowe's account, than to the more intricate issue of authority within colonial rule. It seems to me that Barlowe leaves this delicate issue open, and that this in turn problematises the image of the English. In his account the role of the English as possessors of the land (and by extension of its inhabitants) remains ambiguous and insecure: *ambiguous* because, despite Barlowe's optimism that the two parties understand one another, the Indians seem to have the impression that the English came to their land as traders rather than as settlers; *insecure*, because the assertion of power that the act of possession entails remains unsubstantiated. As a

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<sup>29</sup>Paradoxically, Seed does not mention Barlowe's reticence but is more interested in the image of Virginia as a garden that the account provides (Seed, 25-26). D. B. Quinn, however, is sufficiently alerted by the absence of any significant detail from Barlowe's record of possession to provide a fuller explanation of what these ceremonies would be in his own edition of the narrative. See *Roanoke*, 94-95, n. 5.

result, the narrative points to a still unformed relationship between the two parties.

Now, it might be countered that this unformed relationship is a direct consequence of the limited amount of time that Barlowe's team spent in Virginia: the voyage is, after all, no more than a reconnaissance expedition, a journey whose sole objective is to locate and secure a land fit for settlement. However, while time is undoubtedly an important factor, it is not the only one. It is here that I want to make what I take to be a fundamental distinction drawing from my argument with New Historicism. The distinction is between what I will call the *experience of encounter*, which is inseparable from the sometimes reticent, ambiguous and insecure subjectivity of the historical agent (here Barlowe), and the *discourse of possession or conquest*. What makes Barlowe's report the first rather than the second is the uncertainty of the real terms under which the two parties meet. What I want to argue is that this uncertainty is not purely discursive, but that it goes to the heart of the actual experience of encounter.

At this point it is worth drawing attention to the editorial history of the narrative. It is accepted that Barlowe is the author of the account but there is a question over the scale of editorial intervention in the form it has in the *Voyages*.<sup>30</sup> According to D. B. Quinn, the foremost Hakluyt scholar and the editor of the Virginia voyages, it is "highly probable" that Hakluyt acquired the narrative "from Raleigh by

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<sup>30</sup>Barlowe's authorship is mentioned in 8: 299; on this issue see *Roanoke*, 98.

way of Thomas Harriot."<sup>31</sup> (It was probably part of the "archive which Harriot was assembling on the enterprises" in the area around Roanoke.)<sup>32</sup> Quinn suggests further that the report "was possibly polished by Harriot himself, although many passages in it were clearly the result of direct personal experience."<sup>33</sup> Barlowe's journal of the expedition has not survived and therefore it is not possible to determine with any certainty which passages are "the result of direct personal experience" and which are not. However, the editorial issue of the narrative opens up an interesting aspect of the problems that these texts pose--for texts like Barlowe's are first-hand accounts of encounter as well as being part of a concerted propaganda campaign. Thus, allowance needs to be made for the point of view of the historical agent, indeterminate as that may be. This is not to deny that there is a discourse of possession, but we need to be willing to see how it is disturbed by the very thing that discourse analysis tends to simplify: the experience of encounter. I will now go on to talk in some detail about the uncertainties in Barlowe's text.

In his description of the natives Barlowe repeatedly suggests that they are full of trust and innocence: "never making any shewe of feare

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<sup>31</sup>D. B. Quinn and A. M. Quinn eds., *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt* (London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), xvi.

<sup>32</sup>D. B. Quinn, "Thomas Harriot and the New World" in John Shirley ed., *Thomas Harriot: Renaissance Scientist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), 36-53 (43).

<sup>33</sup>*Roanoke*, 17.



or doubt" (8: 299-300), "never mistrusted any harme to be offred from us" (8: 300). The landscape is edenic and the people that inhabit it are "most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age" (8: 305). Beyond Barlowe's assurances, however, there lingers some anxiety, for regardless of the paradisaical resonances of the account, the English continue to be on their guard (the natives, Barlowe writes "would have given any thing for swordes: but wee would not depart with any," 8: 301-302). Witness, for example, the episode in which a friendly Indian woman offers food and hospitality to the English explorers. While the English sit eating, the men of the tribe return from the day's hunting, still keeping their bows and arrows with them. Their homecoming fills the English with apprehension and suspicion: "we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons" (8: 306). The episode ends happily, with the Indian woman reprimanding the men for frightening the strangers, and with Barlowe's assurance that "a more kinde and loving people there can not be found in the worlde" (ibid.). Uncertainty resurfaces, however, at a different point in the narrative. This has to do with a case of inter-tribal warfare that the English become aware of, and which I discuss below.

As a member of a reconnaissance expedition to a land which the English wanted to colonize, Barlowe was part of a group of people who had to give serious consideration to the political problem posed by the acquisition of colonies. Accordingly, his ethnographical record contains various observations about the structure of the Indians' society, their

form of government and the relationship between the population and its governors.<sup>34</sup> Inevitably, such observations are not neutral or disinterested but are closely linked with what the Englishmen will have to face once they establish themselves in the land--namely, the question of their own position with regard to the already existing society they seek to rule and upon which they depend for their survival. Determined to establish themselves in an alien environment which could turn hostile at any moment, the safety of the English depends on the image they will be able to project. The colonists hope to maintain an image to trigger a responsive image in the natives, thus that they "be drawn . . . into love with our nation; that we become not hatefull unto them, as the Spaniard is."<sup>35</sup> At one stage, Barlowe interprets the signs of the Indians as expressing "all love, and familiaritie" (8: 301). At another, however, he is less certain. Understanding that the English are in immediate need of food, the leader of the tribe informs them that an abundance of commodities can be found in another tribe's neighbouring village. As it happens, the two different tribes are mortal enemies. Barlowe writes:

[they] have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us, that there will be found in it great store of commodities.

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<sup>34</sup>In his discussion of Barlowe's narrative Stephen Greenblatt notes the contradictions that arise from Barlowe's attempt to describe the natives of Virginia as living "after the maner of the golden age," while noting the hierarchical structure of the indigenous society (Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 94).

<sup>35</sup>Richard Hakluyt the Elder, "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees." in D. B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1979), 3: 64-69 (67).

But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies, or for the love they beare to us, we leave that to the tryall hereafter. (8: 308)

A comment like this presents us with a momentary disruption. It is a statement of suppressed uncertainty which destabilizes Barlowe's reiterated optimism. With his suspicion that the English might be drawn into the intrigues of intertribal warfare, Barlowe undermines the myth of Edenic innocence--of the Indian "ignorant of all manner of Politicks"<sup>36</sup> which he has helped to create. He also suggests that in the colonial situation the word "love" is charged with more complicated meanings than at first appears. Whereas earlier Barlowe readily read the Indian signs as showing "all love, and familiaritie," now he appears less certain of his interpretative skills: whether it is for love or for revenge, "we leave that to the tryall hereafter." At this particular moment, when the colonial experiment has only just begun, Barlowe's record suggests that the situation of the first colonists is uncertain and precarious: the Indians in their own land retain the power to mislead and manipulate the English, and thus to deny them the position of superiority that they see themselves as rightfully occupying. Having vividly and evocatively described the paradisaical situation in Virginia, Barlowe has done what he was meant to do: produced the right propaganda. On the other hand, his uncertainties register the fact that the propaganda of conquest is by no means the same thing as the conviction of it.

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<sup>36</sup>Beverley, 16.

I will pursue this line of argument shortly in relation to Thomas Harriot's "A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia." However, before we can look at Harriot's *Report*, we need to contextualize it by considering Ralph Lane's "An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia." The point is here that Harriot's narrative was written partly in order to counteract the negative impression created by the fact that rumours had gathered around the colony. Harriot's *Report* offers "the main evidence that Lane's men, returning in 1586, systematically ran down the colonizing project" and Lane's own narrative is his "apologia . . . for his actions during his residence on Roanoke Island."<sup>37</sup>

## II. ii.

The section of Hakluyt dealing with the Virginia voyages includes an extract from a letter sent to the two Richard Hakluyts from the "new Fort in Virginia."<sup>38</sup> The letter was written by Ralph Lane in early September 1585, only a few weeks after the arrival of the first

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<sup>37</sup>*Roanoke*, 320, n. 5 and n. 29 respectively.

<sup>38</sup>"An extract of Master Ralph Lanes letter to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another Gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia," 8: 319-20 (320).

colonists in the area around Roanoke. Writing to his two friends in London, Lane unambiguously repeats Barlowe's enthusiastic impressions of the country and its inhabitants: Virginia is "the goodliest and most pleasing Territorie of the world," "abounding with sweete trees" and "rich commodities" (8: 319), populated by people who may be "Savages" but are "naturally . . . most courteous" all the same (8: 319-20).

A very different image of the inhabitants of Virginia, however, is recorded by Lane in his next report. The report is entitled "An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia," and it was "sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh."<sup>39</sup> According to D. B. Quinn, it was probably written very soon after the return of the colonists to Portsmouth, in July 1586.<sup>40</sup> Lane divides the account in two parts: in the first part he informs Raleigh of the progress of the colonists in exploring the area around Roanoke; in the second he explains the reasons that led the colonists to abandon their settlement and return to England in one of Drake's ships. It becomes obvious that one of the most significant reasons for their decision to leave was the hostile behaviour of the native population towards the English.

Whereas the letter sent to Hakluyt can be seen to rehearse the most optimistic aspects of Barlowe's report, Lane's report on the progress of the first colony comes as a confirmation of the uncertainties

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<sup>39</sup>"An account of the particularities of the employments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill under the charge of Master Ralph Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August 1585. until the 18. of June 1586. at which time they departed the Countrey: sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh," 8: 320-45.

that were also implicit in Barlowe. Lane does not deny that Virginia is a land of abundance. He writes that it represents a territory that “for pleasantnes of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea . . . is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever” (8: 321)--a territory, moreover, which borders with “Countreys of great fertility,” and one which is surrounded by “goodly high land” (8: 322), and holds the promise of rich mines and pearl fisheries. The position of the Englishmen in relation to this land of abundance, however, is not easy or straightforward, for the commodities that the land promises are continuously beyond the Englishmen’s reach. Everything is unattainable, not because of the danger or difficulty of the journey to these products, but because the colonists are continuously confronted with intense native hostility. The story of their sojourn in Virginia is one of continuous struggle with a population seen as treacherous and devious. In this version, the English are far from being welcomed with “love and kindnesse” (8: 305) by “kinde and loving people” (8: 306). (Witness, for example, a telling episode which illustrates well the confusion that surrounds the interpretation of signs: “wee heard certaine Savages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with me in the boat, whereof we all being very glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answer them, they presently began a song, as we thought, in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his piece, and tolde mee that they meant to fight with

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<sup>40</sup>*Roanoke*, 255, n. 4.

us," 8: 330.) The colonists are struggling with adverse conditions, they are drawn into the intrigues of inter-tribal warfare, and, most significantly, they are wholly dependent upon the Indians to prevent starvation. What is worse, the natives readily recognise the colonists' position of dependance and try to turn it to their advantage.

It is not surprising that in his attempt to justify his decision to abandon the settlement and to bring the colonists back to England, Lane is more interested in recording the "conspiracie of Pemisapan" (8: 333) and the "mischievous practises" (8: 337) of the aborigines than in dwelling upon the supposed superiority of the English. He does mention, however, that at some earlier point the natives had regarded the English with great respect, thinking them "the servants of God" (8: 335). Lane gives us this account of what Ensenore, the Englishmen's only native ally, apparently thought about the colonists:

that wee were the servants of God, and that wee were not subject to bee destroyed by them: but contrarywise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not bee able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being alive: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their old men, as also, that they have bene in the night, being 100. miles from any of us, in the aire shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sicknesse had died among them: and many of them holde opinion, that we be dead men returned into the world againe, and that wee doe not remaine dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe. (8: 335)

Lane is not really sure how to interpret this: on the one hand, it is an incomprehensible, impenetrable way of thinking that plays a part in

saving the Englishmen from certain death; on the other hand, he supposes that it could be a providential response ("the good providence of the Almighty for the saving of us," 8: 335). What he also records is that the natives' admiration of the English was profoundly shaken by a rumour that the colonists were starving or else slain:

they grew not onely into contempt of us, but also (contrary to their former reverend opinion in shew, of the Almighty God of heaven, and Jesus Christ whom wee serve and worship, whom before they would acknowledge and confesse the only God) now they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lorde God was not God, since hee suffered us to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed . . . Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake have no more credite for us. (8: 334)

What the two extracts suggest is that the image of Englishness that the colonists project is inseparable from religion. Perceiving them as "the servants of God" (8: 335) the natives respect the English and come to embrace their religious beliefs. The crisis that Lane describes (which leads the natives first to embrace the colonists' religious beliefs, then to challenge them) revolves around the issue of power: it is when the natives see the English as powerful--when they learn that no tribe "durst . . . abide us, and that those that did abide us were killed"--that Ensenore's opinion is "received againe with greater respects" (ibid.). When the colonists appear fragile and mortal, however, the natives rise up against them and their beliefs.

Lane himself offers no outright explanation for the change in the behaviour of the Indians. In a conventionally religious frame of mind



he sees the progress of the colony and the sufferings that the English have endured as a trial decreed by God ("as it pleased him to try us," 8: 337) from which they emerge not victorious but defeated.

There are two points, I think, to be made about Lane's experience which bear upon Harriot's *Report*. Both points turn on the relationship between the English and God. In the first instance the relationship is as perceived by the natives, who invite the English to see themselves as "the servants of God" (8: 335, as quoted above). However, as we have seen, Lane is confused as to how he should take this, and subsequent events justify this uneasiness.

Once it is clear that things have gone wrong the focus switches to the Englishman Lane's perception of the English in relation to their God. It seems, in the second passage that I have quoted, that Lane wants to make sense of the English sufferings in Christian terms: suffering is here a form of humble service and devout patience.

It isn't clear how aware of this Lane is, or how conscious he is that while recording a double crisis in the belief system of the natives (the natives see the English as God's servants and embrace their religion only to turn against them and "blaspheme" against them) he might also be recording a crisis in the beliefs of the English, or at any rate, of himself.

Stephen Greenblatt has claimed something similar of Thomas Harriot, but Harriot is made of sterner stuff, and as Greenblatt argues, there is in Harriot a much more self-conscious attempt to exploit native misperceptions. Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new*

*found land of Virginia* was published in 1588, and it is believed that it was written sometime between February 1587 and February 1588.<sup>41</sup> Thomas Harriot was one of the party that was established in Virginia under Lane's command. The *Report* that he wrote was explicitly designed to counteract the various rumours surrounding the colony and to attract support for Raleigh's next voyage. Harriot's *Report* is one of the better known and most widely discussed narratives relating to the early stages of colonization of America by the English. It is to this narrative, and Greenblatt's analysis of it, that we now turn.

### II. iii.

Thomas Harriot was one of the most prominent scientists of Elizabethan England and his involvement in the Virginia enterprise represents a new stage in the scientific revolution that was taking place at the time.<sup>42</sup> He was employed by Raleigh and sent to Virginia in order to survey the land, with its fauna and flora, and to observe its

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<sup>41</sup>*Roanoke*, 38.

<sup>42</sup>On Thomas Harriot see Muriel Rukeyser, *The Traces of Thomas Harriot* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1972) and John Shirley ed., *Thomas Harriot: Renaissance Scientist* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

inhabitants. This move is part of a systematic effort to use geography for political purposes.<sup>43</sup>

In his opening statement, addressed "To the Adventurers, Favourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia" (8: 349), Harriot concedes that his *Report* is more than a record of the events as he witnessed them. He points to the pronounced political aspect of his text when he explains his reasons for writing it. The voyages of discovery and settlement have suffered, Harriot writes, from the unfavourable rumours that surround the proceedings of the English colony in Virginia ("Which reports have not done a little wrong to many that otherwise would have also favoured and adventured in the action," *ibid.*). Speaking as a person who knows more than anyone else about the colony (he has "seene and knowen more then the ordinary," 8: 350) Harriot will try to combat these rumours in his report in order to help rekindle interest in colonization.

The rumours and anxiety that surrounded the colony in Virginia revolved around three main points: the threat of starvation, the fear of an unprofitable outcome, and the hostility of the natives. In his *Report* Harriot undertakes to answer each of these points in considerable detail. In the first two parts of his account he draws an inventory of marketable commodities and edible plants and animals,

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<sup>43</sup>On the importance that Raleigh assigned to geography as a science useful to the state see R. A. Skelton, "Raleigh as a Geographer," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 71 (1963): 131-49.

also pointing to the high potential of the place for further development. Its final part is entirely devoted to “the nature and maners of the people” (8: 374). The overall purpose of this part is to establish that the natives

in respect of troubling our inhabiting and planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall have cause both to feare and love us, that shall inhabite with them. (ibid.)

Coexistence with the indigenous tribes rather than their immediate expulsion from the land, is the objective of the colonial experiment. Nevertheless, Harriot suggests that this will be made possible by establishing first of all a relation of power in which the English are clearly superior. The English will establish themselves through the “love” that they manage to inspire in the natives. This “love” carries strong implications of subjection since it is closely related to “fear.” Fear is the ultimate means of political control. Harriot does not relate it directly to physical violence, but its significance for him emerges clearly from the way in which he chooses to understand his empirical observations.

In his *Report* Harriot remarks that the inhabitants of Virginia are a clever people who show exceptional skill and powers of understanding. At the same time, he continuously evokes the pronounced difference between the two civilizations, showing that the English are much more technologically advanced than the natives, and suggests that this difference could (and should) be used to the Englishmen’s advantage:

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before things of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as we have), they seeme very ingenious. For although they have no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and Artes as wee, yet in those things they doe, they shew excellencie of wit. And by how much they upon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they should desire our friendship and love, and have the greater respect for pleasing and obeying us. Whereby may bee hoped, if meanes of good government be used, that they may in short time bee brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true Religion. (8: 375-76)

Harriot counts upon the ability of the clever Indians to understand, and to submit naturally and unequivocally, to the technological power which faces them. The difference in the respective stages of civilization immediately opens up an unbridgeable gap between the two parties and determines the place of each in the relationship of authority. The natives are expected to recognize their subordinate position and to accept it willingly; they are expected, that is, to put themselves in this position, rather than to be put in it. In this way conquest will not be forced upon them but will be the outcome of a process in the minds of the Indians. It might be worthwhile to point here to the close affinity between Harriot's observations and Hakluyt's words in the *Discourse of Western Planting*:

the people [are] goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature which willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goo aboute to

allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doo.<sup>44</sup>

Both Hakluyt and Harriot refer to the indisputable position of superiority that the English will occupy in the colonial situation; both suggest that it is the English "gentlenesse and humanitie" in dealing with the natives that will provoke the feelings of obedience and servitude on their part. But the crucial phrase in Hakluyt's discourse is "to allure them"--to charm and fascinate the Indians, to make them surrender to the force of the Englishmen's image rather than to the force of their weapons. Gentleness and humanity are essential components of this image (at one point Harriot writes: "There was no towne where wee had any subtile devise practised against us, wee leaving it unpunished or not revenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse)" 8: 380); but Harriot goes further than Hakluyt when he suggests that the Englishmen's image is inseparably linked with technology. The way in which Harriot visualises what Hakluyt calls "allure" is through the display of the objects that testify to the Englishmen's technological superiority ("Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses . . . a perspective glasse . . .

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<sup>44</sup>Richard Hakluyt, *A Discourse on Western Planting*, 16. (Hakluyt is quoting Ribault here.) In fact, in a short narrative of the third voyage to Virginia "most probably" written by Hakluyt (*Roanoke*, 477, n. 1) and included in the *Voyages*, Hakluyt explains the failure of the colonists in terms of a sin: they were driven "out of this paradise of the world" because they failed to live up to the image of the gentle and humane colonist. Hakluyt writes: "they left all things confusedly, as if they had bene chased from thence by a mighty army: and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey." See "The third voyage to Virginia made by a ship sent in the yeere 1586. for the reliefe of the colonie planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of sir Walter Raleigh," 8: 346-48 (347).

burning glasses . . . gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, spring-clockes that seeme to goe of themselves," 8: 378), objects that will dazzle and bewilder the Indians, provoking their "wonderfull admiration" (8: 380). Once the Indians have been charmed, the English can assume their self-appointed role as protectors. Their responsibility will be the exercise of good government, which will exert a civilizing influence upon them and convert them to the "true Religion" (8: 376).

Religion plays a prominent role in Harriot's account. He writes that the natives have "some religion . . . already" and he goes on to suggest that even though "it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the easier and sooner reformed" (ibid.). He implies, therefore, that conversion is possible not only because the Indians already possess the notion of "faith," but also because there are elements in the natives' system of belief that the English can gain access to, can impress their image upon, and can, later on, replace with their own faith. After summarizing the essentials of the Indian religion Harriot writes that through conversing with the English the natives "were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours" (8: 378). The remainder of the narrative suggests, however, that it is rather the image of the English than their words (which are restricted through "want of perfect utterance in their language," 8: 378) that brings forth this change. It is striking that immediately after noting the Indians' doubt of their beliefs as a result of their conversation with the English, Harriot records the even more profound effect made on them by English technology. He suggests that

this precipitates a deep crisis in the Indians' convictions, which paves the way to conversion:

Most things they sawe with us, as Mathematicall instruments, sea Compasses, the vertue of the load-stone in drawing yron, a perspective glasse whereby was shewed many strange sights . . . and many other things that wee had were so strange unto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought that they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the leastwise they had bene given and taught us of the gods. Which made many of them to have such opinion of us, as that if they knew not the trueth of God and Religion already, it was rather to bee had from us whom God so specially loved, then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselves to be in comparison of us. (ibid.)

Technology clears the way for religion, and both are inseparably associated with conquest. A direct relationship between the English and the "gods" is suggested to the Indians through their encounter with technology--a relationship from which they feel excluded and to which they believe they can gain access only through the mediation of the English. In this way, the English begin to occupy a position of intermediary between the Indians and their God, displacing the authority of the Indian priests. Harriot implies that the dazzling effect of technology belittles the Indians in their own eyes. He thus immediately sanctions conquest. By claiming that the Indians think of themselves as "simple," Harriot makes them confirm a widespread European belief about themselves; by suggesting that they believe that God "specially" loves the English, Harriot uses them to endorse the idea of the chosen nation, and to imply that the English have every



right to conquer and convert. He thus undercuts the question of the ethics of colonization. Conquest is naturalized, becomes inevitable, and is even sought by the natives themselves.

In his exposition of the Indians' religion Harriot talks of their belief concerning the creation of the universe and of mankind, of their multiple anthropomorphic deities, and of their belief in the immortality of the soul. It is this last element that seems to intrigue him most. He incorporates in his report the stories "of two men that had bene lately dead and revived againe" (8: 377) as they have been related to him by the natives, and these stories provoke the following comment:

What subtiltie soever be in the Wiroances and priestes, this opinion worketh so much in many of the common and simple sort of people, that it maketh them have great respect to their Governours, and also great care what they doe, to avoyd torment after death. (8: 378)

Harriot observes here that religion (at least the religion of the Amerindians) is used as a political tool, that it works as a force of civil discipline, as a means by which governors can exercise effective control over the people. In Harriot's colonial scheme the English will eventually take on the role of governors and, as I have already suggested, this change of authority will be achieved through the substitution of one religion for the other. In his subsequent discussion of the effect that the English have upon the natives Harriot presents it as being inseparably linked to their role as representatives of the Christian religion. What also becomes clear is that the religion of the

English works in exactly the same way as the religion of the Amerindians: that is, as a force of civil discipline. Harriot talks of the feelings of fear and subordination that the English bring out in the natives and suggests that these feelings make the Indians question the authority of their own god and turn to the English for help. There are many examples of this process recorded in Harriot's text. When, for example, an old man of the tribe falls seriously ill he asks the English to pray for him, "doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking hee was in such danger for offending us and thereby our God" (8: 379); when there is an unexpected drought the natives begin to fear "that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased us" and, as a consequence, "many would come to us and desire us to pray to our God of England, that he would preserve their Corne" (ibid.); when some "strange sicknesse" breaks out among the people "they would impute to us the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing us" (8: 380). As such cases continue, the English begin to share the opinion that the Indians have formed of them, and gradually both parties arrive at the same conclusion: that all this is a sign of God's favour to the English ("other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selves have cause in some sort to thinke no lesse," 8: 382). And Harriot concludes: "These their opinions I have set downe the more at large, that it may appeare unto you that there is good hope they may be brought through discreete dealing and government to the imbracing of the trueth, and consequently to honour, obey, feare and love us."

So far what I have offered is an exposition of some of the main issues that arise from Harriot's text, showing how he builds up a reassuringly powerful image of the English which implicitly opposes the defeatism of Lane. What I would like to do next is refer my discussion of Harriot to my larger argument with New Historicism.

It should be clear by now to anyone familiar with Greenblatt's essay "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion" that my own analysis of Harriot's *Report* does not differ in any important respect from the conclusions that he reaches there.<sup>45</sup> Now, however, I will attempt to move beyond the recognition of indebtedness to an exposition of what I think is missing from Greenblatt's otherwise nuanced and perceptive reading.

As Greenblatt writes in an earlier version of "Invisible Bullets," what interests him in a text like Harriot's is "the process whereby subversive insights are generated in the midst of apparently orthodox texts and simultaneously contained by those texts."<sup>46</sup> The majority of "subversive insights" that Greenblatt detects in Harriot's *Report* revolve around religion. Harriot finds himself in a position where he can observe a civilization which has been uncontaminated by prior contact with another European nation; hence, he is able to recover a

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<sup>45</sup>Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion," in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 21-65. I quote from this version of the essay.

<sup>46</sup>"Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion," *Glyph* 8 (1981): 40-61 (41).

version of his own civilization's past by observing the native society. "There is an easy, indeed almost irresistible, analogy in the period," Greenblatt writes, "between accounts of Indian and European social structure, so that Harriot's description of the inward mechanisms of Algonquian society implies a description of comparable mechanisms in his own culture" (27). Accordingly, Greenblatt finds in Harriot "a mind . . . that seems to be virtually testing the Machiavellian hypotheses" on the origin and function of religion (26); in him we have

one of the earliest instances of a significant phenomenon: the testing upon the bodies and minds of non-Europeans or, more generally, the noncivilized, of a hypothesis about the origin and nature of European culture and belief. (28)

The *Report* is important for Greenblatt because "understanding the relation between orthodoxy and subversion in Harriot's text will enable us to construct an interpretative model that may be used to understand the far more complex problem posed by Shakespeare's history plays" (23). In "Invisible Bullets," therefore, Harriot and Shakespeare are examined side by side, without any acknowledgement of the difference between fiction and non-fiction: both are treated as "discourse."

In the questions that it poses and the answers that it seeks "Invisible Bullets" represents a new stage in Greenblatt's interests--a move away from the preoccupation with identity formation and role-playing towards a consideration of the generation and containment of subversion. This different stage, however, does not represent a radical break with his earlier work; on the contrary, it implicitly builds upon it.

What clearly informs Greenblatt's understanding of Harriot is his notion of "improvisation" which he developed in his study *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*.<sup>47</sup> Improvisation is for Greenblatt a "crucial Renaissance mode of behavior" (227); I will briefly summarise it, since it would seem to provide us with a valuable and persuasive way of reading the *Report* and other early colonial texts.

As I mentioned in the exposition of my argument, Greenblatt's notion of improvisation is a significant example of a New Historicist's assault on the term "empathy." In his discussion of Shakespeare's *Othello*, Greenblatt substitutes for the idea of "empathy" the idea of discursive improvisation. According to Greenblatt, the problem with the idea of empathy is that it conceals the issue of power relations behind a fanciful assumption of subjective fellow-feeling.

In "The Improvisation of Power" (the final chapter of *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*) Greenblatt uses as his starting point a text by the sociologist Daniel Lerner. Lerner begins by defining the West as a "mobile society" (224) and insists that empathy is a defining characteristic of Western cultural "mobile sensibility" (224) and one of the reasons for its success. Greenblatt goes on to explain Lerner's position:

While traditional society, Professor Lerner argues, functions on the basis of a "highly constrictive personality"

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<sup>47</sup>"The Improvisation of Power," in *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 222-54.

(51), one that resists change and is incapable of grasping the situation of another, the mobile personality of Western society "is distinguished by a high capacity for identification with new aspects of his environment," for he "comes equipped with the mechanisms needed to incorporate new demands upon himself that arise outside of his habitual experience." (225)

Lerner subsumes these mechanisms under the term "empathy," which he defines as "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" (225). Greenblatt goes on to link Lerner's argument with a story from 1525, found in Peter Martyr's *Decades*; the story concerns the way in which the Spanish conquistadores manipulated the native Caribbeans' religious beliefs in order to recruit workers for their mines. "What is essential," Greenblatt writes, "is the Europeans' ability again and again to insinuate themselves into the preexisting political, religious, even psychic structures of the natives and to turn those structures to their advantage" (227). And he goes on to comment:

Professor Lerner is right to insist that this ability is a characteristically (though not exclusively) Western mode, present to varying degrees in the classical and medieval world and greatly strengthened from the Renaissance onward; he misleads only in insisting further that it is an act of imaginative generosity, a sympathetic appreciation of the situation of the other fellow. For when he speaks confidently of the "spread of empathy around the world," we must understand that he is speaking of the exercise of Western power, power that is creative as well as destructive, but that is scarcely ever wholly disinterested and benign. (227-28)

It is the recognition of power, then, that makes Greenblatt replace the notion of "empathy" with the notion of "improvisation," since

according to Greenblatt what Lerner calls the "capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation" becomes, in a more sinister or ambivalent way, "the ability and willingness to play a role, to transform oneself, if only for a brief period and with mental reservations, into another" (228). Explaining the notion of improvisation further, Greenblatt suggests that it "necessitates the acceptance of disguise"; moreover, that it "depends upon the transformation of another's reality into a manipulable fiction." Improvisation, Greenblatt writes, "is made possible by the subversive perception of another's truth as an ideological construct"; this construct, in turn,

must at the same time be grasped in terms that bear a certain structural resemblance to one's own set of beliefs. An ideology that is perceived as entirely alien would permit no point of histrionic entry: it could be destroyed but not performed. (228)

Greenblatt's analysis culminates in Iago's discursive improvisations of power. Iago's "I am not what I am" suggests a "constant recourse to narrative" (236), which is, in turn, "both the affirmation of absolute self-interest and the affirmation of absolute vacancy; the oscillation between the two incompatible positions suggests in Iago the principle of narrativity itself" (ibid.).

The notion of "improvisation," this "ability and willingness" to transform a given situation "into one's own scenario," to turn someone's "truth" into a "fiction" that can be manipulated for one's own advantage is crucial in informing Greenblatt's own conclusions

about Harriot since in "Invisible Bullets" Harriot's observations on the religion of the Amerindians are grasped precisely as an ideological construct, as a manipulable fiction that can be used for the Englishmen's advantage.

The basic notion of Greenblatt's conception of improvisation, then, can clearly be seen to underlie his understanding of Harriot and allow him to pursue his line of argument on subversion and its containment in the *Report*. As "Invisible Bullets" demonstrates, this underlying notion of improvisation can provide us with a genuinely exciting and persuasive way of reading Harriot's text. There is, however, a serious limitation to it. This limitation is, I think, a consequence of the fact that Greenblatt sees the actual category of improvisation as essentially discursive. Harriot's text, like the text of *Othello*, represents nothing but the discourse of improvised power relations: it offers us no access to the particular experience of the historical subject who might, so to speak, *be having to improvise*. For Greenblatt, the historical agent is little more than a function of discourse: like the fictional Iago the historical agent conceals the "absolute vacancy" where power gets improvised. Now, while this might provide us with a highly appropriate reading of *Othello*, I would like to argue that it is ultimately inadequate for an understanding of historical experience.

I have already mentioned that Harriot was one of the colonists established in Virginia under Lane's command. He was certainly there



from August 1585 till June 1586; whether he had also accompanied Amadas and Balowe in the 1584 voyage remains a point of historical conjecture.<sup>48</sup> The ultimate purpose of Harriot's residence in Virginia was to record in prose the flora and fauna of the New World, as well as the customs of its inhabitants. It is unfortunate that the extensive notes that he prepared while in Virginia have not survived: some were lost at sea and it is not known what became of the rest. What is known, however, is that Harriot

was to sit down over the next few years after 1586 to extract all that he could out of his own knowledge and that of others so that as much as possible could be salvaged from the survey and from the other knowledge obtained by participants in the 1584 and later voyages, so that alongside the descriptive record a detailed dossier on which a narrative could be based could at least be assembled. (ibid., 42)

As I have mentioned earlier, part of this archive was published by Hakluyt in the two successive editions of the *Principal Navigations*. The "Chronicle" that Harriot mentions in his *Report*, which was going to be based on his extensive dossier, was probably never finished, and in any case no trace of it survives. In his *A briefe and true report*, a promotional tract which was prepared for "popular consumption" (ibid., 41) and which is the only account of the Virginia enterprises to appear independently in print, that stands as the fullest exposition of Harriot's involvement in Virginia. The *Report* was first published in

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<sup>48</sup>Quinn, "Thomas Harriot and the New World," 38-39.

February 1588, but as I have already mentioned it is believed that it was originally written at least a year earlier, in order to promote the second colony which sailed under John White. By the time that the *Report* was published the situation in Virginia had already turned sour. The colony which had been left there had already been destroyed and White's colonists were in need of help. As Wayne Franklin aptly puts it, at the time of its publication the account was "an anachronistic prediction of a future history which most assuredly had not been realized"--and this makes the *Report*, "for all its carefully preserved optimism, [carry] a circumstantial air of doom."<sup>49</sup> I will return to Franklin's reading of Harriot shortly. For the moment, I would like to highlight the way in which Greenblatt understands Harriot's position in relation to the writing of the *Report*. He writes:

*A Brief and True Report . . . is not a reflection upon the Virginia colony or even a simple record of it--it is not, in other words, a privileged withdrawal into a critical zone set apart from power--but a continuation of the colonial enterprise. (Invisible Bullets, 31)*

This past could best be investigated in the privileged anthropological moment of the initial encounter, for the comparable situations in Europe itself tended to be already contaminated by prior contact . . . The actual testing could happen only once, for it entails not detached observation but radical change, the change that Harriot begins to observe in the priests. (ibid., 28)

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<sup>49</sup>Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers*, 111.

What strikes me in both the above statements is the notion of "privilege" in the attempt to describe Harriot's position. According to Greenblatt Harriot finds himself at "the privileged anthropological moment of the initial encounter" and writes a text which is not the product of "a privileged withdrawal into a critical zone removed from power," since it is a work of deliberate propaganda, "a continuation of the colonial enterprise." My objection here is that I understand Harriot's position of privilege in a very different way from Greenblatt. According to Greenblatt there is nothing privileged about Harriot's critical reflections on the voyage, because they are "a continuation of the colonial enterprise" and thus subordinate to the network of power relations. What is privileged, is the "anthropological moment of the initial encounter." I want to argue, however, that it is not the moment of initial encounter that is privileged--except as a product of the reconstruction of that moment with the benefits (or privileges) of hindsight. The privilege consists in being able to turn that "initial encounter," or one's notes or memories of it, into a moment of "anthropology"--i.e. a moment of detached, systematic, scientific curiosity. This is something that is achieved in retrospect. Greenblatt elides this time lag between encounter and anthropology, between experience and discourse, because for him there is no prediscursive moment, there is no experience outside of discourse.

So, as I see it, it is the moment of writing about the encounter that is the privileged moment: not because it constitutes "a reflection" that would appear to be "set apart from power," but because it is at the

moment of writing--of writing, moreover, with the precise aim of furthering the colonial enterprise--that Harriot is put in the privileged position of re-ordering his experience and systematizing his observations. Muriel Rykeyser puts it this way: "Harriot is sailing away from a world . . . with the task of summoning up that world in himself and making it coherent."<sup>50</sup> It is the retrospective moment, the moment in which Harriot makes the world that he has left behind "coherent," the moment that comes one year, possibly two, after he sailed away from that world, that constitutes the privilege. The privilege is one of retrospection, of looking back and writing history.

I would like to develop this point about experience and discourse by turning for the moment away from Greenblatt's analysis to a discussion of Harriot's *Report* by another American critic, Wayne Franklin.<sup>51</sup> I want to suggest that Franklin's reading of Harriot enables us to place Harriot himself in relation to his text, reflecting on his own historical experience.

In his own reading of the *Report*, Franklin is more interested in Harriot's use of the descriptive catalogue, through which Harriot tries to provide an English audience with a picture of the New World. Like most critics, Franklin begins with a recognition that pressing economic considerations are behind Harriot's description of the flora and fauna

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<sup>50</sup>Rukeyser, *The Traces of Thomas Harriot*, 62.

<sup>51</sup>Franklin, 104-13.

of Virginia and inevitably influence the terms of this description. Comparing Harriot's systematic catalogues to the earlier catalogues of Barlowe's report, he writes:

Harriot's prose applies to this attitude of wonder . . . a categorical scrutiny which transforms it into a more nearly economic emotion. The *Report* of 1588, unlike Barlowe's account, is a conscious attempt to subordinate American "abundance" to English desire. (106)

In his article, Greenblatt refers to Franklin's reading in order to reinforce his own understanding of Harriot's catalogue as the space where "the natural goods of the land are turned into social goods, that is, into 'merchantable commodities'" (*Invisible Bullets*, 31). He is not interested, however, in noting that Franklin goes on to qualify this neatly economic position later on in his analysis by suggesting that there is "a certain weight of New World experience which lies behind the whole listing and gives it more dimensionality" (108)--and, again, that we "can read in what seems like a mercantile abstract the traces of a rich encounter with American life" (*ibid.*). According to Franklin:

If Harriot's approach to the American scene by means of the catalog device portrays him at first as an "Argus-eyed" traveler who perceives Virginia only through the filter of economic needs, the depth of experience which is rendered through Harriot's catalog--even perhaps in spite of it--shows us other angles of approach and less engrossing perceptions. (109)

What Franklin recognises, when he talks of the "depth of experience" which becomes perceptible "through" the catalogue and "in spite of it,"

is Harriot's attempt to write himself out of his text, to efface his own involvement in what he relates. To adapt one of Franklin's earlier phrases, what is perceptible here is Harriot's attempt to subordinate the depth of his experience to English desire. In his *Report* Harriot puts himself in a rather delicate position: he is the eyewitness who invokes his participatory authority (the fact that he was there, that he has seen and done these things) in order to convince his audience that he is telling the truth while, at the same time, he deliberately adopts a detached, scientific way of presenting this participation. This cool-minded detachment does not exhaust itself in his observations of the flora and fauna of Virginia but extends to his observations of "the nature and maners of the people" (Harriot, 8: 374). To a large degree, the same eye for commodity that informs his descriptive catalogues informs his description of the culture of the Amerindians. For example, a discussion of the natives' nakedness and clothing leads to a discussion of their weapons, which in turns leads to the point that they do not have the use of iron and therefore will find it difficult to defend themselves successfully against the technologically advanced Englishmen (ibid.).<sup>52</sup> However, there is a point at which the strong "intellectual detachment"<sup>53</sup> that leads Harriot to produce a confident and optimistic text breaks down. What this point reveals is a mind that is less interested in testing "Machiavellian hypotheses" on religion

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<sup>52</sup>On the different meanings of "nakedness" in early colonial texts in general and Harriot in particular see Kupperman, *Settling with the Indians*, 39-40.

<sup>53</sup>Quinn, "Thomas Harriot," 47.

(*Invisible Bullets*, 26) than in confronting the consequences of his involvement in the colonial experiment--in short, a mind that tries to come to terms with its experience. Significantly, it is a moment which Greenblatt's analysis ignores.

Harriot is very interested in the Algonquians' belief in the immortality of the soul and he provides two illustrative examples of it. Two stories are recounted to him by the natives themselves ("For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde me two stories," 8: 377). These stories are treated, as I have mentioned earlier, in a way befitting Greenblatt's concept of improvisation: they are recorded as the natives' "truth" and simultaneously grasped as an "ideological construct," and as such precipitate Harriot's observations on religion as a tool of civil discipline. It is a point worthy of note, however, that Harriot unambiguously presents these stories as "ideology" by situating them away from himself; neither touches upon his experience in any other way than as a story. He mentions that one occurred before he and his fellow Englishmen arrived in Virginia ("the one happened but few yeeres before our comming into the Countrey") whereas the other "happened in the same yeere we were there, but in a towne that was 60. miles from us, and it was told me for strange newes" (*ibid.*). Both incidents, then, are distanced from the traveller and his immediate personal experience--one spatially, the other temporally. They are to him "strange newes" that lead to the kind of connection between religion and discipline that Greenblatt illustrates in his article.

The case is slightly different later on in Harriot's account, when he records a "rare and strange accident" (8: 380) which he and his fellow Englishmen experienced and "which moved the whole Countrey that either knew or heard of us, to have us in wonderfull admiration." The natives begin to die from an unknown cause at every town that the Englishmen visit. Finding it difficult to resist a moral interpretation Harriot writes that this happened in every town "where wee had any subtile devise practised against us." This unexplained phenomenon leads some of the Englishmen's native allies to think that "it was the worke of our God through our meanes," and to ask whether they might intercede with their God to destroy the natives' enemies. Harriot tries to suggest that what they ask is ungodly and that, in any case, God "would not subject himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men" (8: 381). He adds that the English would show themselves as God's "true servants" if they made petition to the contrary, praying not for the death of the enemy tribes, but "that they with them might live together with us." Nevertheless, the natives continue to die, and the English allies thank Harriot and his company because "although we satisfied them not in promise, yet in deedes and effect we had fulfilled their desires." Harriot goes on to record the various interpretations that this "rare and strange accident" (8: 380) solicited among the natives:

This marveilous accident in all the Countrey wrought so strange opinions of us, that some people could not tell whether to thinke us gods or men. . . .

Some therefore were of opinion that we were not borne of women, and therefore not mortal, but that we



were men of an old generation many yeeres past, then risen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewise seeme to prophecie that there were more of our generation yet to come to kill theirs and take their places, *as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done*. Those that were immediatly to come after us they imagined to be in the aire, yet invisible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the love of us, did make the people to die in that sort as they did, by shooting invisible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phisitions (to excuse their ignorance in curing the disease) would not be ashamed to say, but earnestly make the simple people beleieve, that the strings of blood that they sucked out of the sicke bodies, were the strings wherewithall the invisible bullets were tied and cast. Some also thought that wee shot them our selves out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any Towne that had offended us, as wee listed, howe farre distant from us soever it were. And other some said, that it was the speciall worke of God for our sakes, as we our selves have cause in some sort to thinke no lesse, whatsoever some doe, or may imagine to the contrary, specially some Astrologers, knowing of the Eclipse of the Sunne which we saw the same yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which unto them appeared very terrible. (8: 381-82, my emphasis)

For Stephen Greenblatt the recording of these alien voices and interpretations is another way in which subversion is generated in Harriot's text (*Invisible Bullets*, 35):

For a moment, as Harriot records these competing theories, it may seem to us as if there were no absolute assurance of God's national interest, as if the drive to displace and absorb the other had given way to conversation among equals, as if all meanings were provisional, as if the signification of events stood apart from power. Our impression is intensified because we know that the theory that would ultimately triumph over the moral conception of epidemic disease was already present, at least metaphorically, in the conversation. In the very moment that the moral conception is busily authorizing itself, it registers the possibility (indeed from our vantage point, the inevitability) of its own destruction. (ibid., 36-37)

Thus, there is a plurality of voices that enters Harriot's text, and it is largely through this plurality (and through the lengthy, almost obsessive, recording of these voices) that it registers the possibility of the destruction of the dominant "moral conception." Yet, whatever the virtues of Greenblatt's reading, what becomes apparent from the passage is that for him the historical agent here is no more than a function of discourse. All he is concerned to emphasize is power "authorizing itself" while at the same time registering "the possibility . . . of its own destruction." But he fails to account for the possibility that the "moral conception" masks or placates Harriot's anxiety about *who is responsible* for the deaths of the Indians. In his eagerness to come, at last, to the startling phrase that provides him with the title of his article, Greenblatt passes over the no less interesting phrase which I have emphasized ("as some thought the purpose was, by that which was already done"). As I see it, this phrase is interesting because it signals a moment of uncertainty and ambiguity in an otherwise confident and carefully constructed propagandistic text. The uncertainty and ambiguity is a product of Harriot's attempt to interpret and rationalize the situation he is in. Thus it is a product not just of ideology, but of *a point of view trying to accommodate itself to ideology*. It is not entirely clear what the phrase refers to: it could refer to the accidental killings of the Amerindians for which Harriot has no answer; or, it could refer cryptically to the deliberate killings of the natives by some of the Englishmen--killings that Harriot furtively

reports later on in the account (8: 382-83); finally, it could also refer to the colonial experiment as a whole.

So far, I have identified moments of tension and ambiguity in three texts which relate the beginnings of English colonization in North America. I have argued that the problems facing the travellers who set down their experience are not exclusively "discursive," nor are they "solved discursively"--if they are solved at all.<sup>54</sup> Instead, I have attempted to show how the *experience of encounter* complicates the *discourse of possession*--the very discourse within which encounter is articulated. I would like to pursue this line of argument in the two texts that I shall consider next: Sir Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana* and Lawrence Keymis's *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana*.<sup>55</sup> But before I proceed to a consideration of these two narratives I would like to look at the discussion of these two accounts as exemplary instances of "protocolonialist discourse" by the prominent New Historicist critic Louis Montrose. I have chosen one of Montrose's better known articles, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," as the

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<sup>54</sup>The words in quotation marks come from Mary Fuller, *Voyages in Print*, 13, and constitute part of her argument with respect to Harriot's *Report* in particular and early colonial texts in general. I pointed out my disagreement with Fuller's argument in my Introduction.

<sup>55</sup>10: 338-441 and 441-501 respectively. Raleigh's *Discoverie* was originally published in London by Robert Robinson in 1596. All the side-notes that accompany the reprint of the narrative in the *Voyages* are Hakluyt's. Keymis's account was published in London by Thomas Dawson in 1596. The original includes some marginal notes but the majority of the side-notes in the *Voyages* were inserted by Hakluyt.

counterpoint for my own analysis.<sup>56</sup> The article offers an exhaustive and comprehensive treatment of the sexual imagery that is present in Raleigh's text. However, to begin with, Montrose's overwhelming emphasis on discourse produces a relentless homogenizing of a variety of texts of early colonization. Even though these texts were written by a group of close associates (Barlowe, Raleigh, Keymis) they exhibit, in my opinion, not so much the sameness that Montrose finds in them, but fine shades of nuance and difference. This is the product of a complexity of response, of a difference of approach and attitude--that is to say, a difference of experience. Moreover, the overall framework of Montrose's analysis (male/female, self/other, English/Spaniard) reduces Raleigh's text to a series of mechanical and well-defined oppositions, which allegedly support and manifest ideological consistency. Unsurprisingly, the points in the text that resist Montrose's oppositional schema are treated as disruptions of consistency, and explained away as instances of "subliminal counterawareness" that, in his analysis, only serve to reinforce what he sees as the "hegemonic force" of ideology--but which I see as the hegemonic force of his own reading.

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<sup>56</sup>Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," *Representations* 33 (1991): 1-41.

### III. i.

In his article "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," Montrose adopts gender analysis as the critical perspective from which to think about narratives of colonization. He sees gender as "a primary way of signifying relationships of power" in the West and as "one of the fundamental modes in which ideological and material reality are organized" (1). From this point of view the primary concerns of the article are first, "the gendering of the protocolonialist discourse of discovery" and the consequent sexualisation of conquest (i.e. the gendering of the New World as feminine, of the conqueror as masculine and of conquest as the mastery of the male over the female); then "the projection into the New World of European representations of gender"; and finally, "the articulation of those representations with new projects of economic exploitation and geopolitical domination" (2). For Montrose the discourse of discovery describes a process of "protocolonialist 'othering'" (3) (Europe's construction of its collective Other in the New World). This process, he writes, "was accomplished by the symbolic and material destruction of the indigenous peoples of the Western Hemisphere, in systematic attempts to destroy their bodies and their wills, to suppress their cultures and to efface their histories" (2-3). In the specifically English focus of the article this process "interacts with, and mediates between two distinctive Elizabethan discourses: one, articulating the relationship between Englishmen and

Spaniards; the other, articulating the relationship between the woman monarch and her masculine subjects" (3). The "paradoxes and contradictions implicit in each of these discourses" are brought into the foreground when examined in conjunction with the discourse of discovery.

As an early example of this process of "protocolonialist 'othering'" Montrose selects Barlowe's first voyage to Virginia. Following the French historian Michel de Certeau, Montrose sees Barlowe's account as an example of "writing that conquers" (6)--writing that "will use the New World as if it were a blank, 'savage' page on which Western desire will be written." Montrose mentions the act of taking possession of the land, and the corresponding act of naming it anew, as they are recorded by Barlowe. What was called Wingandacoa is now called Virginia, in honour of the virgin Queen Elizabeth, an act of naming sanctioned by the Queen herself. By giving the land a new name--by naming it, moreover, for "the gender-specific virtue" that she employs as "a means of self-empowerment"--the Queen "symbolically effaces the indigenous society that already physically and culturally inhabits and possesses the land" (8). In this renaming, "the discursive power of the inviolate female body serves an emergent imperialist project of exploration, conquest and settlement."

At this stage I would like to point out what I see as a significant failure in Montrose's conceptual model. I have already discussed Barlowe's record of the act of taking possession of the land. Unlike Montrose, who emphasizes the act of possession as such, and treats

Barlowe as merely another instance of it, I focused on some of the idiosyncratic aspects of the way in which Barlowe represented it. I pointed out that, compared with the representation of similar acts of taking possession during the period, Barlowe's was remarkably reticent. I further suggested that this reticence betrayed a covert realization that the very act of possession which was being recorded in the text remained a formal or formulaic act--that is to say, remained on what Montrose calls the "symbolic" level, and did not extend to the "material" one. Montrose, however, unproblematically uses Barlowe's text as an exemplary instance of the discourse of discovery and possession, without paying sufficient attention to what I see as being left out of it. As I sought to demonstrate, however, these omissions are partly an outcome of the subjective experience of encounter--an experience which interacts with and complicates the dominant discourse of possession.

My argument was similar in my analysis of Harriot's *Briefe and true report*. There, I argued that the moment of ambiguity in an otherwise confident and carefully constructed propagandist text arises once Harriot is confronted with the actual destruction of the native population. In other words, whereas Harriot seems more than willing to perpetrate the "symbolic" destruction of the natives' civilization (a destruction which will be effected through the substitution of the natives' religion for the Englishmen's set of beliefs), once he is confronted with the material destruction that his and his fellow-countrymen's presence entails, he voices an uncertainty about the

progress of the colonial experiment. I should make it clear that it is not my intention to become an apologist for early English expansionism, or to suggest that this expansionism was benign and sympathetic, somehow interested in the collective fate of the American Indians. One only has to remember that Harriot's own survival largely depended upon the survival of the indigenous population, and that he and his fellow-colonists were only too aware of this dependence. My point, which is conceptual rather than moral, is that by eliding the fine difference between "symbolic" and "material" Montrose, and other discourse analysts with him, simplify both the complex issue of colonialism and the relationship between the written accounts and the experience that they are trying to relate. I will take up again this difference between "symbolic" and "material" in my discussion of Raleigh's *Discoverie*. For the moment, I will return to Montrose's article and examine what he has to say about Raleigh's text. Unfortunately, it is necessary to summarise the article at some length.

It is the notion of the inviolate female body (as seen in Barlowe's renaming of Wingandacoa as Virginia) that for Montrose provides a link with the circumstances of Raleigh's life and career. These circumstances enter, in turn, into the text of the *Discoverie of Guiana*. Montrose suggests that the *Discoverie* is a narrative of "restrained desire and deferred gratification" (11), which operates on the model of Book II of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (the Legend of Temperance). In Montrose's interpretation Raleigh defers the desired consummation



with Guiana (which nevertheless drives the narrative) as a means of recovering from the consequences of his marriage with Elizabeth Throckmorton.

Raleigh comes from a society in which women are “politically invisible” (12) (the one notable exception being Elizabeth herself). This conditions him to admire the nations of Guiana for their “collective virility.” Nevertheless, and at a higher level of abstraction, the masculine society which he so admires is totally effaced in “a metonymic substitution” of “the land for its inhabitants.” The land itself is “gendered feminine and sexed as a virgin female body” (ibid.). “Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead”: Montrose sees these words as Raleigh’s exhortation to his male readership “to prove and aggrandize themselves” upon this inviolate body. Thus, conquest is naturalised as the mastery of the male over the female. At the same time, Raleigh’s employment of this precise trope “confirms that ideology’s hegemonic force” (ibid.).

In official representations of royal power, the inviolate female body is used in yet another way, where it images the Queen herself, this time in order “to aggrandize the sovereign rather than to subordinate the woman” (13). For example, the representation of Elizabeth in the Ditchley portrait suggests “an identification of the inviolate female body of the monarch *with* the unbreached body of her land” (14). At the same time, however, it affirms “Elizabeth’s power *over* her land and *over* its inhabitants.” Montrose concludes that it is “against such official figurations of the relationship between the woman ruler and

her masculine subjects that Raleigh's figuration of his own and his fellows' relationship to Guiana resonates as a belligerent though displaced gesture of resistance."

Montrose finds other discourses in Raleigh's text which interact with the discourse of discovery: in particular, that which articulates the relationship between the Englishmen and the Spaniards.

Raleigh "can claim no more than to be the first *Englishman*" to explore parts of Guiana (15). The Spaniards have been there before him and so their behaviour provides a constant point of reference. The principal way in which the distinction between Englishmen and Spaniards is drawn is through their sexual conduct. The Spaniards "assert their enslavement of native American men" through the "casual use of the bodies of native American women" (19). By contrast, Raleigh is careful to show that even though the Englishmen have the opportunity to indulge in similar behaviour, they also have the ability to govern their sexual appetite (21). In Lawrence Keymis's *A Relation of the second voyage to Guiana*, Montrose claims, English masculine sexual aggression is totally "displaced into the exploitation of the feminized new found land" (19). There, "a belligerent and chauvinistic national consciousness is almost invariably expressed in the terms and values of a collective national character that is culturally encoded as masculine" (17). "Such encoding," Montrose continues, "leads all too predictably to imagery such as Raleigh's," an imagery that is also used by Keymis.

By recounting the atrocities of the Spaniards Raleigh tries to present, to his countrymen, to the Indians and to himself, the English conquest of Guiana as a holy and humanitarian war of liberation (ibid.). Trust is at the heart of the English enterprise. Raleigh "admires the Indians for their innocent trust" and simultaneously "displaces onto the Spaniards the implicit betrayal of that trust." "What Raleigh seems to be evading--and what his text nevertheless intermittently discovers--is a recognition that the most massive deception of the Indians is being perpetrated by Raleigh himself" (22). Montrose quotes the passage in which Raleigh produces his explanations for not conquering the domain of the Inga of Manoa, and comments that this is "the most remarkable disruption of ideological consistency on the surface of Raleigh's text" (23), a "point of ideological contradiction" (24), a "brief eruption into discourse of the subliminal counter-awareness that English desires in the New World are fundamentally identical to Spanish ones" (ibid.). All in all, it represents a destabilization of the ideological coherence of the *Discoverie*.

Raleigh frequently expresses admiration and respect for the native Americans that he encounters. Montrose believes that while it is important to acknowledge such representations, one must always remember that they are bound up with "a process of projection and appropriation" that effaces difference (25). In Raleigh's case, this projection operates in two discourses, which can be called the "discourse of morality" and the "discourse of wonder." As Montrose has already shown, in the discourse of morality Otherness is

constituted in the Spaniards (25). In the discourse of wonder, Otherness is constituted in the spectacular myth of El Dorado, in the Inga of Manoa, and in the catalogue of marvels which are present in Raleigh's text. One of these marvels is the Amazons.

The Amazons appear only incidentally in Raleigh's *Discoverie*; they have, however, an integral place in the "ideo-logic of gender and power" (ibid.). To the patriarchal European imagination, the matriarchal Amazons constitute the "radical Other," since their practices are a direct inversion of the customs of patriarchy. The case of the Amazons might be seen as "a momentous transformation of the trope identifying the land with the female body": from *the land as woman*, we now move to a *land of women* (ibid.). The Amazons enter into complex articulations not only with the "textual figurations of masculinity" but also "with other significant feminine representations" in Raleigh's text, namely the native women who are victimized by the Spaniards and Queen Elizabeth herself (26).

Discussing Raleigh's conceptual precision, Montrose suggests that it is not only the antiquity and pervasiveness of the idea of the Amazons that compelled Raleigh and his contemporaries. "Elizabethan perception and speculation were structured by the cognitive operations of hierarchy and inversion, analogy and antithesis" (ibid.). By the logic of such perception "a conceptual space for reversal and negation was constructed within the world picture of a patriarchal society. Among those figures which might occupy this space were the Amazons."

Raleigh's treatment of the Amazons "divides into two antithetical parts, each largely defined by their collective conduct toward alien men." In the first place, there is an account of the Amazons' cohabitation with men of the neighbouring tribes. Montrose links this account with the sensitive question of the Elizabethan succession and suggests that the Englishmen were predisposed "to take a keen interest in the ways in which other actual or imagined societies might structure the process of political succession" (27). The second part of Raleigh's "ethnography" is an account of "the impulsive and random mixing of violence and lust in the Amazons' conduct towards their masculine captives" (ibid.). For Montrose, this practice "inverts and doubles the violent and lustful" conduct of the Spaniards.

Queen Elizabeth did not pursue the Amazonian image very far. The one notable occasion on which she used it was in the Tilbury speech of 1588, where she applied the land/body trope to herself and subtly playing on the feminine frailty of her body natural, and the masculine strength of her body politic, employed it as a means of self-empowerment (28). "Thus, Elizabeth's own gendered, metaphorical discourse anticipates Raleigh's: England is a country that has yet her maidenhead--and Raleigh's virgin queen, not wholly unlike the Amazons, will prove herself a virago toward those who offer to invade her territories" (ibid.).

Montrose's article reaches the following conclusions. First, the exhortation of Queen Elizabeth to "overgo" the Amazons is preceded by an exhortation of Raleigh's masculine readers to conquer Guiana

(29). Both exhortations involve gender-specific rhetorical strategies which are distinct from one another. By employing them Raleigh “elaborates a geography of Elizabethan masculine desire,” which is most “vividly realized as the prospect of deflowering a virgin” (30). Second, Montrose concludes that as is common in the promotional literature of the time, Raleigh “envisions exploration, trade, and settlement abroad as an escape valve” for socio-economic problems at home (ibid.). Thus the potentially troublesome masculine subjects “may displace their thwarted ambitions into the conquest of virgin lands.” Third, “recontextualized in the body of Guiana and in the body of Raleigh’s book, the Englishman’s relationship to the Spaniard manifests itself as a disturbing oscillation between identity and difference, between the acknowledgement and the obfuscation of their common longing” (ibid.). Finally, on the precise occasion of the Tilbury speech Elizabeth’s identification of her body with the land may have been relatively successful. However, for Raleigh’s masculine readers, the violent rhetoric of the *Discoverie* generates identifications with the masculine Spaniards. In this process of identification the Englishmen “will necessarily be alienated from their sovereign, who cannot herself occupy the position of the agent in such a gendered and sexed discourse” (31). In further support of this point, Montrose cites the final clause of the *Discoverie*, which envisages the Queen’s masculine subjects as “seizing the opportunity to repudiate their unworthy subjection and to make themselves kings by their deeds” (ibid.).

I have summarized Montrose's article at such length for two principal reasons: firstly, so as to do justice to his argument and analysis; but secondly, in order to expose what I see as the homogenizing and superimposing tendencies in Montrose's own "discourse." The importance of this second point can be demonstrated with reference to Montrose's use of the narrative of Lawrence Keymis, Raleigh's follower and lieutenant. Montrose sees Keymis's text as being susceptible to the same terms of analysis he brings to, and the same broad conclusions he draws from, Raleigh's text. In doing this he follows most contemporary critics who have seen Keymis's narrative as no more than a footnote to Raleigh's.<sup>57</sup> Concentrating on the pervasiveness of sexual imagery in the texts of Raleigh and Keymis, Montrose sees a "belligerent and chauvinistic national consciousness" which is "invariably expressed in the terms and values of a collective national character that is culturally encoded as masculine" inscribing itself in the two narratives. However, the relationship between the two texts seems to me rather more interesting than this, and for the very reasons that by definition remain invisible to critical analysis centered on the "hegemonic force" of ideology.

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<sup>57</sup> Jeffrey Knapp deals with Keymis's *Second Discovery* mainly in the endnotes of his book *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from Utopia to the Tempest* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of Berkeley Press, 1992). Although receptive to the idiosyncratic elements of Keymis's colonial imagery, he too focuses on the similarities between Keymis and Raleigh without questioning their function. In my discussion of Keymis I will be guided by Knapp's endnotes but I will argue that similar sexual imagery is put to different effect by the two writers.

Early travel narrative, it has been suggested, is not simply writing about the world that the voyager encounters in his travels; it is also writing about the self.<sup>58</sup> As Wayne Franklin puts it: "The question no longer concerns what the new lands are; it centers instead on who the voyager is, on how his experience has altered his essential nature." (Franklin, 6). Whether or not "essential nature" exists is not the main point here. What is at issue is that alongside the massive linguistic challenge that faces the traveller in his attempt to describe cultural and natural phenomena for which his vocabulary has no words,<sup>59</sup> there is another equally formidable challenge, that of finding words which will articulate one's own experience. "As actor and author alike" the early traveller undergoes "a formidable cognitive test" (Franklin, 4).

That the articulation of this experience is not an easy or straightforward task has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter with reference to Harriot's *A briefe and true report*. The *Report* is the outcome of the experience that Harriot underwent and his participatory role is invoked throughout the account: it is, finally, what gives his testimony its authority. However, while evoking this authority Harriot also tried to efface himself from his text, tried to write himself out of it, through the adoption of the role of the scientific

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<sup>58</sup> On this issue see Fuller, 6-11; Franklin, 2-4, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Campbell discusses this issue in her analysis of Raleigh's *Discoverie*, 221-28. Campbell's is one of the most thorough and stimulating analyses of the rhetorical and linguistic strategies of Raleigh's text.



observer, and “the intellectual detachment”<sup>60</sup> that extended from the catalogue of “merchantable commodities” to “the nature and maners of the people” (Harriot, 8: 374).

In the final section of this chapter I will argue that a similar attempt at self-effacement is apparent in Lawrence Keymis’s *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana*. In his case, it does not take the form of intellectual detachment but of the intricate relationship in which he places himself in with regard to his voyage and to his employer, Sir Walter Raleigh. This relationship leads Keymis to produce a narrative that functions, I suggest, *as a mirror* where Raleigh can contemplate himself and the outcome of his actions. Mary Campbell has rightly remarked that Keymis continues the production of Raleigh’s *Discoverie* in his own text (Campbell, 237): I will argue, however, that Keymis’s narrative is also, partly, a *re-production* of Raleigh’s text. This reproduction extends from the specific, localised instances in which Keymis writes to Raleigh *of Raleigh* (“where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, unto your selfe,” 10: 441) to a broader acknowledgement and encompassing of Raleigh’s own “discourse” concerning Guiana (“where . . . my speach . . . season it selfe with some of the leaven of your owne discourse touching this discoverie,” 10: 479). But a mirror is also, necessarily, a reduction, however flattering.<sup>61</sup> Keymis’s text, with its insistence on the outcome

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<sup>60</sup>The phrase comes from Quinn, “Thomas Harriot and the New World,” 47.

<sup>61</sup>Campbell remarks that Keymis and Harcourt who travel to Guiana after Raleigh literally “adore him,” 237.

of Raleigh's achievements and in its consequent presentation of Raleigh as agent and icon of empire, fixes Raleigh's image, freezes it in a series of static representations that erase the flexibility and mobility characterising Raleigh's own text. Keymis's *A relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* stands as a reminder of the ambitiousness of what Raleigh is trying to do in his *Discoverie*. To this we must now turn.

### III. ii.

I would like to begin my analysis of Raleigh's *Discoverie* by looking closely at two passages that occur towards the end of the narrative. In both, three crucial issues, namely morality, action and time, are brought together.

Towards the end of his *Discoverie of the large, rich and beautifull Empire of Guiana*, Sir Walter Raleigh explains that his decision not to conquer the Inga of Manoa by force was part of a long-term imperial strategy. "For mine owne part," he writes,

I thought it were evill counsell to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many objections: but it would have bin in mine opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joyned with the Spaniards at our returne, as to have yeelded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile

them, but as yet our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion is not known to them of the empire. (10: 413-14)

Raleigh defines here his voyage to Guiana as the beginning of an enterprise, as an act that becomes the preparatory groundwork for future, collective action. In his letter "To the Reader" he has made it clear that he sees Guiana as the space where rival European powers struggle for dominance (10: 346-48). The situation in Guiana is such that there is no possibility of the natives resisting the advent of the Europeans: subjection is inevitable, but for the sake of their survival the natives must ally themselves with one European power or the other. Throughout his account Raleigh puts forward a remarkably three-dimensional picture of the natives (Mary Campbell remarks on Raleigh's portrayal of Topiawari, that the Indian chief "is not only eloquent, knowledgeable, and susceptible to paternal and patriotic love: he is real," *Witness*, 242). Far from presenting the natives as naive and simple-minded, Raleigh offers a complex and sophisticated description. Indeed, this is also apparent in the passage above, where they are shown as capable of discriminating between rival European powers.

The passage is complicated and moves from Raleigh's "I" (who has not attempted the invasion) to "her Majesty" (who will hopefully attempt it in the near future) and then encompasses the rest of the nation: from then on, it is the collective forms ("we," "us," "our") that will be exclusively used. What is noticeable is that as responsibility for the action moves from Raleigh to the Queen, then to the nation, the terms in which the action is described lose their veneer of nobility and

become increasingly base--or, in one of Raleigh's terms, "common," signifying both the collective and its baseness. The "errant" will be no more than the outcome of the desire for gold and of a corresponding desire "to sacke" and "spoile" for it. Significantly enough, "sacke" and "spoile" are two terms which Raleigh has associated elsewhere in his *Discoverie* with the "common persons," the "meaner sort."<sup>62</sup> In this passage, therefore, there seem to be two distinct levels of action. First, there is the action that Raleigh has performed during his voyage, where, through the manipulation of two important and related elements of English self-definition ("enemies to the Spaniards" and hence liberators from Spanish tyranny), he has sought to make the natives "yeeld." The second level of action involves the rest of Raleigh's countrymen, and as Raleigh conceives it, once they step in, the objective of the action automatically changes; what has been mythologised as a defensive war of liberation becomes construed as nothing more than a desire "to sacke" and "to spoile."

The second striking feature of the passage is the way in which Raleigh suggests that the image of Englishness he has presented in his narrative is precisely that: an image, a convenient construct masking

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<sup>62</sup>In his "Dedication" to Howard and Cecil, Raleigh writes: "if it shal please her highnes to undertake, I shal most willingly end the rest of my daies in following the same: if it be left to the spoile & sackage of common persons . . . I hope her majesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therin in gracious part" (10: 342); elsewhere in the narrative he writes: "I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing" (10: 391). What is perceptible in these two instances is the dissection of the English society which Montrose has identified in his article on the *Discoverie* (21-22). The difference between these two instances and the passage that I have quoted above, however, is that whereas in these two cases Raleigh effectively distances himself from the "common sort," in future he will also participate in the action with them.

the political reality. In this sense, his words mark a radical departure from the presentation of the English in the narratives of naval warfare that I examined in my second chapter. There, it was the image of the Spaniard that exemplified a discrepancy between “seeming” and “being”; and the victory of the English over their enemies was, in part, a moral victory—an unmasking, a process whereby the real (and in that case, corrupt) nature of the enemy was brought out into the open. Here, however, this assumption of an English unquestionable truth is put into perspective. Once naval warfare has given way to territorial conquest, Englishmen and Spaniards become more alike than dissimilar.

I regard the passage that I have quoted as being engaged in a process of demystification. A series of moral boundaries collapse as Raleigh makes the effort (this effort is there, I think, in his complicated syntax) to see the future action as political praxis, that is to say, as action divorced from ethical interpretation. For Montrose, however, this is an instance of “subliminal counter-awareness” that briefly erupts into discourse and threatens to destabilize the ideological coherence of the *Discoverie* (Montrose, 24). This recognition of sameness within difference is, according to Montrose, something that Raleigh constantly evades but that “his text nevertheless intermittently discovers” (ibid., 22). In a similar vein, in one of the latest discussions of the narrative, Mary Fuller suggests that this statement manifests an unconscious knowledge buried deep underneath the surface of the text, something

“so well understood or so fully withheld” that “it surfaces only at rare moments” and reveals “the remainder of the text as blandly ironic.”<sup>63</sup>

However, as I understand the passage, Raleigh finds himself demystifying the objective historical reality of empire. And by demystifying this historical reality, he effectively raises the question of his own relationship to it. In other words, Raleigh is confronted, tacitly, with the question of his own role in the collective imperial reality of “sacking and spoyling.” The question can be seen in this passage in the fraught linguistic distance between the “I” and the “we.”

As I will go on to discuss in the two following sections, the instances of demystification in the *Discoverie* are too numerous in my view to be dismissed as what Montrose calls “subliminal counter-awareness.” On the contrary, the narrative can be seen to be engaged in an on-going *process* of demystification. However, this is not to reconstruct Raleigh as a clear-sighted critic of colonialism. It is also part of my argument that Raleigh responds to what he finds himself demystifying with a pervasive anxiety, an anxiety which stems from his own role. In short, Raleigh’s is not an almost purely ideological text with moments of unconscious “counter-awareness,” but a text which enacts the moral problem of accomodating oneself to ideology.

A similar process is also apparent in the passage that I will quote next. It comes from Raleigh’s closing summation:

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<sup>63</sup>Fuller, 73.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. (10: 428)

Raleigh evokes here what Peter Hulme calls the “classic colonial triangle”: one that implies a relationship between a European, a newly discovered territory and its inhabitants.<sup>64</sup> It is the land itself that stands at the centre of Raleigh’s passage: both the discoverer and the natives are seen in relation to it. The land is presented as an inviolate, virginal feminine body, which the discoverer will subdue and possess in a series of violent, aggressive acts. Possession signifies total destruction: there is no notion of fertility or of futurity here, only “vertue” “spent,” coming to a violent end. The natives are also defined through the land--the land within which they are buried and on which they build their temples. It is significant that in both cases the people are evoked through a religious practice (burial and worship); and therefore, the corresponding picture of the discoverer is that of the perpetrator of two profane acts: the opening of graves and the pulling down of images from temples.

This passage has become a *locus classicus* of proto-colonial criticism; I will now cite the opinions of a number of critics before describing my own position.

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<sup>64</sup>Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (New York: Methuen, 1986), 2.

In his discussion of this passage Stephen Greenblatt has remarked that Raleigh's language here recalls Ovid's description of the Golden Age.<sup>65</sup> The destruction about to take place by the discoverer, therefore, is linked to the destruction of a time of unsurpassed purity, harmony and ease. For Greenblatt there is "something disquieting in the tone of this passage, a note of regret and dread running counter to the dominant assertion" (112). He points out that the series of terms that Raleigh uses to evoke the impending conquest are "too strong, their connotations too unpleasant to enable us to translate them into a positive course of action for England." Greenblatt goes on to say that the image of an unspoilt world rendered through Raleigh's prose "subverts the ethic of empire and aggressive capitalism." Here, as elsewhere in Raleigh's works, he finds "two opposing forces within Raleigh" struggling for dominance.

For the critic Jeffrey Knapp Greenblatt's comments constitute some sort of an apology on Raleigh's behalf, an attempt to suggest that Raleigh might be feeling here "the pangs of colonialist guilt."<sup>66</sup> Knapp himself is more interested in the relationship of the passage to Raleigh's "new penitential chastity" (191)--and he sees Montrose as occupying a middle ground between his response and Greenblatt's (317, n. 19). In his article "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture" Montrose writes that in this passage Raleigh

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<sup>65</sup>Stephen Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and his Roles* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 112.

<sup>66</sup>Knapp, 191.



“exhorts his gentlemen-readers to commit a cultural rape” and adds further that “Raleigh’s enthusiasm is, at one and the same time, for the unspoiled quality of this world and for the prospect of despoiling it.”<sup>67</sup>

In his later article, “The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery,” Montrose reiterates this position but formulates it in a slightly modified and more interesting way. He writes that “Raleigh’s description of Guiana by means of negatives conveys a *proleptically* elegiac sympathy for this unspoiled world at the same time that it arouses excitement at the prospect of despoiling it” (12, my emphasis).

Finally, in her chapter on Raleigh in *The Witness and the Other World* Mary Campbell argues that this passage shows that Raleigh’s behaviour in Guiana was “mostly cynical” (240), and suggests further that even though the reader of the *Discoverie* is pleasantly surprised by the three-dimensionality of Raleigh’s natives and might be tempted to put that down to Raleigh’s “sentimental humanity” the passage is “a quick cure” that reminds us that “Raleigh’s political ethics were about as low as those of any other Renaissance man of action” (241).

What becomes clear from the responses of the critics that I have assembled here is that they all revolve around the issue of the text’s morality—that in one way or another they attempt to understand Raleigh’s moral relationship to the action that is about to take place. I do not think that the phrase “colonialist guilt” adequately describes what is going on in this passage, mainly because it subsumes whatever one

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<sup>67</sup>Louis Montrose, “‘Shaping Fantasies’: Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture,” *Representations* 2 (1983): 61-94 (76, 77).

person might be trying to come to terms with under a collective reaction--and while I do not want to deny the element of collective reaction, I also want to insist on an element of ambiguous personal and subjective reaction. But principally, I would like to focus on the notion of "prolepsis" since what Raleigh is doing here is evoking an action which has not taken place "yet," and lamenting the loss of a world that has not been lost "yet." While it is important to acknowledge that Raleigh evokes here the destruction of the Golden Age, it is also important to add that the constituents that bring forth this destruction --the violence, which is manifest in his language, the erotic lust, which underlies the whole passage, the insatiable appetite for gold that instigates and envelops the whole action--are themselves components of a different age, the age of iron, which in Ovid's poem signals the final degradation of the age of Gold. This is the age within which humanity still exists, the age within which the voyage takes place.<sup>68</sup> In its evocation of total destruction Raleigh's passage moves from the figurative (the golden age) to the literal (real gold), from something sacred and inviolate to something profane--finally, from the ideal to the real. It might even be seen as the reluctant understanding of the victory of the real over the ideal, or to use Montrose's terms, of the "material" over the "symbolic." But it is the gravitational pull of the

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<sup>68</sup>In the *Metamorphoses* travel begins in the age of Iron:

The shipman hoist his sails to wind, whose names he did not know;  
And ships that erst in tops of hills and mountains high did grow,  
Did leap and dance on uncouth waves;

Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, trans. Arthur Golding (London: Everyman, 1939), 136.

reality in the narrative that is the problematical issue, because in Raleigh's process of demystification, reality is also given to us "proleptically," in an effort to confront the inescapable, irreversible process of history. In this sense, Greenblatt's situation of Raleigh's *Discoverie* in the context of the "personal sorrow which had animated his poetry" (109) and his "mood of disillusionment" (101) is highly pertinent, but I remain sceptical as to whether Raleigh's words subvert "the ethic of empire and aggressive capitalism" (112). The mood of disillusionment that makes Raleigh demystify a number of ideological processes that operate in his culture does not necessarily lead to subversion, but to a painful effort at accommodation.

In the remainder of my discussion of Raleigh's *Discoverie* I will trace this process of demystification in two interrelated manifestations: firstly, the presentation of the voyage as a "pilgrimage" which has, nevertheless, a decidedly secular objective and secondly, the presentation of the traveller as a discoverer who is also the agent of economic activity. Neither of these two issues is obvious or self-explanatory: I see them both as Raleigh's attempt to confront the processes of power that operate within his culture and which shape accordingly the world within which he has to exist.

### III. iii.

*The discoverie of the large, rich and beautifull Empire of Guiana* is prefaced by a Dedication to Lord Charles Howard and Sir Robert Cecil, Raleigh's principal financial backers and two of the most powerful men in Court. Raleigh excuses himself for returning from Guiana empty-handed ("for answere of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers," 10: 338), for not bringing back gold but only its promise, contained in his narrative. He appeals to the two men's sympathetic treatment of him in an earlier time of need ("the triall that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all, but of malice and revenge," *ibid.*) and hopes that this friendship still remains. He writes:

In my more happy times as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loves sought mee out in the darkest shadow of adversitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite, yet I shal ever acknowlegde: & the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. (10: 339)

Mary Fuller remarks on the last sentence of this passage that it stands as an "emblem of that gesture which deposits the 'material' at the border of the text" (80). The "language of debt," she goes on to comment, "casts satisfaction, discovery, arrival into the future as promises to pay or repay that love which itself sought out a Raleigh who was 'in the darkest shadow.'" What we have here, therefore, is

another instance of the process of deferral which is perceptible throughout the *Discoverie*. According to Fuller, in acknowledging his debt Raleigh “projects into a knowable future the completed discovery which can constitute (at least in part) its satisfaction.” The future discovery then, the time when gold will be finally found and brought back, is, in Fuller’s reading, part of the “satisfaction” of the debt. What Fuller seems to be implying without however acknowledging its importance (since her emphasis is on deferral) is that in the future “love” will be repaid *materially*. This is what mostly interests me in this passage: the way in which Raleigh combines in his language moral and material issues--the way in which “affection” and “fortune” (the sense of “good luck, success and prosperity” being inseparable from the sense of “a person’s position as determined by wealth”) come so close, the way in which the great “debt” which is acknowledged here is both moral (“your loves sought mee out in the darkest shadow of adversitie”) as well as financial (the two men have “adventured” for Raleigh). At first it would seem possible that the moral debt can be satisfied with acknowledgement alone (“though I cannot requite, yet I shal ever acknowledge”). However, the financial debt, which remains an open issue (to be taken up in what Fuller calls “a knowable future”) and which cannot be dealt with in the “bundle of papers” but has to have a material return, casts it in a different light. As Raleigh writes towards the end of the “Dedication” “esteeme mee as your owne (though over dearly bought)” (10: 343). The language of finance here underlies the language of morality, it is inseparable from it. So,

whereas in one sense the "material" is deposited at the border of the text in another sense it enters the text fully since it becomes the basis on which morality is expressed. Throughout the "Dedication" financial and ethical issues go side by side, as for example in the passage which I will quote next, and in which Raleigh addresses the Queen through Howard and Cecil:

It is true that as my errors were great, so they have yeilded very grievous effects . . . I did therefore even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther meanes I might yet use, but even to appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I have wasted in effect all herein. I have undergone many constructions. I have bene accompanied with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other bravado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was never hidden in Cornewall, or els where, as was supposed. They have grossly belied me, that forejudged, that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would have perswaded, that I was too easfull and sensuall to undertake a journey of so great travell. But, if what I have done, receive the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. (10: 339-40)

Raleigh adopts here the part of a repenting sinner. His voyage to Guiana is a direct consequence of his "errors"--the secret marriage that incensed the Queen and led her to hold him in "distast" (10: 340). The

voyage as a consequence of "error" is a biblical notion: travel begins with the expulsion from Paradise. Raleigh therefore is taking here the religious notion of the voyage as a fall from grace and links it with his fall from Elizabeth's court. The imagery that he uses when he refers to himself ("I have bene accompanied with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill") as well as the way in which he emphasizes the difference between the experience of the voyage and his former state reinforce this religious notion.<sup>69</sup> For, it is with the expulsion from Paradise that man experiences for the first time cold, hunger, labour and pain in stark contrast to his blissful existence in the Garden of Eden.

Raleigh also suggests that his voyage can be read as a "painefull pilgrimage." The word "gracious" here ("receive the gracious construction of a painefull pilgrimage") suggests that it is the Queen who should principally read the voyage as a pilgrimage. (Exhibiting what Greenblatt calls his "sensitivity to his audience" [Greenblatt, 106] in the letter "To the Reader" Raleigh writes that the men "of qualitie and vertue" should interpret the voyage as the endeavour of a man that seeks "the profit and honour of her Majestie, and the English nation," 10: 348.) And once more, the presentation of himself during the voyage helps to reinforce the notion of the voyage as a pilgrimage. Emphasis is placed on Raleigh's old and "withered" (10: 340) body,

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<sup>69</sup>Raleigh writes of his voyage down the Orenoque in a small bark: "I will undertake there was never any prison in England, that could bee found more unsavorie and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing," 10: 355.

“blasted with mis-fortunes” (10: 339) that undergoes a series of physical trials for the expiation of his sins. All in all, the voyage is supposed to be read as a penitential journey: it is a consequence of the offence that Raleigh has given his Queen, and it is designed to win back her favour.

As a reconciliatory gesture which is explicitly designed to appeal to the Queen, the voyage seeks to find a “better Indies for her Majestie then the King of Spaine hath any” (10: 342). This “better Indies” is Guiana; it is not a new project, since Raleigh writes that “many yeeres since, [he] had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier” (10: 340). Significantly, the voyage to Guiana is seen as his best course of action: “if I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther meanes I might yet use, but even to appease so powerful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed” (10: 339). The pilgrimage then is to a country that is not only “large” and “beautifull” but also “rich” and “golden” (10: 338). Therefore, Raleigh takes a predominantly religious notion and locates it firmly within a secular world: moreover, he presents this secular aspect as desirable to the Queen. The secular objective of the voyage is perceptible in the language that surrounds the “pilgrimage” in the “Dedication,” in the notable absence of any significant mention as to the conversion of the



natives,<sup>70</sup> and in the desired point of arrival: El Dorado, the golden city of Manoa, the "literalization of the celestial Jerusalem" (Campbell, 247). It has been pointed out that the only time in which the religious conversion of the natives is mentioned in the *Discoverie* is in connection with the plundering of their graves for gold ("if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all," 10: 425).<sup>71</sup> The language in the long passage that I have quoted above is predominately financial (the pilgrimage intends to "purchase" "remission," to "recover" the "greatest plenty formerly possessed," "to recover but the moderation of excesse" (10: 340); Raleigh has "adventured" and he is returned a "beggar," 10: 341). The word "formerly" points to a time in which "Raleigh enjoyed both the maternally erotic favor of Elizabeth and the embrace of a sanctioned, if symbolic virgin" and was not, as Fuller puts it, "forced to choose between mother, daughter, and surrogate bride" (Fuller, 81). Fuller's emphasis here is on the sexual undercurrent, but the language that Raleigh uses is the language of economics and stands as a constant reminder that this "favor" brings with it economic preferment and ascent in status. This "favor" is the source of power (it is "powreful

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<sup>70</sup>The absence of any significant reference to the conversion of the natives is a subject that has attracted attention from the critics of the *Discoverie*. In a theoretical tract which is entitled "Of the voyage to Guiana" and which is reprinted in Harlow's edition of the *Discoverie*, conversion to Christianity figures as a prominent incentive. See V. T. Harlow, ed. *Raleigh's "Discoverie of Guiana"* (London: The Argonaut Press, 1928), 138-49. It is now believed that the author of this tract was Harriot, not Raleigh. See Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, 293.

<sup>71</sup>Fuller, 73; Knapp, 195.

displeasure" that Raleigh is dealing with) and money is what has to be staked in order to regain favour. So, if with the construction of the voyage as a pilgrimage Raleigh exploits a major religious motif, the decidedly secular aspirations that inform and shape the voyage cut through this religious rhetoric.

I am drawing attention to the pervasiveness of the "material" in the "Dedication" because I see it as part of Raleigh's effort not to lose sight of economic and political reality, a reminder of the conditions which are brought to bear upon the voyage and shape its course and outcome. I would like here to draw a general comparison between Raleigh's *Discoverie* and George Best's account of Frobisher's voyages to the Northwest which I examined in the previous chapter. The two narratives can be brought together, I think, because they stand as two of the most sustained attempts within the *Voyages* to understand the way in which society impacts upon the traveller, the way in which the objective conditions within which a person has to exist determine the shape of his actions. In his account Best also approached the interdependence of moral and economic considerations. In Best two quite distinct moral attitudes become representatives of two separate social groups. The merchants, concerned solely with "sure, certaine, and present gaines" (7: 278) turned the objective of Frobisher's enterprises from discovery to gold. The aristocracy, on the other hand, was prepared to support the heroic enterprise of discovery for its own sake, irrespective of the material outcome of the voyage. And whereas on the one hand Best could not but admit that the promise of gold

gained a powerful hold over the whole country ("the greedie desire our countrey hath to a present savour and returne of gaine," 7: 298) he also tried to keep silent about the involvement of the Court in what was an essentially mercantile venture. This is quite different from Raleigh's understanding that both the country *and* the court are looking for a material return. In Best the duality of objectives was encapsulated in the figure of Martin Frobisher. Even though he was drawn to discovery by his "calling" he was obliged to dig for the ore because he was answerable to the financial backers of the voyage.

Unlike Best's Frobisher, who tried to avoid the consequences of material profit, in his own voyage Raleigh accentuates them. In his *Discoverie* the explorer is not just the discoverer of a new world (like Frobisher) but also the eager agent of economic activity. In the "Dedication" to Howard and Cecil Raleigh presents himself in precisely the guise that Best's Frobisher shunned: he is a "factor," the discoverer who purposely seeks out El Dorado and who envisions an empire which is both "beautiful" and "rich." If Guiana is a land befitting a sovereign, "a better Indies for her Majestie than the king of Spain hath any," the word "Indies" here does not only represent the glory of overseas empire but presents this glory as inseparable from gold. It is Spain's "Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe," that "purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe" (10: 347). "Honour and riches," whether they are related to the Queen (10: 340) or to himself (10: 371) are not presented separately: the two are

combined throughout. In Best the anxiety about the consequences of the social conditions upon the individual was dealt with through an adherence to the notion of one's "calling" (manifest in a short but self-fulfilling voyage of discovery that took place within the larger confines of mercantile enterprise). In Raleigh the anxiety is dealt with through the slow insidious process of rhetorical accommodation; in other words, not through subliminal counter-awareness but through the recognition of economic and political reality as precisely that. I will discuss Raleigh's *Discoverie* further in the final section. But first I need to turn from Raleigh to his lieutenant and follower in Guiana, Lawrence Keymis.

### III. iv.

I will begin my consideration of Keymis's *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* by trying to understand the relationship between Keymis (who has "written and performed the voyage"), Raleigh (who is Keymis's patron and employer) and Guiana. That this relationship is a complex one can be seen from the following passages from Keymis's narrative, which are all addressed to Raleigh:

I have here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discoverie without any enlargement of made wordes . . . Where the affinitie of the matter with your person leadeth mee to write of your selfe, unto your selfe, that small libertie which I have therein used, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be given the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the judgement bee theirs, that uprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their evill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoveries, doe so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, & tread under foot the thing it selfe. ("Epistle to Raleigh," 10: 441)

Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether unsavorie, season it selfe with some of the leaven of your owne discourse touching this discoverie. (10: 479)

So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serve to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those whome it may concerne. (10: 479-80)

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discoverie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You have framed it, and moulded it readie for her Majestie, to set on her seale. (10: 490)

Lawrence Keymis, who has "written and performed" the second voyage to Guiana begins by calling this voyage Raleigh's "second Discoverie": "discoverie" here refers to the financial and organizational aspects of the voyage. Later on, Keymis refers to Raleigh as the "Author of these Discoveries": the plural form that is now used indicates the continuity between the first and the second voyage, the connection between the first and the second "discoverie" and the central presence of Raleigh in both. The notion of continuity is

enhanced when Keymis refers to the two Guiana voyages as "this worthie enterprise." The events that he mentions in his narrative, Keymis writes, "serve to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise": what he mentions as pertinent to the second voyage, therefore, is explicitly designed to recall the first. That voyage was Raleigh's own "discovery" (in both senses of the word now), a voyage in which Raleigh was not only the organiser but also the writer and performer. But there is another sense in which Raleigh is behind the second "discoverie": Keymis refers to him as "the Author of these Discoveries" and the word "Author" can be taken to mean both "originator, instigator" as well as "writer"--both meanings were current in the sixteenth century. That this second meaning might also bear upon Keymis's own narrative is suggested by Keymis's acknowledgement of indebtedness: "my speach, which is altogether unsavorie, season it selfe with some of the leaven of your discourse touching this discoverie." It is commonplace enough in early travel narratives to suggest that one's speech is "unsavorie" but Keymis moves beyond this commonplace suggestion and acknowledges the affinity between his "discourse" and Raleigh's. This indebtedness is not superficial; there is a deep connection between Keymis's "speach" and Raleigh's "discourse" and it is perceptible at first by the particular relationship that Raleigh has to Guiana. Keymis writes: "where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth me to write of your selfe unto your selfe." There are localised instances in which Keymis evokes Raleigh's presence in Guiana a year earlier. But the centrality of

Raleigh's presence in the second voyage moves beyond these localised instances. This can be understood from the way in which Keymis later on suggests that there is an identification between the "Author of these Discoveries" and "the thing it selfe," that there is an "affinitie" of "the matter" with the "person." This is not only evident from the response of the various detractors (those who "seeking to detract from the Author of these discoveries . . . deface, & tread under foot the thinge it selfe"); towards the end of his narrative Keymis refers to Raleigh's "discoveries" thus: "You have framed it, and moulded it readie for her Majestie, to set on her seal." There is a sense, then, in which Keymis's second voyage is a voyage within this "frame," that the reality that he encounters (or, at any rate the reality that he reproduces in his travel narrative) is the reality that has been "moulded" by Raleigh in his previous voyage. It is my argument that concentrating within this frame, unwilling to step out of it, and bent upon presenting Raleigh as the unequivocal agent and icon of Empire (something that is summed up in the phrase "You have framed it, and moulded it readie for her Majestie, to set on her seale") Keymis produces a text which functions as a mirror, a text in which Raleigh can see himself and contemplate the outcome of his actions. As a consequence, he freezes Raleigh, as I have said earlier, in a series of static representations, which take out the ambiguity and mobility which characterise Raleigh's presentation of himself in his own *Discoverie*.

The natives that Keymis encounters during his expedition form a large part of the "discoverie" as Raleigh has "moulded" it. In his narrative of the 1595 voyage Raleigh presented himself as the eager propagandist of his Queen: not only did he go around Guiana making "discourse" (10: 354) of Elizabeth's virtues, but he also carried her picture around and showed it to the natives. "I shewed them her Majesties picture," Raleigh writes, "which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to have brought them idolatrous thereof" (ibid.). What is in Raleigh a flattering, reconciliatory gesture towards the monarch that he has offended becomes a reality in Keymis's text. A year after Raleigh, Keymis finds himself witnessing the worship of Elizabeth in Guiana: she has now become part of "their religion, and prayers" (10: 464) and the natives keep a "fast" in her honour:

Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and untill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. (ibid.)

If in this episode the worship of Elizabeth is an example of the way in which Raleigh has "framed" Guiana, the way in which Keymis refers to Elizabeth here ("the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender") immediately recalls the way in which Raleigh has "framed" the English involvement in Guiana in his own *Discoverie*. The



presentation of Elizabeth as the “defender” of the oppressed natives was, we may recall, Raleigh’s first strategic act, which he performed before he and his fellow travellers “hasted towards our purposed discovery” (10: 353). This is the way in which Raleigh now represents to his countrymen the way in which he presented himself in front of the natives of Guiana:

first I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and wast those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui under her then there were trees in that yland:<sup>72</sup> that shee was an enemye to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations<sup>73</sup> about her, as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the Northren world from their servitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. . . .

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations . . . so as in that part of the world her Majestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabetta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princesse or greatest commander. (10: 353-54)

We note, firstly, that Raleigh chooses to present himself in front of a select audience only: “the Captaines of the yland . . . that were enemies to the Spaniards.” Immediately therefore, he creates a relationship between the two parties (the English and the natives) which is focused

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<sup>72</sup>Raleigh’s *Discoverie* (1596) reads “their yland,” 7.

<sup>73</sup>The original reads: “delivered such nations about her,” *ibid.*

on a common enemy. A few paragraphs earlier he described the "most lamentable complaints" from the natives who told him how Berreo had "made the ancient Casiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their slaves, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true" (10: 352). In this way "servitude," "tyrannie" and "oppression" were powerfully illustrated for the benefit of his English audience. Secondly, we see here how Raleigh places himself in a different relationship to the party that he is addressing through the use of two different terms in order to refer to the Spaniards. In the beginning, when he explicitly addresses the English he talks of the "Spaniards" ("the Captaines of the yland . . . that were enemies to the Spaniards"); later on, the "Spaniards" become "the Castellani," when he supposedly records verbatim the way in which he addressed the natives ("that shee was an enemy to the Castellani"). Similarly, the Queen becomes the "great Casique of the North"--she is transformed for a moment into what the listening natives would imagine her to be. By referring to her as "the great Casique of the North," and not just of England, Raleigh effectively enlarges her dominion--and makes her rule transcend the boundaries of England to encompass "all the coast of the Northren world," which she has freed from Spanish "servitude." Saying further that the Queen is "a virgin" he makes use of the identification of the body of the monarch with the body of the land and refers to England as an inviolate territory. In this way, the Queen is presented in her joint role of the defender of her own territories as well

as the liberator who reaches out and helps other oppressed nations. In both cases she is seen as the champion of the Protestant cause, something which was an important element in her cult. It is through this use of the changed terms, the blending between English and foreign words, that Raleigh effectively isolates himself from both the parties that he is addressing. For it is not easy to see where Raleigh stands here and the improviser's oscillation between "absolute vacancy" and "absolute self interest" (*Self-Fashioning*, 236) seems highly pertinent. His main aim seems to be the discovery of what Greenblatt calls a "point of histrionic entry" (*ibid.*, 228)--into the natives' culture as well as his own. He effectively tries to incorporate Guiana into the imagination of the English as much as he tries to incorporate the English into the imagination of the natives. According to Mary Fuller what Raleigh attempts here is "a conquest by love" (*Voyages in Print*, 72 ). I will examine shortly the difficulties that arise from Keymis's attempt to understand and perpetuate the logistics of this non-violent conquest in his own account.

In the extract that I have quoted above Raleigh presents an image of the English as liberators from Spanish tyranny and finds a way of mythologizing the involvement of the English in Guiana as a defensive war of liberation undertaken on the natives' behalf. But in the passage that I will quote next he points once more to the underlying reality of empire--the appetite for gold that is common to both the English and the Spaniards:

seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowne to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceived by the company, there would have beene by this time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selves might have beene prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people bene utterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. (10: 389-90)

Raleigh suggests that he has not disclosed to his countrymen the places where the Spaniards "laboured for golde" because he was afraid that their eagerness to possess it would jeopardise the enterprise. Concealment, then, is not only necessary in order to beguile the natives and win their "desire of our love and defence"; it is also necessary in order to control his countrymen and prevent them from offering "violence or insolence," and from turning the natives' attitude from "love" into "hatred and violence." This might be seen as another one of Raleigh's excuses for not coming back to England with gold, and there is much to support this reading. Once more he displaces responsibility for the failure of the enterprise onto the "ones who onely respect present profit." But what is also important here is that Raleigh is

recognizing the fragility of the ploy, the distinction he constructs: the English can project an image of themselves as humanitarian liberators in direct contradistinction to the Spaniards, but the similar desire for gold which instigates both parties' actions can easily break through this image. There is a recognition here of the difficulty of controlling one's desire for "present profit." There is a similar recognition, I think, in the episode which immediately follows. The extract is one of the most succinct examples of the "care taken for the good usage of the people" and of the effect that it produced:

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with us, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen us, and that wee gave them meate, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters dayly, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got us more love amongst them then this usage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or Potato roote, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daugthers: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drewe them to admire her Majestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their uttermost demand. (10: 390-91)

The whole episode is framed by the two opposite actions of "taking" and "giving": the first is predominately associated with the Spaniards whereas the second is exclusively associated with the English. In the first long sentence of this passage Raleigh explains how the English set about changing the image that the natives had already formed of them, an image which was created by the Spaniards. Assuaging the natives' fear of literal devouement ("that we were men-eaters, and Canibals") the English "gave them meate and to every one something or other." This process of "giving" is presented as the exact opposite of the Spanish behaviour ("who indeed . . . took from them both their wives and daugthers dayly"). It is this gentle behaviour coupled with total abstinence from even touching the native women that "got" the English "love" amongst the natives and made them recognize the "deceit" of the Spaniards. In a series of overly emphatic clauses ("I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise . . . ") Raleigh tries to convince his readers that none of the company "ever knew any of their women." As a consequence of this self-control the natives are drawn to admiration and they "honour our nation."

This collective restraint is largely the outcome of Raleigh's leadership qualities ("I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or Potato roote") and the episode closes with a personal triumph over and above the collective one. This is Raleigh's "notable course of justice" (as Hakluyt's side-note calls it); and it is presented as necessary because, as Raleigh confesses, "it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing." Raleigh orders any damage done to the natives to be repaid: "if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their uttermost demand."

What Raleigh achieves in this passage is the creation of an image of exemplary behaviour which is built upon a recognition of the unruliness of desire. It has been pointed out that Raleigh presents the native women (who are "excellently favoured" and "very yong" and who "came among" the English "without deceit, starke naked") as eminently desirable and in this way he makes the Englishmen's abstinence all the more worthy because it is hard won. But alongside the recognition of sexual temptation, as in the injunction against "present profit," is that the image that has been created can be easily undermined. This fragility is much more than Keymis perceives in the passage that I will quote next, and which recalls this exemplary behaviour. I quote at length:

This olde man dilated unto us, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath ever since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they have taken from him and his people many of their wives, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Juan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subjects, excepting onely a choise garde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, ever to have sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to have enlarged his Countreys and people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, untill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subjectes, that they might have the priviledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and knives, which are jewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine us their friendes, or else give place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes prevayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, using them as their slaves, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their lives, to leave their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the other-side they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage, then her Majesties gracious government, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure unto them. For, sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse have persecuted us to the uttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach us, take our Townes, and make us ransome our wives and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well governed companie durst offer any of us wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when unknowne they might have done it. We then beleeving it to bee true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good prooffe of her royall commandement and wisdom, that had framed her



subjectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that injoyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly crave of her Majestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towards them, hee also may injoy her favourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left unto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their injustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, utterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to us seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. For as government is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, *Omnes hoc jure molesti, quo fortes*: To men, I say, that live in dayly tumultes, feares, doubttes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, never sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practicing one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, justice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peacable course of living, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetenesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is avayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their service, and promise to provide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliver them from oppression and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and knives bee the onely things of request and usefull unto them) they have agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing. (10: 471-74)<sup>74</sup>

First, I will discuss the way in which anxiety is registered in the above extract. Then, I will examine Keymis's attempt to understand the

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<sup>74</sup>It is Hakluyt who puts the end of the paragraph at this point; in Keymis's text the paragraph runs for a few more sentences, until "in all things" (Keymis, 22).

"colonial triangle"--the relationship between the European, the native and the land--which becomes his attempt to understand Raleigh's representation of the English involvement in Guiana as simultaneously conquest and liberation.

The man Keymis is conversing with is a member of the nation of the Arwaccas. At an earlier point in the narrative Keymis has described the Arwaccas as a "vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serve and follow the Spanyards" (10: 455). He immediately contrasts them with the Iaos, who are a "mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast" (ibid.) and who allied themselves with the English. For Keymis, inherent qualities in the various native tribes project themselves in their choice of allies. It is the itinerant nature of the Arwaccas' existence, the very fact that they do not have a settled place of habitation, which becomes the principal reason for their alliance with the Spaniards. The Arwaccas' unstable, wandering existence poses a threat to Keymis: a nation that has been described as "vagabound" and that is headed by a man who used his alliance with the Spaniards in order to further his own ends and enhance his own power, now "craveth her Majesties protection" (10: 472). The anxiety that is registered here is similar to the anxiety that we have encountered in other early colonialist texts like Barlowe's and Lane's: it suggests that the English are confronted with a situation they do not fully grasp. In order to control his anxiety about the reasons that may account for the Arwaccas' conversion Keymis writes that the leader of

this tribe asks for the Englishmen's protection "not as one foresaken by the Spaniards, but as one who utterly disclaims their friendship." He suggests, moreover, that this decision is a direct consequence of the behaviour of the two nations with respect to the Arwaccas.

The conduct that has won this nation over to the English is, as I have already said, that which is described by Raleigh in his *Discoverie*. But there is a difference between Raleigh's and Keymis's accounts of the episode and this difference concerns their representation of the English community. We have seen that in Raleigh's description of the episode, "taking" became an issue with those lower-class Englishmen who had to be restrained or punished: "it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing" (10: 391) Keymis, however, does not allow any class differences to enter into his description. Now the whole of the English community is "well governed," all its members have been successfully "framed . . . to obedience" and there is no recognition of the transgression of this exemplary behaviour at any point. Unlike Raleigh, therefore, who did not present the English as a homogenous community and who accordingly implied that the image that the Englishmen projected was not necessarily identical with their essence, Keymis represents "seeming" and "being" as one. This can fully justify the presence of the English in Guiana and it underlies Keymis's reasoning about "gouvernement." A community that has achieved this admirable degree of self-control is now ready to govern another, "lawlesse" community, to "confirm" others to "a peacable course of living."

This is the way in which Keymis places the English in a relationship of power with respect to the people of Guiana. It remains to be seen how he envisages the role of the English with respect to the foreign land. Following his reasoning, Keymis writes that the people of Guiana have no other choice but submit either to the English or the Spaniards: they "must . . . without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine us their friendes, or else give place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it" (10: 472). The first thing worthy of note here is that the identity of the two European nations is drawn in relation to gold. In Raleigh's account gold was the catalyst that exposed the essential correspondence in the actions and desires of both nations in Guiana ("we came both for one errant . . . both sought but to sacke & spoile them," 10: 414). It is only the representation of the involvement that was different: whereas the Spaniards make their acquisitive desire for gold known from the start, the English begin by dissimulating their real objectives. To characterize the difference between Keymis and Raleigh in this regard, whereas in Raleigh there was something like reluctant disclosure, in Keymis that is a desperate concealment. Like all the other acts of "taking," the expulsion of the natives from their land is in Keymis's account exclusively associated with the Spaniards ("give place to the Spaniardes their enemies"). The English are not seen dispossessing the natives: on the contrary, they are allowed access to their land, they receive entertainment ("entertaine us their friendes").

This is Keymis's attempt to understand Raleigh's presentation of the English involvement in Guiana as the liberation of the oppressed natives. To illustrate this further here is another example from a different point in the text. Here Keymis talks of the relationship of the natives themselves with their land and suggests that, paraphrasing one of the Indian chiefs,

we were much deceived, if wee though this countrey not large ynough to receive us, without molestation or intrusion upon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling-places, if they forsooke one to live in another: but stoode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or living. (10: 456)

This is how Keymis imagines Raleigh's "conquest by love": a conquest which happens peacefully, without "molestation or intrusion," a conquest which is necessary and imperative since it is undertaken for the benefit of the natives and it is asked for by the natives themselves. This is also what finally accounts for the striking alteration in Keymis's sexual imagery. In his text, Guiana is full of "shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people" ready for the Englishmen to possess--shires that "prostitute themselves unto us, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeares" (10: 487).

## CONCLUSION

The unity of a human life is the unity of a narrative quest . . .  
. . . It is in the course of the quest and only through encountering and coping with the various particular harms, dangers, temptations and distractions which provide any quest with its episodes and incidents that the goal of the quest is finally to be understood. A quest is always an education both as to the character of that which is sought and in self-knowledge. (*After Virtue*, 219)

The narrative of any individual life can be seen as the narrative of a quest; the idea of life as a quest involves us in the taking of risks. The *English Voyages* are full of instances of such taking of risks: it is made up of stories narrated by people who "adventure"--not only their "shippes" and "goods" but also their "persons" (1: xlv); of people who "commit" their lives to "the uncertainties of many dangers" (2: 243) in an attempt to travel "beyond" what "any man . . . hath heretofore discovered" (2: 279). Richard Hakluyt collected these narratives, organised them within a careful topographical/chronological structure and presented them to his countrymen and to the world at large as the *Voyages of the English Nation*.

The idea of the individual life as a quest or adventure, the idea of the person who bears witness to that quest, and the relationship between the risk the individual is prepared to take and the quest of the

nation as a whole, can be illustrated one final time by invoking Keymis's *Second Voyage to Guiana*.

In his "Preface" to the Reader, Keymis attempts to represent Raleigh as the exemplary, paradigmatic Englishman. What sets Raleigh off from the rest of his countrymen is that he "adventured so farre" (10: 461) whereas they "sit idle listening for Guiana newes, & instantly forget it" (10: 444). I am quoting Keymis's words here because the overall image of inactivity and idleness that he applies to his countrymen bears a striking resemblance to that evoked in the words of Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham (1589). Hakluyt tells us that when he was in France he heard "other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea," while the Englishmen were "condemned" for their "sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts" (1: xviii). In their different ways, allowing for the different aims and scope of their projects, both Hakluyt and Keymis try to achieve the same thing: to induce their countrymen to travel--to form a paradigmatic identity out of travel.

In the second and fourth chapters of this thesis we saw how the image of the Spaniards--at the time the major adversaries of Englishmen on the road to Empire--oscillates between difference and sameness. In the second chapter, which examines narratives dealing with open hostilities during the sea war of 1585-1600, the "Spaniard" becomes the by-word for a two-dimensional Catholicism. The representation of the Spanish enemy is characterized by falsehood and deceit which the strong, Protestant English self first diagnoses and

exposes, and then differentiates itself from. In the fourth chapter, however, the attempt to match the colonial achievement of Spain leads to an interesting variation on this pattern: its narratives propose emulation of, rather than absolute deviation from, certain Spanish practices. In the "Preface" to the Reader Keymis proposes that the English emulate an attribute that, it now transpires, the Spaniards exhibit in contrast to the English: the willingness to travel. To take the suggestion of irony here still further, in his combined religious and sexual imagery Keymis turns the English into Catholics and the Spaniards into Protestants! He writes that the English "let [their] idle knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery" (10: 445-6). The Protestant *vita activa* is reduced to monastic travesty.

The image of a monastery, of a place which is separate and potentially cut off, can be related to the idea of England as an island; the "barren wombe" is clearly an inversion of the notion of fertility which was such a prominent theme in the narratives of colonization. Keymis captures both the problematically secluded and potentially positive or fruitful connotations of England's island status. The barren womb is a call to fertility--for England to fertilize herself through the agency of travellers who adventure and return.

In the first chapter of this thesis I have argued that Hakluyt is also concerned with the potentially troublesome status of England as an island. In his attempt to put forth an argument of future imperial greatness Hakluyt weaves positive connotations of insularity through



the pattern of return: it is one of the most significant aspects of the narratives of early travel that the Englishmen do not just travel away from England but they bring their experience back to it. The importance of the pattern of departure and return has been further demonstrated in the third chapter with reference to Thomas Cavendish, whose narrative displayed an outspoken reluctance to return, and did not find a place within Hakluyt's monumental collection.

It is this idea of return which provides us, I think, with a link with Hakluyt's own role as the collector and editor of the *English Voyages*. In his attempt to "bring . . . to light" and rescue "from the greedy and devouring jaws of oblivion" (1: xxxix) the navigations of the English nation Hakluyt, tells us, he "grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners" (1: xviii); they in turn, provided him with material and encouragement in his "laborious travaile" (1: xxix). In the Preface to the Reader (1589) he acquaints his audience with the names of those men "by whose friendly aide in this my travell I have bene furthered" (1: xxiii). In his Epistle to Lord Charles Howard he describes his role in the following way:

the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three several volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries. (1: xxxii)

Finally, in his Preface to the Reader (1598) he writes:

what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold  
I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have  
traveiled. (1: xxxix)

In all the above cases Hakluyt appears to pun on the two most obvious  
connotations of travel/travail. This seems to be the kind of wit that

Fuller criticizes Hakluyt for in her account of his editorial role.

For Fuller, Hakluyt's representation of his role "in terms [of] . . .

voyaging" verges on something like moral impertinence:

No one who has read (or tried to read) *Principal Navigations*  
would minimize the labor of compiling it. Yet Hakluyt's claims  
about the heroism of his efforts seem odd, even risky, in the  
context of a work concerned entirely with "troublesome and  
painefull action," "long and chargeable journeys," since they are  
not simply a witty comparison of writing to voyaging but a  
literal claim that Hakluyt's work as an editor is similar, in fact  
*comparable*, to the labor of his travelers. (153-54, emphasis in the  
original)

Fuller's attitude is understandable given her argument that Hakluyt's  
commitment is to information rather than to travel (145). However, I  
have tried to argue that these two notions, travel and information,  
come together in the notion of *accountability*. Without denying that  
there is an element of conceit in Hakluyt's use of "travell" in respect of  
his *work*, it is not clear why we should follow Fuller in assuming that  
these conceits are intended to be taken *literally* rather than  
metaphorically. I would like once again to draw attention to Hakluyt's  
words at the beginning of the "Preface" to the first edition of the

*Voyages*. Here Hakluyt does indeed refer to his "travell" but he also ties this idea of travel to the idea of *narrative accountability*: "that every man might answer for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings" (1: xxiii-xxiv). My contention has been that this insistence on accountability represents the ethical dimension of the *Voyages*. Hakluyt tells the reader that his narrators are themselves accountable for the reports (or accounts) of their doings. Fuller argues that Hakluyt has no comparable responsibility, but that he nevertheless takes upon himself, grandly and cynically, the title and glory of traveller:

For Hakluyt, the association of his own book with the names of many authors seems to diffuse title away from a central focus; his own name does not sign for the narrative he relays. Michel Foucault writes that books really begin to have authors to the extent that authors become subject to punishment; perhaps we would have to say that, indeed, not Hakluyt but the set of proper names attached to his documents functions as "author" of *Principal Navigations*, because of the relation these names bear to bodies which have travelled and suffered. Hakluyt, by contrast, has only recorded and referred. (Fuller, 151)

However, if we read the opening passage from the "Preface" with sufficient care we shall find, I think, that Hakluyt is doing something more than this strict opposition allows for. He explicitly says that he will not trespass on the reports of the authors he collects: he will let them be accountable, and he himself will be accountable for that.

And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answer for himselfe, justifie his reports, and

stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolemies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world. (1: xxiii-xxiv)

What is apparent here is that part of Hakluyt's "travell" was to "meddle in this work," without tampering with it or trespassing on it; without rewriting it or claiming it as his own (like "some men that I could name"). In his authority as editor, Hakluyt invokes for himself the same spirit of justification that he asks for from his authors. A man is to be justified in himself and before his readers.

The notion of accountable reports is what ties together the journey outwards and the return to England. The narratives are in effect part of that return. They represent the attempt to make sense of the experience of travel--and while travel may be undertaken under the auspices of the emerging empire, I have tried to argue throughout this thesis that experience is never *just imperial*. It is always more than that, even as the subject of experience tries, on his return, to situate himself in relation to empire and dominant ideology.

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